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HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

VOLUME VI

THE DELHI SULTANATE

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

THE DELHI SULTANATE

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FOREWORD

On account of heavy pressure of work, I have had to deny myself the usual privilege of writing a detailed foreword to this volume, presenting a view of this age in flowing time

In preparing this volume, Dr R C Majumdar, General Editor has had to bear more than his usual burden and I am deeply grateful to him for his indefatigable and conscientious labours which were so ably supplemented by Dr Ashok Majumdar the Assistant Editor in charge of this volume My thanks are also due to the scholars who have contributed the different sections of this volume, as also to the Director General of Archaeology who has supplied photographs for the illustrations of this volume

I again express my gratitude to Shri G D Birla, Chairman, and members of the Board of Shri Krishnarpan Charity Trust for their initial grant, without which the scheme could not have been undertaken, as also to the Government of India for their giving us a loan of Rs 150,000 - for further financing this project The staff of the Bhavan and its Press have looked after the preparation and printing of this volume with their usual care and deserve congratulations for their zeal

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
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April 13 1960

K M MUNSHI

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PREFACE

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar

General Editor

This volume deals with the period during which the foreign Muslim conquerors, mostly of Turkish origin, established an effective suzerainty over the greater part of India. The popular notion that after the conquest of Muhammad Ghūrī, India formed a Muslim Empire under various dynasties, is hardly borne out by facts. It has been shown in the preceding volume that the major part of India remained free from Muslim domination till almost the very end of the thirteenth century A.D. It was 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī who for the first time established Muslim suzerainty over nearly the whole of India But his actual sovereignty did not extend beyond the Vindhyas, save in the Western Deccan during the last three years of his reign. The Khaljī empire rose and fell during the brief period of twenty years (A.D 1300-1320) The Tughluqs, who succeeded the Khaljis, made an attempt not only to revive the empire but also to exercise an effective sovereignty over it. But the task proved beyond their power. The empire of Muhammad bin Tughluq, which included the southernmost part of India as a province under his governor, broke up within a decade of his accession (A.D. 1325), and before another decade was over the Turkish empire passed away for ever. India once more presented the spectacle of being divided into a congeries of States, both big and small, which always followed the dissolution of an empire in the past. The state of things continued for nearly two centuries and a half till the Mughuls established a stable and durable empire in the second half of the sixteenth century A.D

Thus, barring the two very shortlived empires under the Khaljis and Muhammad bin Tughluq which lasted, respectively, for less than twenty and ten years, there was no Turkish Muslim empire of India. The Delhi Sultanate, as the symbol of this empire, continued in name throughout the period under review but, gradually shorn of power and prestige, it was reduced to a phantom by the invasion of Tīmūr at the end of the fourteenth century A.D Among the States that arose out of the ruins of these two ephemeral empires, six may be regarded as really very powerful. Three of these, namely the Bahmanī kingdom in the Deccan, Gujarāt in the west, and Bengal in the east were ruled by Muslims, while their rivals and neighbours, namely Vijayanagara in South India, Mewar in Rājputāna, and Orissa, along the eastern coast, were ruled by Hindus The rem-

nant of the Delhi Sultanate and two other Muslim States, Jaunpur and Mālwa, also occasionally played an important role. The constant rivalries and struggles between these States which were generally, but not invariably, grouped on religious lines, form the main feature of the political history of the period covered by this volume. A very prolonged and sustained warfare between Mewār and Gujarāt *cum* Mālwa in the west, Bahmanī and Vijayanagara in the south, and between Orissa and the last two as well as Bengal in the east, indicates the main trend of politics during the period. These struggles weakened all these powers, but led to no decisive result. The intrigues and dissensions within the Delhi Sultanate, which had a brief revival of power under the Lodis, and its quarrels with the petty States in the north-west paved the way for the Mughul conquest under Bābur.

The political disintegration and lack of a central authority were mainly responsible for two great calamities that befell India in the shape of foreign invasions, both big with future consequences The first was the invasion of Timūr, the Turkish autocrat, who followed in the footsteps of the Mongol Chingīz Khān and carried fire and sword over a large part of the continent of Asia He had two objects in view in invading India,—first, to put Islām on a firm footing by 'destroying the infidels (*Kāfir*) and thereby becoming a *Ghāzī* or a martyr', and secondly, 'to plunder the fabulous wealth and valuables of the infidels'. He was no doubt encouraged by the tottering condition of the Delhi Sultanate, and advanced with his hordes towards India Urged forward by the hope of gaining reward both in this world as well as in the next—a combination of the two incentives most powerful in a medieval Muslim autocrat—Tīmūr let loose the horrors of a barbaric warfare on the fair cities and plains of India Never since the days of Sultān Mahmūd, four hundred years before had India witnessed such deliberate massacre of the Hindus in cold blood Fortunately for historians, Tīmūr has himself recorded his misdeeds, as it would otherwise be difficult to believe the inhuman atrocities perpetrated by him Everything that unbridled lust and unchecked barbarism could conceive was perpetrated by his fanatic myrmidons, and the climax was reached in the cold-blooded massacre of one hundred thousand Hindu prisoners outside the plains of Delhi,—an event unparalleled in the history of the world As attempts have been recently made to minimise and explain away his enormity, the account of his unmitigated barbarity has been given in some detail, as far as possible in his own words, in Chapter VII

A century later India was visited by the Portuguese fleet under Vasco da Gama It was the first scene in the tragic drama which

ended with the complete subjugation of India by a European power. Vasco da Gama's name occupies a high place in European history as the discoverer of the route or the means which enabled Europe to exploit fully the resources of the east. But the historians of India are bound to regard him, like Tīmūr and other foreign conquerors beginning from Alexander, in quite a different light. For nearly two centuries he and his followers brought untold miseries upon the people living in the coastal regions, and 'Portuguese' became a by-word for cruelty in India The historians have, however, generally failed to point out the strong family resemblance between Tīmūr and Vasco da Gama Both were inspired by the same motives—acquisition of wealth and promotion of religion, Islām in the one case and Christianity in the other. Both were equally cruel—almost fiendish in character. The atrocity of Vasco da Gama, though necessarily limited by the means at his disposal, did not differ in kind, save that it had a refined touch of racial arrogance which made it all the more odious As this aspect of Vasco da Gama is generally shrouded under his well-deserved reputation for exploring the sea-route to the east—as in the case of Alexander who similarly explored the land-route—this point has been fully dealt with in Chapter XIII-E IV It may be further added that Tīmūr and Vasco da Gama were instrumental in establishing the supremacy, respectively, of the Mughuls and the British in India. The visitations of Tīmūr and Vasco da Gama were thus no mere passing episodes in the history of the period, but pregnant with big consequences They also demonstrated the serious defects in the defence system of India, caused by the manifold development in the technique of warfare, both by land and sea, in countries far beyond the frontiers of India within whose seemingly impregnable barriers her people chose to immure themselves But the lessons were lost upon men and rulers of India.

There is however, no cloud without a silver lining The political disintegration, which led to so many evils, was also productive of some good results It is a well-known fact that before the modern age art and literature could hardly flourish save under the patronage of courts. When there was only one important court, in Delhi, the development of art was limited both in character and extent, but the rise of independent States multiplied the number of courts and therewith the centres of patronage The most important result was the development of provincial styles which increased both the variety and the productivity in art and architecture The difference can best be understood by a comparison with the Mughul period which far excelled the period under review in political stability and its attendant magnificence and grandeur But though art reached its high

nant of the Delhi Sultanate and two other Muslim States, Jaunpur and Mālwa, also occasionally played an important role. The constant rivalries and struggles between these States which were generally, but not invariably, grouped on religious lines, form the main feature of the political history of the period covered by this volume. A very prolonged and sustained warfare between Mewār and Gujarāt *cum* Mālwa in the west, Bahmanī and Vijayanagara in the south, and between Orissa and the last two as well as Bengal in the east, indicates the main trend of politics during the period These struggles weakened all these powers, but led to no decisive result The intrigues and dissensions within the Delhi Sultanate, which had a brief revival of power under the Lodīs, and its quarrels with the petty States in the north-west paved the way for the Mughul conquest under Bābur.

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water mark of excellence under the Mughul patronage, it suffered in variety and geographical extent in comparison with the preceding period. This difference is clearly brought out in the division of chapters in any book on Islamic Art in India Percy Brown's *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), for example, devotes four chapters only to the Imperial style under the four prominent dynasties of the Delhi Sultāns, while the ten succeeding chapters deal with the provincial styles of the Punjāb, Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarāt, Mālwa, Deccan and Kāshmir (excluding Vijayanagara which is dealt with in the volume dealing with the Hindu period) Next follows the art of the Mughul period which is treated in only five chapters, under the names of the five great emperors (Bābur-Humāyūn being treated in one single chapter). This differenc is full of significance, and illustrates the influence of court patronage upon the development of art and other aspects of culture

Although the political history of India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is marked by the same lack of political cohesion that characterized the history of India since the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire in the tenth century A D, yet the historical pictures of these two periods, as they have reached us, are not exactly the same. For, thanks to the Muslim historians, we get a very detailed account not only of the Delhi Sultanate, but also of many of the succession States that arose out of its ruins. Each of these States thus becomes a living reality, and political history is imbued with a keen and vivid human interest such as is not aroused by anything that we know of the earlier period, save, of course, the history of the Mamlūk Sultāns of Delhi in the thirteenth century The difficulties that henceforth confront the historians are caused not so much by the dearth of materials, as by their discrepancy and divergence For the first time a historian of India is in a position to avail himself of materials which would not suffer in comparison with those on which the history of contemporary European and other Asiatic countries is based

A detailed account of these source materials on which the history of the period is based has been given in Chapter I The contemporary Muslim chronicles form the most important source of our information and are very valuable in many respects, but they suffer from some serious drawbacks They are court histories, pure and simple, and possess in a full measure both their merits and defects They contain a great deal of precise information, and are more or less correct in respect of dates and details of military campaigns and other main incidents of the reign; but their authors could not always take an impartial and unprejudiced view, particularly when the

honour and prestige of the rulers were at stake. Thus, it is almost a common characteristic of these authors to omit, minimise, or explain away the grave crimes of their patron kings and their families, and to give as favourable an account of their military campaigns as could be done without wholly violating truth, though cases are not rare where even this limit was not observed and defeats were either simply ignored or recorded as victories. The contemporary court histories concentrate their attention upon the Sultān and his doings, and seldom touch upon topics or events with which he was not directly or indirectly connected. But historical chronicles like those of Firishta and others, of a somewhat later date, supply this deficiency and give a regular account of various States, independently of the account of the Sultanate. As the authors of these chronicles lived long after, and were therefore under no obligation to most of the kings whose history they related, they could afford to take an unbiassed view; but being dependent for materials upon the contemporary court-chronicles, they share some of the defects that characterized them.

A serious drawback of all the historical writers of the period is that their vision seldom extended beyond the court, the capital, the rulers, and the aristocracy, and they hardly ever noticed the people at large or gave any information about their lives and activities, social manners and customs, economic condition, etc. This deficiency is partly made up by the writings of foreign visitors to India. Special reference should be made in this connection to the very interesting account of Ibn Batūtah, who lived in India for thirteen years and travelled widely all over the country His knowledge, erudition and wide experience, and the responsible posts he held in India invest his account of Indian life with a high degree of authenticity, and in the absence of more reliable evidence copious reference has been made to his writings in delineating contemporary social, economic and moral condition of the people

Fortunately, we possess fairly abundant knowledge of the religious life of the period It was the age of those mystic saints like Rāmānanda, Kabīr, Chaitanya, and Nānak, whose noble lives and religious teachings, embodied in simple pious sayings, may be looked upon as the richest legacy of the period These great religious teachers ushered in a catholic spirit in religion and elevated it to a high spiritual level, and by their precept and example shed a lustre on the age. Though their direct influence upon India as a whole may not have been very considerable, their teachings have permeated the very texture of Indian life.

For this reason, the main stress has been laid upon these mystic saints in the chapter on religion. Though many joined the sects founded by, or formed subsequently in the names of, these saints and their followers, the number of such converts were very insignificant in comparison with the total population of India. By far the large majority of the Hindus, and a still greater majority among the Muslims, continued to stick faithfully to the old orthodox religious beliefs and practices The various sects of the Hindus, together with their rites and customs, described in the preceding volumes, still dominated the Hindu society even though a considerable number of its members were influenced, more or less, by the doctrines preached by the great saints named above. The old doctrines, rites, and customs were stereotyped in Hindu society by the end of the thirteenth century A.D and still continued to dominate it. If they have not found a place in the chapter on religion, it is simply to avoid repetition of what has been said in the preceding volumes, and the omission should not be interpreted as indicating their disappearance or diminution in importance This fact must be remembered in forming a general idea of the religious condition of the country and making an estimate of the relative importance of the new creeds that form such a distinctive feature during the period under review

Partly as a result of the patronage of many of the saints, but mainly in consequence of the gradual process of evolution, the major spoken languages of India had a phenomenal development and produced a rich literature These languages and literature form an intimate link between modern India and the period covered in this volume, and have been dealt with in some detail in Chapter XV.

The most outstanding fact in the social and religious life of the age is the impact of Islām. The followers of that faith settled in India in large numbers, but, generally speaking, kept themselves severely aloof from the normal current of the social and religious life of the country Many times, since the advent of the Aryans, more than three thousand years ago, diverse types of culture met in India, but with the exception of a very small Parsi enclave, were all fused together in a common cultural pattern The Muslims, however, did not merge themselves into this pattern, and form with the Hindus a single type of homogeneous culture. So, for the first time in Indian history, two distinct but important communities and cultures stood face to face, and India was permanently divided into two powerful units, each with marked individuality of its own, which did not prove to be amenable to a fusion or even any close permanent co-ordination The problem which then faced India has proved to be the most knotty one in its chequered history during the next six

hundred years, and has not entirely been solved by the partition or bifurcation of India. The genesis of the problem has therefore been dealt with in some detail in Chapter XVII-C. It is a delicate and difficult task, but could not be avoided in a history whose avowed object is to give a real picture of the history and culture of the Indian people. Islām touched Hindu life, and was itself touched by Hinduism, at many points. The reaction produced by the one upon the other is not always easy to determine, and the task has been rendered more difficult by passions and prejudices, and pressure of extraneous considerations.

Political necessities of the Indians during the last phase of British rule underlined the importance of alliance between the two communities, and this was sought to be smoothly brought about by glossing over the differences and creating an imaginary history of the past in order to depict the relations between the two in a much more favourable light than it actually was. Eminent Hindu political leaders even went so far as to proclaim that the Hindus were not at all a subject race during the Muslim rule These absurd notions, which would have been laughed at by Indian leaders at the beginning of the nineteenth century, passed current as history owing to the exigencies of the political complications at the end of that century Unfortunately slogans and beliefs die hard, and even today, for more or less the same reasons as before, many Indians, specially Hindus, are peculiarly sensitive to any comments or observations even made in course of historical writings, touching upon the communal relations in any way A fear of wounding the susceptibilities of the sister community haunts the minds of Hindu politicians and historians, and not only prevents them from speaking out the truth, but also brings down their wrath upon those who have the courage to do so But history is no respecter of persons or communities, and must always strive to tell the truth, so far as it can be deduced from reliable evidence This great academic principle has a bearing upon actual life, for ignorance seldom proves to be a real bliss either to an individual or to a nation In the particular case under consideration, ignorance of the actual relation between the Hindus and the Muslims throughout the course of history,—an ignorance deliberately encouraged by some,—may ultimately be found to have been the most important single factor which led to the partition of India. The real and effective means of solving a problem is to know and understand the facts that gave rise to it, and not to ignore them by hiding the head, ostrich-like, into sands of fiction

It is thus quite clear that both from purely academic and practical standpoints, the plain duty of a historian of India is to reveal

the truth about the communal relations in the past, without being influenced in any way by any extraneous factor This conclusion is fortified by other considerations. It is now a well-known fact that a few powerful dictators who dominated Europe in the recent past emphasized the need of re-writing the history of their countries to suit their political actions and ideals. This is undoubtedly a great tribute paid to history for its formative influence upon mankind, but cuts at the very root of all that makes history an intellectual discipline of the highest value There are ominous signs that the same idea is slowly invading democratic countries also, not excluding India. This world tendency to make history the vehicle of certain definite political, social and economic ideas, which reign supreme in each country for the time being, is like a cloud, at present no bigger than a man's hand, but which may soon grow in volume, and overcast the sky, covering the light of the world by an impenetrable gloom The question is therefore of paramount importance, and it is the bounden duty of every historian to guard himself against the tendency, and fight it by the only weapon available to him, namely by holding fast to truth in all his writings irrespective of all consequences. A historian should not trim his sail according to the prevailing wind, but ever go straight, keeping in view the only goal of his voyage—the discovery of truth.

These elaborate observations are specially intended to explain the editorial policy of the present series The first five volumes, dealing with the history of the ancient Hindus, were, comparatively speaking, free from what would be regarded as serious controversial issues at the present day The present volume, dealing with the beginnings of the Muslim settlement in India on a permanent basis, naturally has to deal with topics which have a direct or indirect bearing on many live issues of today The number of such issues would go on increasing with each succeeding volume, and volumes IX and X, which deal with the British rule in India, will be full of them, evoking strong sympathies and antipathies which are likely to blur the clear vision of both writers and readers of Indian history It would be the endeavour of the present editor to follow the three fundamental principles enunciated above: firstly, that history is no respecter of persons or communities, secondly, that its sole aim is to find out the truth by following the canons commonly accepted as sound by all historians, and thirdly, to express the truth, without fear, envy, malice, passion or prejudice, and irrespective of all extraneous considerations, both political and humane In judging any remark or opinion expressed in such a history, the question to be asked is not whether it is pleasant or unpleasant, mild or strong, impolitic or imprudent, but simply whether it is true or false, just or

unjust, and above all, whether it is or is not supported by the evidence at our disposal.

This editorial policy is responsible for clearly bringing out in detail those points of difference which stood as barriers between the Hindus and Muslims and served to keep them effectively as two separate units in their common motherland. These are primarily the religious bigotry on the side of the Muslims and social bigotry on the part of the Hindus. These differences are generally sought to be explained away or minimised, and even eminent scholars demur to pointed references to the oppressive acts of bigoted Muslim rulers like Fīrūz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodī even though proved by the unimpeachable testimony of their own confessions. Such an attitude may be due to praiseworthy motives, but is entirely out of place in historical writings.

The same attitude is far more strikingly illustrated in another sphere. The end of Hindu ruling dynasties, followed by almost wholesale destruction of temples and monasteries by the Muslim invaders and rulers, very nearly extinguished the Hindu culture by destroying the sources which fed and nourished it. Its further growth was arrested and an almost impenetrable gloom settled over it It seemed as if the whole course of its development came to a sudden halt. It is not a mere accident that the lamp of the past glory and culture of Brahmanical Hinduism was kept burning only in the Hindu principalities—particularly the tiny State of Mithilā in the north and the kingdom of Vijayanagara in the south. Modern Hindu India is indebted to these Hindu kingdoms for having preserved the continuity of Brahmanical culture and traditions, from the Vedic age downwards, which was in imminent danger of being altogether snapped For it is impossible to deny that India was saved from this irretrievable disaster by the patronage of the rulers of Vijayanagara and Mithilā While the Brahmanical culture was submerged under the sea of Islām from one end of India to the other, it found its last refuge in the two islands at the northern and southern extremities. This plain truth is not fully realized by many historians

The patronage of literature in spoken languages by a few Muslim rulers is the only redeeming feature in the general Muslim attitude to the Hindu culture But its nature has been misunderstood and its effect much exaggerated. The Muslim hatred to the Brāhmans, to which Ibn Batūtah bears eloquent testimony, made the Muslim rulers more favourably inclined to such literature which was looked upon by the Brāhmans as a mortal blow to their power and prestige, and hence strongly disliked by them as a class The period of Husain Shāh and his son in Bengal is usually held out as one of

the most glowing examples of the Muslim patronage of Hindu culture. The high development of literature and philosophy of the Chaitanya school of Vaishnavism during the period under review is regarded as a sign of Hindu revival during the Medieval Age. It is, however, to be remembered that out of hundreds of Muslim rulers and officers in Bengal only three—Husain Shāh, his son Nusrat Shāh and his general Parāgal Khān—are known to have patronized Bengali poets whose obsequious flattery to their Muslim patrons is disgusting to modern taste. As regards Chaitanya and his followers, their persecution in the hands of the officers of Husain Shāh, the most enlightened and liberal Muslim Sultān, has been described in some detail on pp 632-635. One significant feature of the Chaitanya movement is often ignored. Of the twenty-four years he remained in his mortal frame after he renounced the world and was initiated as a *sanyāsin*, he hardly spent even a year in the dominion of Husain Shāh and his Muslim successors, but lived for twenty years in the Hindu kingdom of Orissa. The Vaishnava followers of Chaitanya were persecuted in their homeland during the regime of Husain Shāh, and Chaitanya spent practically his whole life as a *sanyāsin* under the patronage of the Hindu ruler of Orissa who became his devoted disciple. By connecting these two facts it will not probably be wrong to surmise that though Chaitanya began his religious life in the Muslim kingdom of Bengal, it did not evidently prove a congenial home to him or to his cult, and both found a safe refuge only in the neighbouring Hindu kingdom. In any case the fact remains that the chief credit for the rise and growth of Chaitanya's Vaishnavism must go to the Hindu kingdom of Orissa and not to the Muslim kingdom of Bengal. This is a very significant fact in the history of Hindu culture in India during the period under review. It may also be noted in this connection that Hindu art practically went out of existence in Muslim States, though in a few places like Gujarāt, its influence may be traced in Muslim architecture. After the thirteenth century, notable specimens of Hindu art are to be found only in the Hindu States of Vijayanagara and Mewār. Hindu culture did not flourish under Islām, and the few facts brought forward to prove the contrary may at best be likened to a few tiny oases which merely serve to bring into greater relief the barren desolation of the long stretch of arid desert.

In the face of all these difficult and delicate problems the task of maintaining the correct standard in a co-operative historical work. is not an easy one. As originally planned, the different chapters in this volume were to be written by different scholars who have specialised on the particular topics. But even the best efforts of the editor failed to secure a reasonable degree of objective and

impartial treatment in certain chapters. The editor was thereupon obliged to take upon himself the responsibility of writing many more chapters than he originally intended. He spared no pains to equip himself for the task; how far he has succeeded in doing justice to those chapters it is for the readers to judge. This is one of the reasons why the publication of this book has been long delayed. Another cause of the delay is the absence of the editor from India for nearly a year

Subject to what has been said above, the policy and principles of editing, referred to in the preceding volumes, remain unchanged. The transliteration of the names of Turkish rulers, and of other names and words of Persian and Arabic origin, which occur in large number in the present volume, generally follows the scheme adopted in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vols. III and IV But there are discrepancies even in these two volumes. A few departures have therefore been made, and the editor takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to Dr Sukumar Roy, Reader in the Calcutta University, for his ungrudging help in the matter. Dr. M Ishaque, the author of Sections D and E of Chapter XV, desires to make it known that he was not in favour of this system in all points, but agreed to adopt it only for the sake of maintaining uniformity Similarly Dr S K Chatterjee, the author of Section B of the same Chapter, was in favour of adopting a strictly phonetic method in writing Indian words in different provincial dialects But for reasons of practical convenience his scheme had to be considerably modified

The editor records with deep regret the death of Dr A. S Altekar, an eminent scholar who had contributed a chapter to Vol IV of this series His death has left a void in Indian scholarship which it would be difficult to fill up Death has also carried away Prof U C Bhattacharya, M A, who contributed the sections on philosophy in the four preceding Volumes The editor takes this opportunity to place on record his deep sorrow at the death of these two scholars and his appreciation of the great services rendered by them to the cause of Indian history and culture

Reference was made in the Preface of Vol V to the retirement of Dr. A D Pusalker His place as Assistant Editor was taken by Dr A K Majumdar He has worked hard and, it may be hoped, succeeded in maintaining the traditions and standard of this series The thanks of the editor are due to him for his valuable services. The editor is glad to inform the readers of this series that Dr Pusalker has recently rejoined his old post Although his valued assistance was not available for this volume, as he has been suffering

from eye-troubles, the editor hopes that he will soon be in a position to actively resume his duty.

In conclusion, the editor begs to convey his thanks to the contributors of this volume for their sincere co-operation, to the editors of various journals for their reviews of the preceding volume, to Messrs Macmillan and Co., Ltd, Calcutta, for kind permission to reproduce three poems from *One Hundred Poems of Kabir*, translated by Rabindranath Tagore, and to the Archaeological Department of the Government of India and various other institutions and individuals for lending photos and blocks for illustration. Reference has been made to them in detail under "acknowledgment".

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Akhbār-ul-Akhyār by Abdul Haqq.*
ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
AIOC	*Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.*
AN	*Akbar-nāma by Abū'l Fazl.*
ASB	*Asiatic Society of Bengal*
ASI	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
BI	*Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.*
BK	*Burhān-i-Ma'āsir, translated by J. S. King under the title "The History of the Bahmani Dynasty", London 1900*
BM	*British Museum.*
BPP	*Bengal Past and Present*
Briggs	*Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī by Firishta translated by Major J Briggs.*
BSOS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*
CC	*Catalogus Catalogorum*
CHI	*Cambridge History of India*
CPBM	*Catalogue of Persian MSS in the British Museum, by Rieu*
CPMI	*Catalogue of Persian MSS in the India Office, by Ethé.*
CH SS	*Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*
EC	*Epigraphia Carnatica*
EIM	*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*
Firishta	*Gulshan-i-Ibrāhimī (Text)*
Further Sources	*Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Madras, 1946.*
Gri. Rat	*Grihastha Ratnākara*
HBS	*History of Bengal, Vol II Ed. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Dacca*
HCSL	*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, by M. Krishnamachariar, Madras, 1937*
HIED	*History of India as told by its own Historians, translated by H M Elliot and J Dowson, London, 1867*

HSIS	*History of South India*, by K A N. Sastri, Madras, 1955.
HSL	*History of Sanskrit Literature.*
HSP	*History of Sanskrit Poetics.*
IA	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
IB, IBH	*Rehla of Ibn Batūtah*, translated by M. Husain, G.O S. CXXII, 1953
IC	*Indian Culture*, Calcutta.
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
IOL	*India Office Library*
IPMI	*History of Medieval India*, Allahabad, 1925, 1933, 1950.
Is C	*Islamic Culture*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris
JAHRS	*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JAS	*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
JBRS	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*
JISOA	*Journal of the Indian Society for Oriental Art*, Calcutta.
JOR	*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRASBL	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters.
JUB	*Journal of the University of Bombay*
JVORI	*Journal of the Venkatesvara Oriental Research Institute*
KHDS	*History of the Dharmasastras*, by P V Kane
Levi	*Le Nepal* by S Lévi
Mac. MSS	*Mackenzie Manuscript.*
MAR	*Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department.*

MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
MC	*History of Mithila during the pre-Mughal period by Manmohan Chakravarty JASB. NS. 1915, pp 407.*
Mahalingam Administration	*Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara, by T. V. Mahalingam, Madras, 1939.*
MGP	*Memoirs of Gaur and Panduah by A. A. Khan and H. E. Stapleton.*
MIQ	*Medieval India Quarterly, Aligarh.*
MTMH	*Life and times of Muhammad bin Tughluq, London, 1938.*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NIA	*New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.*
NIS	*New Imperial Series.*
NS	*New Series*
NSP	*Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay.*
Par. Madh.	*Parasara-Madhava.*
Petech	*Medieval History of Nepal by L Petech, Rome, 1958*
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
PO	*Poona Orientalist.*
PIOC	*Proceedings and Transaction of the All-India Oriental Conference.*
QAS	*The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, by Qureshi, Lahore, 1944*
QTIP	*History of the Qaranuah Turks in India, by Ishwari Prasad, Allahabad, 1936*
Raverty	*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj-ud-din translated by Major H. G Raverty*
RKC	*The Karnatas of Mithila by Radha Krishna Chowdhary, ABORI vol. XXXV, 1955 pp. 91 ff*
RT	*Rājataranginī*
Saletore, Social	*Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Madras, 1934.*
SD	*Sanskrit Drama by A. B Keith, Oxford, 1924*
Sherwani	*The Bahmanis of Deccan, Hyderabad, 1953.*
SILH	*Studies in Indian Literary History by P K Gode*

HSIS	*History of South India*, by K. A. N. Sastri, Madras, 1955
HSL	*History of Sanskrit Literature*
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Par Madh.	*Parasara-Madhava.*
Petech	*Medieval History of Nepal by L Petech, Rome, 1958.*
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
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SD	*Sanskrit Drama by A. B Keith, Oxford, 1924*
Sherwani	*The Bahmanis of Deccan, Hyderabad, 1953*
SILH	*Studies in Indian Literary History by P K Gode.*

SINGH	*History of Tirhut, 1922.*
S.O.A.S.	*School of Oriental and African Studies.*
Sources	*Sources of Vijayanagara History, by S. K. Ayyangar, Madras 1919.*
SS	*Sanskrit Series.*
SSP	*Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.*
TA	*Tabqāt-i-Akbarī of Nizām-ud-dīn translated by B. De, BI.*
Thakur	*History of Mithila, by Upendra Thakur, 1956.*
TKB	*Tughluq Kālīn Bhārat by A A. Rizvi Aligarh, 1956-7*
TM	*Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī by Yahyā bin Ahmad Sirhindi, Text.*
TN	*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī of Minhāj-ud-dīn*
T.P.	*Toung Pao*
TSS	*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.*

CORRIGENDA

(1) p. 202, line 3 from bottom:	*for* "Pandura" *read* "Panduva".
(2) p. 202, line 2 from bottom:	*for* "obviously by the Sanskrit" *read* "obviously the Sanskrit".
(3) p. 207, line 18 from top	*for* "The statement that the Riyaz, vouched for by Firishta, that" *read* "The statement that"

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES

The Muslim Turks, who conquered India, brought with them the art of writing history, and have left a large number of chronicles which enable us to trace the history of India from the beginning of the Muslim conquest to the end of the Muslim rule. This is no mean advantage, particularly when we contrast it with the paucity of such historical narratives of the earlier period. Thanks to these historical chronicles, supplemented by quasi-historical writings of contemporary literary men and accounts of foreign travellers, it is possible to write the political history of the period under review in a manner very different from that in which the preceding chapters have been written. The reader will feel this difference as he goes on with the history of this period.

I. LITERARY SOURCES

The *first* great name among the contemporary writers is that of Amīr Khusrav,[1] whose full name is given by some authorities as Abu-'l Hasan Yamīn-ud-dīn Khusrav. He was born in A D 1253 and enjoyed the favour and patronage of several Sultāns of Delhi such as Kaiqubād, Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, and Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. He was a prolific writer and is said to have composed about half a million verses. He began writing poems in his boyhood and continued his literary activity till his death in A.D 1325.

Though essentially a poet, and not a historian, Khusrav occasionally took historical themes as his subjects of composition, both in prose and poetry. His association with six successive Sultāns and intimate intercourse with the aristocracy of blood, military oligarchy, and the saint Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā gave him the unique opportunity of knowing the truth about the political events and social condition of the time. Although, therefore, he never undertook to write any comprehensive historical chronicle, properly so called, his works, particularly his historical Masnavīs and Dīvāns, throw a great deal of light on contemporary history. Among these the following deserve special mention:—

1 *Qirān us Sa'dain*, composed in A D. 1289, describes the historical meeting between Bughrā Khān, the governor of

Bengal, and his son Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād, king of Delhi. It gives interesting details about India, particularly Delhi.

2. *Miftāh-ul-Futūh*, composed in A.D. 1291, describes the military campaigns of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī.

3. *'Ashīqa*, completed in A.D. 1316, not only describes the passionate love between Dewal Rānī (Devala Devī), daughter of Rājā Karan (Karṇa) of Gujarāt, and Prince Khizr Khān, but also gives an account of the poet's capture by the Mongols and his flight, and the beauties of Hindusthān and her women

4. *Nuh Sipihr*, completed in A.D 1318, describes the military campaigns during the reign of Mubārak Shāh [2]

5. *Tughluq-nāma*, composed in the closing year of the poet's life, traces the course of events leading to the accession of Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq.

6. In addition to the above poetical works, he also wrote in prose the *Khazāin-ul Futūh* or the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī*, which briefly describes the events of the first sixteen years of 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign, and, in particular, the campaigns of Malik Kāfūr in the Deccan which are not noticed in detail even by Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī.

In addition to historical events Khusrav's works throw much light on the social condition of the time and give a general picture of the country. But he writes more as a poet than as a professional historian.

The first great historian of the period was Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī In his famous work *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*,[3] composed about A.D. 1358, he begins the history of India almost where the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* leaves it, and gives an account of the Sultāns of Delhi from Balban to Muhammad bin Tughluq, together with the first six years of Fīrūz Shāh's reign. The reasons he gives for deliberately excluding from his purview the period covered by the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* are worth quoting in full, as they throw interesting light on the mentality of the historians of that age "If I copy," says he, "what this venerable and illustrious author has written, those who have read his history will derive no advantage from reading mine, and if I state anything contradictory of that master's writings, or abridge or amplify his statements, it will be considered disrespectful and rash. In addition to which I should raise doubts and difficulties in the minds of his readers."[4]

In spite of this sentimental weakness, not befitting a true historian, Baranī had high conception of a historian and considered it

to be his essential duty to record honestly the whole truth. How far he conformed to this ideal is a matter of opinion. Elliot has described him as 'an unfair narrator' on the ground that he omitted altogether, or slurred over, as of no consequence, some of the most important events, for fear of incurring the displeasure of his patron [5] Even Firishta blames Baranī for withholding the truth. This point is of some importance as it should induce us to attach greater importance to what he actually says in denunciation of a ruler.

As Baranī had easy access to the court, he had ample opportunity of knowing the accurate details. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that he 'is very sparing and inaccurate in his dates.' It is also quite clear that he has not always arranged the events in a chronological order. "He is also wanting in method and arrangement."[6] In spite of all these defects the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Baranī still remains the most important source of the history of the period covered by it.

A second work with the same title was written by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf,[7] who was born in A D 1342 and was a great favourite of Fīrūz Shāh. It gives a full account of the long reign of this Sultān and throws much light on the culture of the period It was composed shortly after the invasion of Tīmūr, probably during the first decade of the fifteenth century A D The author wrote several other works, but they are all lost

Two other works concerning Fīrūz are of special importance The first is the *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*,[8] a small brochure of thirty-two pages composed by the Sultān himself The title of the book literally means 'victories of Fīrūz Shāh'; and it contains a brief summary of the *res gestae* of his reign. In spite of the smallness of its size, its importance is very great, inasmuch as it gives us a reliable picture of the mentality of a bigoted Muslim king, and acquaints us with his own religious attitude in a way such as nothing else could. It also helps us to interpret correctly the actions of other Muslim Sultāns of the same type

The second is an anonymous work entitled *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*.[9] It was written in A D 1370 during the reign of Fīrūz, and probably under his patronage and at his dictation. It is a bigger version of the other, and highly praises the activities of the monarch.

Another historical work, written in the form of an epic, is the *Futūh-us-Salātīn*,[10] by 'Isāmī about A D 1350 It gives an account of the long period from the rise of the Yaminis of Ghaznī to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq The author was a victim of the tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and was forced to leave Delhi for Daulatābād with his grandfather aged ninety, who died on the way

He settled at Daulatābād and composed his work under the patronage of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh, the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. He was thus the only historian of the Tughluq period who was above fear or favour of the rulers of the dynasty. On the other hand, his personal sufferings at the hands of Muhammad bin Tughluq may account partly for his severe denunciations of the Sultān.

Reference may be made to a fragment of four pages included in a manuscript of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* at the British Museum (Add. 25,785). M. Habib, who first drew attention to it, regarded it as a part of an autobiography of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and M. Husain, who accepted this view, translated a portion of the manuscript and regarded it as of very great importance for a proper understanding of the psychology and character of Sultān Muhammad. Since then the authenticity of this work has been questioned by many K A. Nizami discussed the question at length and concluded that the work was a fake. M. Habib also now concurs in this view. On the other hand, Qureshi regards the fragment as "part of a Persian version of the Sultān's application to the Egyptian Caliph for recognition". This view has also been endorsed by S. A. A. Rizvi. In any case, it is not safe to accept this fragment as a statement of the views of Muhammad bin Tughluq [11]

For the invasion of Tīmūr, which practically put an end to the rule of the Tughluqs, we have an authentic account in his autobiographical memoir known as *Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūrī*. The original, written in Turki, was translated into Persian by Abū Tālib Husaini and dedicated to the Emperor Shāh Jahān All doubts about its genuineness have now been removed and the work is universally regarded as an authentic account of the acts and views of the great ruler.[12]

The exploits of Tīmūr form the subject-matter of another work, *Zafar-nāma*, written only thirty years after his death by Sharaf-ud-dīn 'Alī Yazdī under the royal patronage of the grandson of the great conqueror It is a reproduction of the other work in an ornate style.[13]

The only contemporary chronicle of the Sayyid period is the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*,[14] composed by Yahyā bin Ahmad of Sirhind shortly after the death of Mubārak Shāh (A.D 1421-34), the second king of the dynasty. Yahyā was a Shiah, while nearly all the other historians of Delhi were Sunnis He was a favourite of the king and had ample opportunity of knowing the events of his reign. Dowson regards him as "a careful and apparently an honest chronicler" His work begins from the reign of Mu'izz-ud-dīn

Muhammad Ghūrī and ends with the accession of Sultān Muhammad, the third king of the Sayyid dynasty. The author himself says that "the facts (of his history) have been gathered from various histories and recorded up to the coronation of the powerful Fīrūz Shāh....and after that event whatever was witnessed (by the author) has been related "[15] Thus Yahyā relates, from his personal knowledge, the history of the period from the point where Baranī ends, and "supplements the meagre information of 'Afīf from about A D. 1380 onwards". He is the most original authority for the period A D 1400 to 1434, and is the only authentic source of information about the Sayyid period All the subsequent historians like Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, Badāūnī and Firishta have based their account of this period on this work.[16]

It is somewhat singular that no eminent historian flourished during the first period of Afghān rule under the Lodīs. There is, however, a work of quasi-historical character by Shaikh Rizqullāh, who had the poetical name Mushtāqī in Persian and Rājan in Hindi Only two manuscripts of this work are known, and both are in the British Museum One of these bears the title *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī*, and the other *Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī* The author was born in 897 A H (A D 1491-1492) and died in 989 A H. (A D 1581-1582), the work being composed nine years before his death It covers the whole period of Afghān rule, and undoubtedly contains many authentic details But the author did not follow any regular plan of writing history, and his book is rather a series of disjointed narratives mixed with anecdotes. "These deficiencies, however, do not detract from the value of his work as a contemporary source, particularly on a part of the entirely untraversed period of the Lodīs. It also remains the earliest extant account of the Sūrs which has been considerably borrowed by later writers A short survey of administrative organisation, works of public utility, and measures to protect agriculture and ensure welfare of citizens, given by the author while dealing with the reigns of Sikandar Lodī, Sher Shāh, and Islām Shāh, along with brief but impartial descriptions of their private and court behaviour, is worthy of the closest attention, as it preserves therein means of judging the character and talents of these monarchs "[17]

Our main sources of the history of the Lodī period are three historical works of the seventeenth century, which all begin from the reign of Buhlūl Lodī The first, the *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* or *Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afghāna*, composed by Ahmad Yādgār in A D 1601, ends with the death of Hīmū. The second, *Makhzan-i-Afghāna*, composed by Ni'matullah in A D 1612, ends with the reign of Ibrāhīm

Lodī. The third, *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, composed by 'Abdullāh during the reign of Jahāngīr (A D. 1605-1627), ends with the death of Dāūd Shāh (A.D. 1575). These three works thus deal exclusively with the Afghān rule in India.

The history of the entire period covered in this volume is also dealt with in later historical works like those of Firishta, Nizām-ud-dīn, and Badāūnī to which reference will be made in the next volume. There are also contemporary and non-contemporary sources of minor importance to which detailed reference need not be made.[18]

Reference may be made to a few works written by foreigners Badr-ud-dīn, a native of Tāshkent, who came to India and lived for some time in the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq, wrote a few Persian poems full of chronograms which are of great help in fixing the dates of many events.[19]

Shihāb-ud-dīn al'Umarī (A D 1301-1348), a native of Damascus, wrote a book called *Masālik-ul-Absār*, which throws interesting side-light on the contemporary Muslim civilization in India. Though the author never came to India, he gathered his information from the travellers to India.[20]

The history of most of the provinces under independent Sultāns was written by both Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta who consulted various authors, some of whose works are no longer available However, for some of the independent Sultanates provincial histories are also available The earliest history of Sind for this period seems to have been the *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī*, now lost, which was used by Nizām-ud-dīn, and probably by Abu-'l Fazl and Firishta as well. The other histories of Sind were written at a later date. These are the *Tārīkh-i-Sind* of Mīr Muhammad M'asūm written in A D 1600 for the instruction of the author's son; the *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī* of Mīr Tāhir Muhammad Nisyānī, written in A.D. 1654-55, which gives the history of the Arghūns in Sind, and the *Tuhfat-ul-Kirām* by 'Alī Sher Qāni, written in the later half of the 18th century, of which the third volume is the most comprehensive and consistent of all the histories of Sind.

For Kāshmir, Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt's *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi*, which gives an account of the Mīrzā's invasions and occupation of Kāshmir, is the only Muslim source for the history of that period, and is a most useful supplement to the *Rājataranginī*. The *Tārīkh-i-Kāshmīr* of Haidar Malik, a Kāshmirī nobleman in the service of Yūsuf Shāh of Kāshmir (A.D. 1578), gives the history of Kāshmir from the earliest times Though mainly based on the *Rājataranginī* there are some additions in the later period It was begun in A.D. 1618 and completed some time after A.D. 1620-21.

For Bengal we have the *Riyāz-us-Salātīn* of Ghulām Husain Salīm, which traces the history of the province from the invasion of Bakhtyār Khaljī to A.D. 1788, the date of the work. Of this work Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes: " ..this book, named the *Riyāz-us-Salātīn,* is meagre in facts, mostly incorrect in detail and dates, and vitiated by loose traditions, as its author had no knowledge of many of the standard Persian authorities who had treated of Bengal as a part of their general histories of India."[20a]

For the history of Gujarāt there are several works such as the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* of Sikandar bin Muhammad which gives the history of Gujarāt from the Muslim conquest to A.D. 1611, when the work was composed. Other Persian works are the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* by 'Alī Muhammad Khān (c A.D 1756-1761) and the *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt* by Mīr Abū Turāb Walī. There is also a valuable history of Gujarāt written in Arabic, the *Zafar-ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālih* of 'Abdullah Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī.

For the history of the Bahmanī dynasty of Gulbarga and Bīdar and of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar, we have the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* of Sayyid 'Alī Tabātabā The author arrived in India in c A D 1580 and entered first in the service of the Sultān of Golconda, and then that of Burhān Nizām Shāh II, from whom the history derives its title The author states in the preface that he commenced the work in 1000 A H (A D 1591-1592)—the title itself being a chronogram giving this date—and it is brought down to 1004 A H. (A D 1595-96) The author seems to have borrowed freely from the *Futūh-us-Salātīn* of 'Isāmī in describing the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan, the first Bahmanī Sultān. The *Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk* by Rafi-ud-dīn Shirāzī is a history of the 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijāpur and of contemporary Indian and Persian dynasties In the introductory chapter there is a brief account of the Bahmanī Dynasty which corroborates and supplements the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* on some points The work was begun in A D. 1608-9 and completed in 1611-12 The author was in the service of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II (A D. 1557-1579), and held the office of the Governor of Bijāpur.

In addition to the Muslim chronicles there are three Sanskrit poetical works dealing with the history of Kāshmir, a short account of which has been given above[21] They continue the historical narrative of Kalhana from the middle of the twelfth century down to the conquest of Kāshmir by the Mughul emperor Akbar Although inferior to Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in literary style, these works, particularly the earliest one written by Jonarāja, are of great importance, and help us both in correcting and supplementing the

statements in Muslim chronicles regarding Kāshmir.[22] It may be added that these three works have been treated by Muslim historians as the basis of their works.

The bardic chronicles of Rājasthān, written in the form of ballads, supply valuable information, though they contain much that is merely poetical effusion

We possess voluminous literary evidence for the history of Vijayanagara, to which reference will be made later.

A beautiful Sanskrit poem *Madhurāvijayam* (conquest of Madurā) describes the campaigns of Kumāra Kampana, son of Bukka I, the king of Vijayanagara, against the Muslim Sultān of Madurā. The poem was written by Kampana's wife Gaṅgādevī and, though written in epic style, contains useful historical information. Another historical work relating to Vijayanagara is the *Achyuta-rāyābhyudaya* by Rājanātha It describes the events in the reign of Achyuta Rāya, the half-brother and successor of Kṛishnadeva Rāya

II. ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS

In addition to the historical chronicles, we have a very valuable source of information in the accounts left by foreign travellers who visited India during this period. The most important of them was Ibn Batūtah, who wrote a detailed account of his travels (*Rehla*).[23] Batūtah was his family name, his personal name being Abū 'Abdullah Muhammad. He was born at Tangier in A.D. 1304 and is said to have died at Fez at the age of seventy-four. In A. D. 1325 he left his home and, passing through various countries in Africa and West Asia, crossed the Sindhu in A.D. 1333. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to give a detailed account of his travels which took him as far as Indonesia and China. Suffice it to say that out of a total of more than 77,000 miles, he covered more than 14,000 miles in the course of his travels through India, Maldives and Ceylon He stayed in India for about fourteen years (A.D 1333 47) of which about eight years were spent at Delhi (A D. 1334-42) where he was appointed *qāzī* by Muhammad bin Tughluq, and assigned the office of hospice administrator (A.D 1334). He enjoyed high favours of the emperor at first, but later incurred his displeasure and was kept under watch for some time[24] He was, however, restored to royal favour and was offered service, but he declined He was then asked to conduct a royal embassy to China, and he agreed to do so (A.D 1341). But it was not till A D 1346 that after visiting a number of places he left Bengal on a ship and sailed to China via Sumatra and Java

The *Rehla* (*Travels*) of Ibn Batūtah contains abundant information not only on the momentous events of the period, but also on the judicial, political and military institutions, and social and economic conditions of India It also throws interesting light on a variety of topics such as the postal system and roads, traffic and secret intelligence, men and ideas of the age, agricultural products, court ceremonies, trade and shipping, music, etc.

As a contemporary account of a widely travelled and experienced man of wisdom who had ample opportunity of knowing the truth, the *Rehla* of Ibn Batūtah occupies a very important place among the sources of information for the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. His account is invaluable as it enables us to form a fair estimate of the character and achievements of this emperor, who was one of the most enigmatic personalities that ever ruled over a vast kingdom. There is no reason to doubt the general veracity of his accounts, and being a foreigner, he was free from the difficulties and embarrassments of a court-chronicler and personal predilections of an Indian historian for the contemporary ruler or his family.

We get a brief account of India in the fourteenth century in the *Subh-ul-A'shā* of al-Qalqashandī. He had, however, never visited India, but based his work on those of former travellers and geographers 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, the Persian Ambassador to the court of the Zamorin of Calicut (A D 1442), visited Vijayanagara and wrote a detailed account of the society and administration of the kingdom.

We also possess the accounts of some European travellers who visited India during the period under review. The Franciscan friar, John of Monte Corvino, and Marco Polo visited India, respectively on their way to and back from China, during the last decade of the thirteenth century. Friar Odoric of Pordenone arrived in India about A D. 1321, and Friar Jordanus, probably a little before him. They were followed shortly afterwards by the Florentine monk John of Marignolli. But the most important, from our point of view, was Nicolo Conti, an Italian, who visited Vijayanagara about A.D 1420. He gave a detailed account of this kingdom to a Papal Secretary who wrote it in Latin Although this original version is lost, we have got its translation in Portuguese, and an Italian version of the latter.

Reference may also be made to the famous Portuguese chronicle, *The Commentaries of the Great Alfonso D'Alboquerque*, which was compiled by Albuquerque's natural son, Braz d'Albuquerque, from the original letters and despatches sent by his father to King Manoel

of Portugal, some of which throw light on the relation between the Portuguese and the Sultān of Gujarāt.

Among other European writers may be mentioned Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian trader, who visited the Bahmanī kingdom (c. A.D. 1470), Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna in Italy (A.D 1502-6), and the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa (A.D. 1500-1516) and Domingos Paes (c. A.D 1500-2).[25]

III. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

The epigraphic and numismatic sources, though not as important and valuable as for the pre-Muslim period of Indian History, are still of great help in fixing the chronology of events, correcting the list of rulers and their dates as given in the chronicles, and determining the approximate limits of a kingdom. In particular, the inscriptions of the Hindu rulers of Orissa, the Deccan, and South India contain much valuable information that throws an altogether new light on the history of these regions. They demonstrate that the Muslim chronicles, mentioned above, were written mostly from the point of view of Muslim rulers, and generally ignored the political activities of the Hindus, who lived outside their dominions

The epigraphs have been published mostly in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, Epigraphia Carnatica*, *Epigraphia Indica*, and other antiquarian journals [26]

The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi by Edward Thomas deals comprehensively with the coins of the period, and is regarded as a standard work on the subject This has been supplemented by the catalogues of coins in different Museums to which full reference will be made in the Bibliography The following observations by Lane Poole may be regarded as a correct estimate of the importance of coins as a source of the history of this period "As a rule we may look upon Muhammadan coins as the surest foundations for an exact history of the dynasties by which they were issued. The coins of a Muslim ruler generally go far to establish those outward data in regard to his reign which oriental historians too often neglect or mis-state. The year of accession, the extent of his dominion, his relations with the neighbouring powers and with the spiritual chief of his religion are all facts for which we may look with confidence to his coins "[27] The pagodas of Vijayanagara kings and the coins of the Sultāns of Madurā and Bahmanī kingdom are also found in large quantities. While the last two follow the models of the Delhi Sultanate, the legends of the first were at first written in either Kannaḍa or Nāgarī and, later, exclusively in Nāgarī script.

As regards the monuments of the period, of which a large number is happily still in a fair state of preservation, it is hardly necessary to say much here. They will be treated in detail in the chapter on art.

1 For the life and writings of Amīr Khusrav cf *Life And Works of Amīr Khusrav* by Dr W Mirza, and also *HIED*, III 523-67.
2 A very good summary of this work is given in the Persian text published by Islamic Research Association pp XXVII-XXXVIII
3 Translated in *HIED*, III 93-268, and also in *JPASB*, 1870, pp 43 ff For a critical account see *MTMH*, 248-50
4 *HIED*, III, 93.
5 Ibid, 95. For a more favourable estimate of Baranī as a historian, see *PIHC*, VII, 276.
6 *HIED*, III 96
7 Ibid, 269-373
8 Ibid, 374-88 It was edited by N B Roy (*JRASBL*, VII. 61) and translated by him (*Is C*, XV 449). It was used by Firishta, and Nizām-ud-dīn refers to it as one of his authorities.
9 *MTMH*, 255
10 The date of the composition is given as A D 1349 (*MTMH*, 253) and 1358-9 (Sastri, *History of South India*, 24) both of which seem to be wrong According to Rizvi, 'Isāmī finished writing his book in 751 A H (A D 1350-1351) (S A A Rizvi *Ādi Turk Kālin Bharat* Aligarh, 1956, p 299)
11 M Habib *The Intermediate College Magazine* Aligarh, 1930, 1 MTMH, xi, 172, 251, K A Nizami, *Studies In Medieval Indian History* (Aligarh, 1956), pp 76 ff, S A A Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kālin Bhārat* Appendix A, 1
12 *HIED*, III 389-477
13 *Ibid* 478 522
14 Translated by K K Basu (G O S, LXIII)
15 Ibid 4
16 Ibid, Foreword by Jadunath Sarkar, p v
17 Quoted from an unpublished paper of Dr Hameedud Din read at the Asian History Conference in London (1956) on which the account of this work is based
18 For these works see bibliography Also cf *MTMH*, 248-58
19 *MTMH*, 251
20 Ibid, S A A Rizvi *Tughluq Kalin Bhārat*, I, p *dha*
20a *HBS*, 501
21 Vol I 51
22 BV XVI 1
23 Translated by M Husain (G O S CXXII). The account that follows is based on this work Dr Husain spells the name as Ibn Battūta, but the simpler spelling adopted in *CHI*, namely, Ibn Batūtah has been followed in this volume
24 The statement of Dr. Husain that Ibn Batūtah was thrown into prison (*MTMH*, 250) is not borne out by his own translation of the *Rehla*
25 For a detailed account of these travellers see *Foreign Notices of South India* by K A N Sastri.
26 A collection of all inscriptions, published in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1907 1938) chronologically arranged with summaries, is given by V S Bendrey in *A Study of Muslim Inscriptions* (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944)
27 Lane Poole *Catalogue of Indian Coins In The British Museum The Sultans of Delhi* Introduction, vii

CHAPTER II

THE KHALJĪ DYNASTY

I. JALĀL-UD-DĪN FĪRŪZ SHĀH (A.D. 1290-96)

The accession of Malik Fīrūz on the throne of Delhi in June 1290[1] as Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh caused so much resentment among the people of Delhi, that for about a year he thought it prudent to remain at Kīlūgharī. The people had become accustomed to the rule of the Ilbarī Turks for about eighty years and saw in Fīrūz Shāh an Afghān usurper who had put an end to the Turkish rule. In reality, the Khaljīs were not Afghāns as they were erroneously believed to be, but Turks who had been settled for a long time in the region of Afghānistān called Khalj, lying on either side of the Helmand, and had adopted Afghān manners and customs. They had migrated to Hindusthān in the wake of the Ghaznavid and the Ghūrid invasions as well as the Mongol pressure in Central Asia and Afghānistān Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz made Kīlūgharī his capital, completed the unfinished palace and gardens of Kaiqubād, and instructed his courtiers and followers to build their houses around the palace Thus Kīlūgharī soon became a beautiful suburb of Delhi humming with life.

The Khaljī revolution put an end to the supremacy of the Ilbarī Turks. Fīrūz, of course, did not exclude them from office, but he appointed his own relations to positions of trust. Malik Chhajjū, nephew of Balban and the only survivor of the late royal family, was allowed to retain the fief of Karā-Mānikpur The office of chief minister (*wazīr*) was conferred on Khvāja Khatīr, who had held it under Balban and Kaiqubād. Fakhr-ud-dīn, the *kotwāl* of Delhi, continued to hold his position The king's eldest son obtained the title of Khān Khānān; the second, Arkalī Khān, and the third, Qadr Khān. His younger brother was ennobled as Yaghrush Khān and appointed army minister (*'ārız-i-mumālik*) His nephews, 'Alā-ud-dīn and Almās Beg, obtained important posts in the royal household, while his relation, the witty but bluntly frank Malik Ahmad Chap, was appointed deputy master of the ceremonies

Never was a ruler a greater misfit in his time than the first Khaljī king of Delhi. A pious and God-fearing Muslim, Fīrūz was an old man of seventy when he came to the throne His innate good nature, combined with weakness born of old age, made him unduly kind and generous, and deprived him of those manly quali-

ties which are necessary for kingship.[2] The valiant governor of Sāmāna, who had ably repelled the series of Mongol invasions, was very different from the Khaljī king who would raise the siege of Ranthambhor, considering ten such forts not worth a single hair of a Muslim. One could appreciate the man in Fīrūz, when he dismounted from his horse and stood with tears in his eyes before the Red Palace of Balban as the melancholy thought arose in his mind how often he had stood in awe before the same throne, but his Khaljī followers could see in it nothing but sentimental rubbish attempting to cover his infirmity.

Malik Chhajjū was the first to take advantage of Fīrūz Shāh's reckless leniency, for as a Balbanite he could press his claim to the throne of Delhi and count on the support of its populace. Joined by Amīr 'Alī, the *sar-jāndār*, governor of Awadh and other old adherents of Balban, Malik Chhajjū, just a few months after the accession of Fīrūz, set up independent authority at Karā and marched towards Delhi with a large force. He was, however, defeated near Badāūn and took to flight. Being hotly pursued, he was captured along with his lieutenants, and was brought before the King at Badāūn in fetters Fīrūz not only released them, but entertained them and even expressed his appreciation of their loyalty to their former sovereign To Malik Ahmad Chap's grave warning that such conduct on the part of a sovereign was unseemly and injudicious, tending to encourage rebellion, the old King replied that he would rather renounce the throne than shed the blood of Muslims Malik Chhajjū's fief of Karā was given to the King's nephew and son-in-law, 'Alā-ud-dīn, for his gallant participation in the campaign

Fīrūz Shāh's lenient and mild policy fostered disloyal ambition among the nobles who interpreted it as the result of his weakness They were confirmed in their opinion by the King's treatment of the *thags*, who were a perpetual menace in the environs of Delhi A thousand of these professed robbers and murderers were captured, but the King merely sent them to Bengal where they had full freedom to carry on their criminal activities In a drinking party some of the nobles even made the proposal of killing Fīrūz and offering the throne to Tāj-ud-dīn Kūchī, who was a prominent nobleman and a member of the famous 'Forty'. When Fīrūz received this report, he sent for the conspirators and challenged them in an open duel, but his indignation was easily calmed down by the flattering words of one of them Fīrūz pardoned them all, though they were dismissed from the court for a year with warning

The proverbial leniency of Fīrūz, however, failed on one occasion. Sīdī Maulā, a saint who had migrated from Persia, was a

disciple of Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajūdhan and had settled at Delhi early in the reign of Balban. From the conflicting accounts in the chronicles, it is difficult to say whether he was really a saint or a charlatan He offered prayers but never visited a mosque. He practised strict austerity, employed no maid or slave in his household, and accepted no offering, but maintained a hospice where a large number of people were sumptuously fed every day Some believed that he possessed the knowledge of alchemy and magic, while some suspected that he was a pensioner of the *thags*, but most probably he was financed by Khān Khānān, the King's eldest son. In spite of the warning of his preceptor, Sidī Maulā associated himself with politics and soon became the favourite of Khān Khānān, and in consequence the enemy of Arkalī Khān, the second son of Fīrūz. Indeed, his hospice became the rendezvous of the malcontents among the old Turkish nobility who could not reconcile themselves to the Khaljī regime Sidī Maulā became a power and could count on some 10,000 men as his followers and no wonder that his hospice with its regular nocturnal gatherings soon became the centre of political intrigue. There was a conspiracy to assassinate Fīrūz on the occasion of Friday prayer, proclaim Sidī Maulā as the Caliph, and marry him to a daughter of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd The plot, however, leaked out on account of the betrayal of one of the members, and the conspirators were arrested in time. They did not confess the guilt; custom did not sanction torture, and the juries would not sanction ordeal by fire The King transferred Jalāl Kāshānī, one of the ring-leaders, to Badāūn, punished some and exiled others, and asked his courtiers to avenge him on Sidī Maulā As soon as the saint was brought captive to the royal presence, he was slashed with a razor and stabbed with a packing needle by a man belonging to a hostile sect, and then trampled to death under the feet of an elephant by order of Arkalī Khān (1291) Sidī Maulā's death, according to Baranī, was followed immediately by a dust storm that darkened the day and shortly afterwards drought and famine took a heavy toll of human lives All this was interpreted by the historian Baranī and the pious orthodox section as expressions of heaven's wrath for murder of the saint The Sidī Maulā affair may be regarded as the last attempt of the Ilbarī party to recover its lost ground. It was not possibly altogether accidental that Khān Khānān, who was the chief disciple of Sidī Maulā, died soon after, and Arkalī Khān became heir apparent

Shortly after, Fīrūz led an expedition to Ranthambhor, leaving Arkalī Khān as regent at the capital. On the way the troops captured Jhāin, and the King, though he appreciated the art and archi-

tecture of its temples, did not fail to show his iconoclastic zeal by ordering their destruction and despatching the fragments of their idols to Delhi, to be thrown near the gates of the Jāmi‘ mosque to be trodden upon by all. The Rāṇā of Ranthambhor shut himself up in the fort, and Fīrūz decided not to besiege it. When Ahmad Chap protested against it, he remarked that he did not consider ten such forts worth a single hair of a Muslim, and returned to Delhi on June 3, 1291.

In A D. 1292, a vast horde of Mongols, estimated to be between 100,000 and 150,000, invaded India under the command of a grandson of Hulāgū and penetrated as far as Sunām. Fīrūz, who had long served as the warden of the marches, met the Mongol advance guard and defeated it, but afraid to face the main force of the invaders, made peace with them. Ulghū, a descendant of Chingīz Khān, accepted Islām with 4,000 followers. They were settled in the suburbs of Delhi and came to be known as the 'New Muslims'. Towards the end of the year, Fīrūz took Mandor[3] and made a second raid into Jhāīn.

Meanwhile the centre of political gravity was shifting from the old King to his ambitious nephew, 'Alā-ud-dīn, the governor of Karā, whose personal ambition was incited by the disaffected nobles who were behind Malik Chhajjū. They suggested to him the possibility of a successful coup with proper finance, the lack of which was the cause of Chhajjū's failure 'Alā-ud-dīn's unhappy relations with his wife, the daughter of Fīrūz, also prompted him to undertake a profitable, though perilous, undertaking with a view to taming her who was a veritable shrew. Towards the end of 1292, 'Alā-ud-dīn obtained permission of the King, who had just captured Mandor, for a raid into Bhilsa. After a surprise attack on it, 'Alā-ud-dīn returned to Delhi with an enormous booty among which were some metal idols which were laid down before the Badāūn gate to be trampled by the faithful He was rewarded by the King with the addition of Awadh to his governorship of Karā Emboldened by royal favour and the steadily waning reputation of Fīrūz, he sought and obtained the King's permission for a raid into Chanderī and remission of the revenues of Karā and Awadh to enable him to raise a fresh army for the purpose 'Alā-ud-dīn set out on February 26, 1296,[4] with an army of 3,000 or 4,000 horse and 2,000 infantry, ostensibly for Chanderi but in reality for Devagiri (Deogīr, modern Daulatābād), about whose fabulous wealth he had heard during his Bhilsa campaign. Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk, uncle of the historian Baranī, was left at Karā as his deputy with instruc-

tion to send false reports to Delhi with a view to allaying the King's suspicion about his movements. Passing through Chanderi and Bhilsa, he marched straight to Ellichpur, the northernmost outpost of the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri, where he halted for two days and posed himself as a disaffected nobleman of the Delhi court seeking service under the Rājā of Rājahmundry. At the pass of Lāsūra, some twelve miles west of Devagiri, 'Alā-ud-dīn met with stubborn resistance from Kānhā, governor of the place, who was greatly helped by two women, possibly rulers of principalities under him. Defeating them, 'Alā-ud-dīn appeared before Devagiri at an opportune moment, when, as he had already been informed by his scouts, the Yādava ruler Rāmachandra (or Rāmadeva) had sent away the main army to the frontier under his son, whose name is usually taken to be Śaṅkara but seems to be really Siṅghaṇa.[5] Rāmachandra was, therefore, forced to take shelter within the fort. 'Alā-ud-dīn thoroughly plundered the city and gave out that his army was but the advance guard of the main force of 20,000 horse that was following The Yādava king, suffering from lack of provisions and apprehending the enemy's strength, sued for peace at the end of a week. As 'Alā-ud-dīn was in a hurry to return from the unauthorised campaign, he accepted Rāmachandra's proposals and concluded a treaty. Meanwhile Singhaṇa, on learning of the Muslim invasion, had hastened towards the capital with a large army[5a] and, ignoring his father's remonstrance not to violate the treaty, attacked 'Alā-ud-dīn The Muslim troops were seized with panic and would possibly have lost the battle but for the timely arrival of the contingent of Nusrat Khān which 'Alā-ud-dīn had left in charge of the investment of the fort immediately after the renewal of hostilities This turned the tide, as it was mistaken by the Devagiri troops for the alleged 20,000 horse that was following, and they retreated in confusion. 'Alā-ud-dīn now pressed the siege and Rāmachandra was forced, due to the shortage of provisions, to sue for peace again. The Khaljī adventurer now dictated harder terms Besides the booty in horses and elephants, he obtained huge indemnity, promise of the annual revenue of Ellichpur and the hand of a daughter of Rāmachandra. Twenty-five days after his arrival at Devagiri, he left it, and with great speed returned to Karā on June 3, 1296, storming the fort of Asīrgarh on the way.

'Alā-ud-dīn's brilliant campaign in the Deccan, which was to him a *terra incognita* and several hundred miles away from his base, was an extraordinary exploit. It marked the first step in Islām's march into the South, and made him, the governor of Karā, the king of Delhi. Delhi was really conquered at Devagiri, for it was the

gold of the Deccan that paved the way for 'Alā-ud-dīn's accession to the throne.

During his absence 'Alā-ud-dīn's deputy at Karā had explained his silence to the Sultān as due to his constant exertions in subduing refractory kingdoms; and Fīrūz, who had great affection for his nephew, was easily convinced in spite of the warning of some of the nobles. Early in 1296 the King marched with his army to Gwalior and it was there that he first learnt of his nephew's secret venture into the Deccan and of his return with immense wealth. Fīrūz not only turned a deaf ear to the warning of Ahmad Chap, but admonished him for his advice to intercept 'Alā-ud-dīn at Chanderī. The King returned to Delhi and, shortly after, received a letter from his nephew at Karā, begging his pardon for undertaking an expedition without his leave and promising to return all the treasures he had obtained. 'Alā-ud-dīn followed this by sending another letter to his brother Almās Beg to the effect that he was repentant for his misconduct and was so panic-stricken that he would either leave for Bengal or commit suicide, and would not feel convinced of royal pardon unless the King would personally come to Karā and take him to Delhi Almās Beg showed his brother's letter to Fīrūz who, moved by affection and lure of the Deccan gold, soon left for Karā by river with his trusted nobles, while the army, one thousand horse, proceeded by land. 'Alā-ud-dīn, as he received the report of the King's departure from Delhi crossed the Gangā (Ganges) and moved to Mānikpur with his army and treasures When the boats of the King reached Karā, Almās Beg, who had arrived before, received him and persuaded him to meet his nephew alone, as any armed escort would frighten 'Alā-ud-dīn, while to the suspicious nobles of the King he explained the presence of 'Alā-ud-dīn's army in battle array as but the befitting arrangement to accord his uncle a royal reception in which the treasures would be delivered So, accompained by a small number of unarmed nobles, Fīrūz proceeded to the other bank 'as a father goes to his son's house'. 'Alā-ud-dīn received his uncle as he landed at Mānikpur and fell at his feet. The King raised him up, assured him of his never-failing affection and, lovingly taking his hand, led him towards his barge, when Muhammad Sālim at the preconcerted signal attacked Fīrūz with his sword Wounded, the old King ran towards the river crying. 'Ah, you wretch, 'Alā-ud-dīn! What have you done?', when another assassin Ikhtyār-ud-dīn Hūd, who had pursued him, threw him down and, cutting off his head, presented it to 'Alā-ud-dīn (July 20, 1296) The King's attendants were all put to death; but Ahmad Chap was able by difficult marches through rain to lead the army back to Delhi.

II. 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN KHALJĪ (A.D. 1296-1316)

1. *Consolidation of Power*

The severed head of Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh was yet dripping with blood, when the royal canopy was raised over the head of 'Alā-ud-dīn, and he was proclaimed king. The head of the murdered Sultān was placed on a spear and paraded through Karā and Mānikpur and then through Awadh. The new king rewarded his followers with titles and promotions Almās Beg obtained the title of Ulugh Khān, Hizabr-ud-dīn, Zafar Khan; Malik Sanjar, Alp Khān, and Malik Nusrat, Nusrat Khān; while others were promoted to higher ranks But Delhi was still in the hands of Fīrūz Shāh's men and 'Alā-ud-dīn hesitated to march on the capital during the rains against Arkalī Khān who was an able general The rashness of Fīrūz Shāh's widow, however, favoured his cause. She hastened to proclaim her youngest son Qadr Khān as king under the title Rukn-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm, setting aside the claim of the elder son Arkalī Khān who was at Multān. Consequently Arkalī Khān became completely alienated from his mother, and his partisans refused to recognize her nominee. These divisions in Fīrūz Shāh's family offered 'Alā-ud-dīn the opportunity to march on Delhi, and he advanced 'with iron in one hand and gold in the other'. The gold of Devagiri, which he now lavishly distributed, enabled him to gather a large army exceeding 60,000 horse and 60,000 foot During the height of the rainy season 'Ala-ud-dīn marched by way of Badāūn and Baran, where he was joined by some of the prominent Jalālī nobles who had been sent by the queen-mother to oppose him The infection spread to Delhi as well, where many of the nobility abandoned the cause of Rukn-ud-dīn in favour of his powerful cousin As 'Alā-ud-dīn approached Delhi, the boy king came out to offer resistance, but as the entire left wing of his army deserted to the enemy, he with his mother, led by the loyal Ahmad Chap, left for Multān. 'Alā-ud-dīn then made his triumphal entry into the capital on October 22, 1296,[6] and took up his residence in the Red Palace of Balban, where he was formally enthroned By lavish distribution of wealth he gained, rather purchased, the loyalty of all sections of people.

'Alā-ud-dīn lost no time in sending Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān to Multān against his cousins, the sons of the late king At the head of a force between 30,000 and 40,000 they besieged Multān and compelled Arkalī Khān and Rukn-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm to surrender They were taken captive, and near Hānsī they, with their brother-in-law Ulghū Khān and Ahmad Chap, were blinded by the express order

of 'Alā-ud-dīn. Later on, the two brothers were put to death, while their mother was kept under close custody at Delhi.

Nusrat Khān was now appointed minister (*wazīr*), but as he became unpopular he was transferred to Karā, while his lieutenant at Karā, 'Alā-ul-mulk, was appointed to the position of *kotwāl* of Delhi. Shortly after 'Ālā-ud-dīn's accession, a horde of 100,000 Mongols led by Kadar invaded the Punjab and advanced as far as the environs of Lahore. Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān defeated them near Jalandhar and drove them back with great slaughter (February 7, 1298).

The victory enhanced the prestige of 'Ālā-ud-dīn, who now meted drastic punishments to those nobles, whose loyalty he had recently purchased by bribes, as he considered them too fickle Some were put to death; some were blinded; some imprisoned for life, and the property of all was confiscated. Thus the master traitor punished all those who were guilty of infidelity

2. *Early Campaigns*

In the latter half of 1298,[7] 'Alā-ud-dīn sent an expedition under Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān to Gujarāt whose wealth and flourishing ports attracted his attention Ulugh Khān invaded Jaisalmer during his march and, after he joined Nusrat Khān, the two generals made an unsuccessful raid on Chitor. They invaded Gujarāt and took its capital Anhilwāra The Vāghelā king Karna (Rāi Karan of the Muslim chronicles) offered some resistance near Ahmadābad but being defeated by Ulugh Khān, took to flight His queen Kamalā Devi and his treasures, however, fell into the hands of the invaders Gujarāti sources, including Merutunga's *Vichāraśreṇī*, a contemporary work, ascribe 'Alā-u-dīn's attack and Muslim success to the betrayal of Karna's minister Mādhava There may be some truth in the story, though we cannot be quite definite about it The Muslim generals advanced as far as Surat and then marched into Saurāshṭra, where they captured the city of Somanātha The famous temple of Somanātha was plundered, and its idol, which had been set up after its sack by Mahmūd of Ghaznī, was sent to Delhi, where it was laid down for the faithful to tread upon. Nusrat Khān plundered the rich port of Cambay and obtained an immense booty He also secured there the handsome young Hindu slave named Kāfūr who was known as Hazārdīnarī as his master had originally bought him for one thousand *dīnārs* According to Wassāf the invaders thoroughly sacked the country and ruthlessly slaughtered its people

After establishing Muslim authority in Gujarāt, the victorious generals set out for the capital, but on the way troubles broke out

near Jālor over the distribution of the plunder The soldiers were subjected to brutal torture to extort confession, and they, mostly 'New Muslims', revolted and killed Nusrat Khān's brother and a nephew of the King. Nusrat Khān and Ulugh Khān were, however, equal to the occasion They rallied the loyal soldiers by beat of drums, defeated the rebels and pursued them with great slaughter. The chief conspirators escaped to the court of the Hindu chieftains, but 'Alā-ud-dīn punished them by imprisoning their wives and children. Even this did not ally the wrath of Nusrat Khān, who delivered the wives of his brother's murderers to the scavengers of Delhi; while their children were cut to pieces in their mothers' presence. This wanton brutality is condemned with righteous indignation by the contemporary chronicler Baranī

In the same year that he sent Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān to conquer Gujarāt, 'Alā-ud-dīn had to despatch Zafar Khān against the Mongols, who had invaded India under Saldī and captured Sehwān (Siwastān?). Zafar Khān invested the fortress and, having recovered it, returned to Delhi with a large number of prisoners including Saldī and his brother This easy and brilliant achievement of Zafar Khān made him a hero, but bred jealous apprehension of the King as well as Ulugh Khān, whose victories in Multān and Gujarāt he had eclipsed.

'Alā-ud-dīn's ambition now knew no bounds He conceived the idea of founding a new religion and imagined that like the Prophet of Islām who had four companions, namely Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān and 'Alī, he had four valiant and faithful generals: Ulugh Khān, Zafar Khān, Nusrat Khān and Alp Khān. He dreamed of world conquest and assumed the title of Alexander the Second (Sikandar Sānī) on his coins as well as in the public prayers. Although his courtiers realized the absurdity of his extravagant plans, none dared speak out the truth. It was the *kotwāl* of Delhi, 'Alā-ul-Mulk, who, on being consulted. at great personal risk, correctly advised the King by pointing out that religion sprang from divine inspiration and not from human intellect and wisdom: it was the function of prophets, not of kings; and that world conquest would be inexpedient, when there were so many kingdoms in India which remained unconquered, and while his kingdom was facing the great menace of Mongol invasions 'Alā-ul-Mulk's homily opened the eyes of 'Alā-ud-dīn who not only confessed his errors, but amply rewarded the *kotwāl* and assured him that he would act accordingly.

The soundness of the *kotwāl's* advice was soon confirmed by a serious Mongol invasion of India towards the end of 1299. A vast horde of 200,000 Mongols under Qutlugh Khvāja, a descendant of

Chingīz Khān, crossed the Sindhu and marched to the vicinity of Delhi to invest the city and conquer the country. People from the surrounding districts flocked to the capital in panic and crowded its streets, markets and mosques The situation became grave, as the enemy blockaded the capital and threatened it with starvation. 'Alā-ud-dīn marched to Kīlī, north of the capital, and attacked the Mongols. Though 'Alā-ud-dīn repulsed the enemy's attack on the centre, it was Zafar Khān who took the offensive; he charged the Mongol left vehemently and drove them back with terrible slaughter, till he was surrounded and outnumbered by the enemy. He lost his life fighting to the end, as he received no reinforcement either from Ulugh Khān who commanded the left wing or from the King, both of whom were jealous of the hero Zafar Khān's valour struck terror into the enemy's heart and the Mongols beat a hasty retreat the same night under the cover of darkness For 'Alā-ud-dīn it was a double victory the defeat of the powerful enemy and the death of a too powerful servant.

The strong fortress of Ranthambhor, which had baffled Jalāl-ud-dīn, now attracted the attention of his ambitious nephew for two reasons: one was its strategical importance as one of the strongest fortresses of Hindusthān and the other, the asylum given to the Mongol rebels by its ruler Hamīr Deva. 'Alā-ud-dīn despatched Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān against the Chauhān prince, and in due course the Khaljī troops besieged the fort of Ranthambhor Nusrat Khān was fatally struck by a missile thrown by the garrison The besiegers, disheartened by this incident, were surprised by the Rājputs and forced to retreat 'Alā-ud-dīn, therefore, marched in person towards Ranthambhor with a large army. On the way at Tilpat, about twelve miles east of Delhi, an attempt was made by his nephew Ākat Khān to murder him, but the plan failed

'Alā-ud-dīn now marched on to Ranthambhor, which Ulugh Khān had meanwhile besieged again. During the progress of the siege the King received report that his sister's sons, 'Umar Khān, governor of Badāūn, and Mangū Khān, governor of Awadh, had revolted They were, however, soon captured and sent to Ranthambhor, where their eyes were gouged out in the presence of the King, and their families and followers were put to death

Close on the heels of the abortive revolt of his nephews came the report of a serious insurrection at Delhi (May, 1301), led by an old officer named Hājī Maulā He killed the *kotwāl* of Delhi, plundered the treasury, and raised to the throne a Sayyid popularly known as Shāhinshāh, who was descended through his mother from Iltutmish 'Alā-ud-dīn, who received the report of this outbreak

three days later, despatched Malik Hamīd-ud-dīn, entitled Amīr-i-Kūh, to Delhi. Hamīd-ud-dīn was able to defeat the rebels and put Hājī Maulā as well as the puppet king to death.

'Alā-ud-dīn now carried on the siege of Ranthambhor with great vigour and infused fresh morale into his troops, who had begun to despair of success before the impregnable walls of the fort. Ultimately, shortage of provisions led to famine, which put the garrison to extreme hardship. Hamīr Deva sent his minister Ranmal to 'Alā-ud-dīn to negotiate peace, but he deserted to the invaders along with his followers. As there was no hope, women performed *jauhar*, Hamīr Deva with his Rājputs died fighting, and the fort capitulated on July 11, 1301. 'Alā-ud-dīn put to death Ranmal and other Rājputs who had joined him and had proved faithless to their master.

3. *New Regulations*

The series of revolts, referred to above, convinced 'Alā-ud-dīn that there was something amiss in the existing state of things. Already, while he was engaged in the siege of Ranthambhor, he had consulted the prominent counsellors, and after careful deliberations he had come to the conclusion that four factors were responsible for the disease in the body politic. Firstly, the King was negligent and ignorant of the condition of people. Secondly, drinking led to convivial gatherings, which were the most fruitful breeding grounds of conspiracies. Thirdly, intermarriage and frequent discourse among the nobles made them a compact body dangerous to the State. Fourthly, wealth gave the people both power and leisure for evil thoughts and rebellions.[9a] After returning to Delhi, 'Alā-ud-dīn took active remedial measures so that such rebellions might not recur in future. By a stroke of his pen he revoked all grants and pensions and resumed all lands, which were held as *milk* (proprietory rights), *inām* (gifts), *idrārāt* (pensions) and *waqf* (pious endowments), all of which were almost exclusively held by Muslims.[10] State officials were instructed to extort money from the people with extreme sternness and, according to the contemporary chronicler, the instructions were so faithfully carried out that, excepting the big nobles and the officers of the State or wealthy merchants and bankers, no one possessed gold. The result was that people had to remain so busy about earning their livelihood that they had hardly any time to think of rebellion. The second measure that 'Alā-ud-dīn adopted was to establish a network of espionage, by which he kept himself informed of the doings of the nobles and all occurrences of importance to the State. Even the activities of the people in the market place were reported to the king; and so effi-

cient was the intelligence service that the nobles did hardly dare to speak among themselves in public. The third measure of 'Alā-ud-dīn was prohibition. The sale and use of wine and intoxicating drugs were strictly forbidden at Delhi; and drastic punishment was meted out to those who were guilty of violation. 'Alā-ud-dīn himself set the example by abstaining from drink, breaking all wine vessels, and emptying his cellar into the streets. But in spite of the vigorous supervision of the Intelligence Department and the brutal punishments given to the offenders, Delhi could not be made absolutely dry. The King bowed to the reality and permitted the private manufacture and use of drink Drinking was, however, restrained as its public sale and use were prohibited, and convivial parties were stopped. 'Alā-ud-dīn's objective was political and not moral; and it was realized. The fourth measure of the King prohibited all sorts of gatherings in the houses of nobility and intermarriage between members of the nobles without his special leave

4 *Measures against the Hindus*

'Alā-ud-dīn next turned his attention to check the power and influence of the Hindu officials named *khūt*, *chaudhrī*, and *muqaddam* [11] The first term, otherwise unknown, probably signified the class later known as zamindār, while the other two denoted, respectively, the headman of *parganas* and villages These three classes of people were hereditary collectors of revenue on behalf of the King, and it was alleged that they appropriated to themselves as much of the State revenue as they could, evaded payment of taxes, and even ignored the Government As the chronicler describes, they 'ride upon fine horses, wear fine clothes, shoot with Persian bows, make war upon each other, and go out hunting . and hold drinking and convivial parties' 'Alā-ud-dīn sought to curb their powers by depriving them of all the special privileges which they enjoyed at the expense of the State The standard of the revenue-demand was raised to one-half of the gross produce The perquisites realized by the chiefs were abolished and all concessions withdrawn; they were to pay land-revenue at the full rate and their land was to be brought under assessment, and all discriminations were done away with between the chief and the humblest peasant (*khūt* and *balāhar*). The land-revenue was to be assessed by the method of measurement on the basis of standard yields Though the system did exist in India before the Muslim conquest, 'Alā-ud-dīn was the first Muslim ruler who introduced it, and it certainly marked an advance upon the sharing system, which was then prevalent. Besides, the King imposed two new taxes· a grazing-tax on all milch cattle and a house-tax As a result of these legislations,

the objectives of the king were realized, though it may be questioned if the measures were economically sound. The motives of 'Alā-ud-dīn were decidedly political. The high revenue-demand impoverished the peasants so much that the very source of the revenue-collectors for extra profit was dried up, while the assessment of their land reduced them to the condition of peasants; and besides the loss of perquisites they had now to pay additional taxes. In a sense the regulations were favourable to the peasants, as the revenue-collectors had also to bear the burden along with them. If the contemporary chronicler is to be believed, these regulations were strictly enforced The chiefs (*khūts*) and the headmen of *parganas* as well as villages—they were all Hindus—were so much impoverished that no gold or silver was to be found in the houses of the Hindus, they could not afford to procure horses or weapons; and their wives had to serve for wages in the houses of the Muslims. "The people", we are told by Baranī, "were brought to such a state of obedience that one revenue officer would string twelve *khūts*, *muqaddams* and *chaudhrīs* together by the neck and enforce payment by blows." Great credit was due to the deputy minister of finance, Sharaf Qāinī, and his officials for the efficient operation of these regulations; but they became so unpopular that no one would offer the hand of his daughter to a revenue officer [12]

Two points should be noticed in connection with these regulations They operated mainly in the central portion of the kingdom, and the victims of these measures were Hindus. It has been urged by some scholars[13] that "when 'Alā-ud-dīn had not spared the Muslims or hesitated to deprive them of peculiar privileges, there was no reason why he should have shown any favour to the Hindu officials". There are, however, good grounds to believe that in dealing with the Hindus, 'Alā-ud-dīn was also actuated by communal considerations. This clearly follows from the prefatory remarks with which Baranī introduces these regulations The following is a literal translation of the passage by Moreland. "Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn demanded from learned men rules and regulations, so that the Hindu should be ground down, and property and possessions, which are the cause of disaffection and rebellion, should not remain in his house".[14]

Moreland adds that the Hindu in the above passage refers to the upper classes and not the peasants,[15] but this interpretation is at least doubtful But whatever it may mean Baranī leaves no doubt that the measures were dictated as much by political considerations as by hatred against the Hindus. Even on general ground the attitude of the Sultān to the Hindus must be regarded as very different from that adopted towards the Muslims Some privileges

were taken away from the latter, but there was no question of deliberately reducing them, *as a class*, to a state of grinding poverty and abject humiliation, which was the lot of the Hindus as described above on the authority of Baranī.[16]

This view is fully confirmed by the statement of Qāzī Mughīs-ud-dīn of Bayāna whom the King consulted as to the legality of these measures and certain other questions Mughīs-ud-dīn whole-heartedly justified 'Alā-ud-dīn's rigorous policy towards the Hindus and pointed out that Islāmic law sanctioned sterner principle, so much so that, "if the revenue collector spits into a Hindu's mouth, the Hindu must open his mouth to receive it without hesitation."[16a] The Qāzī, however, declared mutilation, torture and other barbarous punishments prescribed by the king as un-Islāmic and illegal; while he condemned 'Alā-ud-dīn's appropriation of the wealth of Devagiri and his huge expenditure as unlawful, as the king had no unlimited rights upon the public treasury. "all the *krors* of money and valuables which you take from the treasury and bestow upon your women. you will have to answer for in the day of account". 'Alā-ud-dīn, who got excited during the discussion, spoke not a word to the Qāzī and retired As the Qāzī next day proceeded to the court from home. he was prepared for death, and bade his family farewell He received a pleasant shock, however, when he was kindly received and presented with a robe and a thousand *tankās* by the King, who appreciated his opinion. The King said that he did not know what was lawful and unlawful, but followed what he thought to be for the good of the State or suitable for the emergency. Here we have 'Alā-ud-dīn's conception of sovereignty, in which the State was to be independent of the *'ulamā'*. As Baranī says. 'When he became king. he came to the conclusion that policy and government are one thing. and the rules and decrees of law are another Royal commands belong to the king, legal decrees rest upon the judgment of *qāzīs* and *muftīs*.' He was gratified to learn that his treatment of the Hindus was in full accordance with Islāmic law and assured the Qāzī that he had given orders that the Hindus shall not be allowed to possess more than what is required for a bare subsistence

5 *Expedition to Warangal and Chitor*

Towards the end of 1302 or in the beginning of the next year, Alā-ud-dīn sent an expedition to Warangal under the command of Fakhr-ud-dīn Jauna[17] and Chhajjū, nephew of Nusrat Khān. The expedition which started from Karā took the eastern route through Bengal and Orissa The chroniclers are silent about the reason why this unusual route was preferred to the easier and shorter one

through Ellichpur. It is quite possible, as K. S. Lal suggests, that 'Alā-ud-dīn, who was consolidating his position in Northern India, sent the expedition both against Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz of Bengal who had assumed the title of *Sultān* and asserted independence, as well as against the kingdom of Telingāna. The account of the expedition, as given in the Muslim chronicles, is meagre. From the South Indian Hindu sources it appears that the Muslim army penetrated into the heart of Telingāna and reached the vicinity of Warangal The invaders were badly defeated by the Telingāna army and forced to beat a hasty retreat.[18] The inglorious end of the expedition possibly explains the indifference of the Muslim chroniclers.

On January 29, 1303, 'Alā-ud-dīn set out on his memorable campaign for the conquest of Chitor. On arrival at Chitor, he surrounded the town and raised his canopy on a hillock known as Chitorī. He then besieged the fort with a strong army, but received strong resistance from the Rājputs under Rānā Ratan Singh. No impression was made on the fortress by the attacks of catapults and ballistae, nor could it be scaled by ladders *(pāshīb)* The Rājputs offered heroic resistance for about seven months and then, after the women had perished in the flames of *jauhar*, the fort surrendered on August 26, 1303. Thirty thousand Rājputs were put to the sword. According to the Rājput sources Ratan Singh was among the slain on the battlefield,[19] while Muslim chroniclers, Amīr Khusrav and 'Isāmī, state that the Rānā of Chitor survived the battle and his life was spared by the king Ratan Singh, however, is heard of no more after the fall of Chitor. 'Alā-ud-dīn remained at Chitor for some days, and during this period many temples were destroyed and the population became victims of the fury of his soldiery. He returned to Delhi, after having appointed Khizr Khān to the government of Chitor The Khaljīs could not, however, long hold Chitor in the face of constant and stubborn resistance of the Rājputs. Khizr Khān abandoned it in 1311-12, and then Māladeva, brother of the chief of Jālor, ruled it as a tributary to the king of Delhi. But during his son's rule, Hamīr, Rānā of Sisodia took possession of Chitor and the whole of Mewār (about A.D. 1325)[20], as will be described later in Chapter XIII A

The episode of Padminī has received a great deal of prominence in connection with 'Alā-ud-dīn's conquest of Chitor. The bardic chronicles of Rājputāna represent the invasion of Chitor as solely due to the Sultān's desire to get possession of Padminī, the beautiful queen of Rānā Ratan Singh of Chitor, and they have woven round it a long tale of romance, heroism and treachery, too well-known to need any repetition. Later writers like, Abu-'l Fazl, Hājī-ud-Dabīr

Firishta, and Nensī have accepted the story, but many modern writers are inclined to reject it altogether. They point out that the episode of Padminī is not referred to by any contemporary writer, and is first mentioned by Malik Muhammad Jāisī in A D. 1540 in his *Padmāvat*, which is a romance rather than a historical work; further, the later writers, mentioned above, who reproduce the story with varying details, flourished long after the event and differ from one another on essential points On the other hand, Professor Habib believes that there is a covert allusion to the Padminī episode by Amīr Khusrav, a contemporary, in his *Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, when he mentions the Queen of Sheba (Saba'). It has also been argued that the invasion of Chitor, one of the strongest fortresses of Rājputāna, was the natural corollary to the expansionist policy of 'Alā-ud-dīn, and no Padminī was needed for his *casus belli*. As against this it should be remembered that 'Alā-ud-dīn's lust for a Hindu queen is proved by the known instances of Queen Kamalā Devī of Gujarāt and the daughter of King Rāmachandra of Devagiri It is to be remembered also, that Abu-'l Fazl definitely says that he gives the story of Padminī from "ancient chronicles", which cannot obviously refer to the *Padmāvat*, an almost contemporary work On the whole, it must be admitted that there is no inherent impossibility in the kernel of the story of Padminī devoid of all embellishments, and it should not be totally rejected off-hand as a myth But it is impossible, at the present state of our knowledge, to regard it definitely as a historical fact [21]

6 *Mongol Invasion and Market Regulations*

The Mongols were not slow to take advantage of 'Alā-ud-dīn's preoccupation in Chitor and the despatch of his army to a distant campaign in Telingāna A large Mongol horde of 120,000 horse under Targhī invaded India, made straight for Delhi, and blockaded the city 'Alā-ud-dīn, who had returned from Chitor barely a month ago, could not face the enemy in an open battle. He was forced to retire to the fort of Sīrī, and built defence lines by digging trenches, protected by wooden planks The Mongols plundered the environs of Delhi and raided the very streets of the city

Luckily for the King, the invaders were ignorant of the art of siege warfare, and they could not afford to remain for long away from Central Asia Consequently, to the great relief of 'Alā-ud-dīn, they suddenly retreated after a stay of two months

The invasion of 1303 awakened 'Alā-ud-dīn to the urgent necessity of frontier defence, a task which he had hitherto neglected The existing forts and outposts on the route of the invaders were repaired and new ones constructed; and all were strongly garrisoned

with well-equipped soldiers A large army was raised which was to be stationed at the capital and paid in cash from the royal treasury. The army was also reorganized. A descriptive roll of every soldier was kept in the war ministry and 'Alā-ud-dīn introduced the system of the branding of horses at the review, which stopped the malpractice of presenting the horse twice or replacing it by a worse one. The maintenance of a huge and efficient standing army, estimated by Wassāf at 475,000 horse, necessitated greater finance than the resources of the State would permit, but no increase in the revenue by fresh taxation was possible, as the people had already been taxed to the utmost. 'Alā-ud-dīn, therefore, could not afford to pay his soldiers high salaries He decided to solve this problem by lowering the price of all essential commodities, so that a soldier could maintain comfortable standard on a low salary. The army organizer thus turned to be 'a daring political economist'. He fixed the prices of all food grains, all varieties of cloth including silk, horses, cattle, slaves, bread, vegetables, shoes etc. in fact, all necessary articles. He controlled supplies as well as transport and compelled the merchants to bring grains, cloth, etc. to Delhi market and sell them at scheduled rates on profit sanctioned by the State All merchants, who traded with Delhi, were required to register themselves in the office of the inspector-general of the markets The peasants of the Doāb region and the country to a distance of two hundred miles from Delhi were ordered to sell grains to registered merchants at the fixed rate The merchants dealing in cloths had to procure manufactured goods from places beyond 'Alā-ud-dīn's control, where the prices were higher, but they had to sell them at Delhi at the fixed rate and the King allowed them a margin of profit; this must have caused a considerable loss to the treasury. To guard against scarcity and famine, grains and cloth were stocked in stores established for the purpose and rationing was introduced when necessity arose Hoarding and regrating were strictly forbidden These regulations were enforced by means of a highly organized intelligence service and by drastic punishment for evasions. Bold and original in conception, the new economic policy of 'Alā-ud-dīn evokes our admiration; but its defects and shortcomings should not be overlooked or minimised The control of price and rationing obtained in and near Delhi only, and the regulations adversely affected both the trade as well as agriculture The narrow margin allowed to the merchant offered him no incentive his wife and children had to be kept as hostages at the capital to force him to bring regular supplies to Delhi market. The peasant, who paid one-half of the produce in land-revenue, had to sell his grains at the scheduled rate. while he had to purchase his essential commodities at high prices

obtaining outside Delhi. The capital was fed, while the country at large was bled: so large a quantity of grain was stocked at Delhi that Ibn Batūtah, who arrived there in A.D. 1334, consumed the rice stored by 'Alā-ud-dīn. Only the army and, incidentally, the population of Delhi benefited by these regulations. Judged by the objective which inspired them, they proved highly successful. Opposed as they were to economic laws, they died with their author

7. *Mālwa and the Mongols*

Having thus adequately provided both for defence and offence, 'Alā-ud-dīn despatched in 1305 a select army of 10,000 troops under 'Ain-ul-Mulk, governor of Multān, for the subjugation of Mālwa 'Ain-ul-Mulk inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mālwa army led by Rājā Mahlak Deva and Koka Pradhāna,[22] who was slain. The Muslim army besieged the fort of Māndū. Treachery revealed a secret passage to the besiegers, who surprised the garrison at night and took possession of the fort (November 24, 1305). Mahlak Deva fled but was caught and slain. After the fall of Māndū, Ujjain, Dhār, and Chanderī were reduced and 'Ain-ul-Mulk was appointed the governor of Mālwa.

The same year 'Alā-ud-dīn had to face a formidable invasion of some 50,000 Mongols under 'Alī Beg, a descendant of Chingiz Khān, and Tartāq, who were joined by Targhī, the leader of the last campaign They crossed the Sindhu and, avoiding the frontier garrisons as well as Delhi, which was now strongly guarded, marched directly on the Doāb and Awadh, plundering, burning and massacring on the way The King sent Malik Nāyak,[23] master of the horse, with an army of some 40,000 horse against the enemy. Malik Nāyak met the Mongols near Amrohā, and in the battle that ensued the invaders were severely defeated (December 31, 1305) Many of the Mongols were put to the sword, and 'Alī Beg and Tartāq were captured and brought to Delhi along with a large number of prisoners Targhī had already been slain before the Mongols penetrated into the Doāb The prisoners were beheaded and their heads were built into the towers of the fort of Sīrī. The leaders met with the same fate, though according to another version, they were pardoned but put to death some time after

Next year (1306) the Mongols invaded India with a view to avenging the deaths of 'Alī Beg and Tartāq The invasion took the form of a two-pronged campaign: one army under Kabak crossed the Sindhu and, through Multān, advanced to the Rāvi, while the other, led by Iqbāl and Tāi Bū, marched southwards towards Nāgaur 'Alā-ud-dīn appointed Malik Nāib Kāfūr, assisted by Ghāzī Malik

Tughluq, to deal with the Mongols. Malik Nāib routed the forces of Kabak on the bank of the Rāvī, and captured him with a considerable number of Mongols, including women and children, who were all sent to Delhi. Malik Nāib then marched towards Nāgaur and suddenly fell upon the Mongol force under Iqbāl and Tāi Bū. They fled across the Sindhu, but were pursued and totally defeated, and, if *Firishta* is to be believed, only three or four thousand out of fifty or sixty thousand Mongols could escape. With this huge body of prisoners Malik Nāib made his triumphant return to the capital. The prisoners were trampled to death under the feet of elephants and their heads were built into a tower in front of the Badāūn gate, traces of which were still visible when Firishta completed his work early in the seventeenth century. Their women and children were sold as slaves at Delhi and other places of Hindusthān.[24]

The campaign under Kabak in A D. 1306 was the last Mongol invasion during 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign Duwā Khān, the Khān of Transoxiana (1274-1306), who had sent successive hordes of Mongol invaders to India, died towards the end of 1306 His death was followed by a period of confusion, and three Khans occupied the throne one after another within the brief space of three years This undoubtedly accounts for the cessation of the Mongol incursions after A D 1306. 'Alā-ud-dīn's warden of the marches at Dīpālpur, Ghāzī Malik, took full advantage of the internal troubles of the Mongols by harassing them and making annual raids into their frontiers as far as Kābul and Ghazni

8. *Expedition to Devagiri*

The relief from Mongol irruptions and the comparative peace established in the north enabled 'Alā-ud-dīn to turn to the south The gold of South India had raised him to the throne of Delhi and he sought to maintain it with the same. What he aspired to in the south was not annexation of new territory, but huge tribute from the Hindu kings with a mere acknowledgment of his overlordship This is evident from the instructions he gave to Malik Nāib, when he was sent on an expedition to Warangal

Rāmachandra of Devagiri had failed to pay tribute for several years. According to another version it was his son Singhana who had withheld the tribute, and Rāmachandra not only dissociated himself from his son's action, but informed the Sultān accordingly.[26] This might have been a diplomatic stroke on the part of the Yādava King to secure lenient treatment from 'Alā-ud-dīn, in case the Devagiri troops were defeated. In any event, non-payment of tribute was a just ground for invasion.

'Alā-ud-dīn appointed Malik Nāib Kāfūr to lead the expedition to Devagiri with Khvāja Hājī as second in command; 'Ain-ul-Mulk, governor of Mālwa, and Alp Khān, governor of Gujarāt, were to collaborate with him along with their forces (1307).[26] With this expedition its leader begins to play an important role in the affairs of the State, so much so that from now onwards till his death the history of the Sultanate of Delhi is in reality the biography of Malik Nāib Kāfūr.

Malik Nāib marched southwards, and being joined by 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Alp Khān, reached Devagiri without any opposition, and defeated the Yādava forces (March 1307). Malik Nāib sacked the city, took much valuable booty in elephants and treasures, and carried Rāmachandra with his family and relations to Delhi. Rāmachandra paid homage to 'Alā-ud-dīn, and was kindly received. After a stay of six months at Delhi, he was permitted to return to his capital with the title of Rāī-i-Rāyān and the addition of Navsārī to his kingdom. The generous treatment of the Yādava king was a master stroke of diplomacy. Not only Rāmachandra remained loyal to the Sultān, but rendered great service to his general Malik Nāib during his southern campaigns. Indeed, Devagiri served as the base for Khaljī military operations in the Deccan and the Far South.

This expedition to Devagiri is somewhat inextricably mixed up with the last phase of the Hindu rule in Gujarāt. The Vāghelā king Karna, after his defeat at the hands of Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān, mentioned above, seems to have recaptured Gujarāt, and a second expedition was necessary for the final conquest of Gujarāt.[27] The fate or subsequent history of Karna is not definitely known. But where history fails, romance often takes its place. So it has been the case with Karna. The famous poet Amīr Khusrav has immortalised the love of Devalā Devī, the daughter of Karna, and Khizr Khān, the son of 'Alā-ud-dīn, in a poetical work called the '*Ashīqa*, and woven a romantic story round this theme. This has since passed current as history, mainly through its acceptance by Firishta, it may be summed up as follows:—

The Vāghelā king Karṇa, after his flight from Gujarāt, found refuge in the court of King Rāmachandra of Devagiri, and ruled over a small principality in Baglāna, as his vassal. This formed an additional ground for sending the punitive expedition under Malik Nāib Kāfūr against Rāmachandra. When this expedition was being sent, Kamalā Devī, the ex-queen of Karṇa, and now a favourite wife of 'Alā-ud-dīn, requested the Sultān to take this opportunity of getting hold of her daughter Devalā Devī, who was an infant of four years when she left her and was now living with

her father. Accordingly Malik Nāib Kāfūr was directed to secure possession of Devalā Devī and send her to the court.

When Kāfūr crossed Mālwa he intimated to Karṇa the order of the Sultān. According to Khusrav, Karṇa readily agreed to do so, and was preparing to send his daughter to 'Alā-ud-dīn, when he suddenly took fright and fled away with her. But even Firishta could not swallow this, and so he gives a different account. According to his version, Kāfūr's demand for Devalā Devī was rejected by Karṇa and then hostilities were commenced against him. Kāfūr encamped for two months at Sultānpur, but could not produce any impression upon Karṇa. Thereupon Malik Nāib entrusted Alp Khān with the task of capturing the princess, and himself marched towards Devagiri. For two months Karṇa held against Alp Khān. Singhaṇa, the crown prince of Devagiri, had asked for the hand of Karṇa's daughter in marriage, but the Vāghlā king, out of his Rājput pride, had declined it, though he was then under the generous protection of Singhaṇa's father, but now in the face of grave Muslim peril he agreed. The princess was being escorted to Devagiri by Singhaṇa's brother, when accidentally she fell into the hands of a batch of Alap Khān's soldiers, who were out on sight-seeing near the Ellora caves. The precious victim was sent to Delhi by the lucky general, who had already inflicted a severe defeat on Karṇa and forced him to flee towards Devagiri.[28]

This is, in brief, the account handed down by ancient historians and generally accepted now as true. There are, however, good grounds to doubt the authenticity of the whole story, which is solely based on Khusrav's poetical work, the '*Ashīqa*. Several scholars have challenged its historical character[29] and we need not discuss the question in detail here. But a few important points may be noted. According to 'Isāmī, Karna was denied asylum by Rāmachandra of Devagiri, and had to go to Tiling. This, if true, takes away the whole basis of the story. Then, it is very difficult to believe that a Hindu queen would willingly bring over her daughter from her father's protection to share the life of shame, ignominy and disgrace which a cruel fate had thrust upon her. It is equally difficult to believe that Karṇa would, even for a moment, entertain such a proposal as stated by Khusrav, the originator of the whole story. It is not necessary to hold, with some of the critics, that Devalā Devī was a myth. She might have been a real person who fell into the hands of the Muslims like her mother. We may even believe that she was married to Khizr Khān. But the whole of the romantic episode of love between Khizr Khān and Devalā Devī seems to be a mere poetical fancy. If we are to believe in Firishta's statement, that she was only four years old when her mother was captured,

she could not have been a girl of more than fourteen or fifteen when Khizr Khān fell madly in love with her and she reciprocated it. The subsequent tragic history of Devalā Devī, as narrated by some authorities, also belongs to the domain of legends rather than sober history.[30]

9. *Expedition to Rājputāna*

The powerful chief of Siwāna, Sītal Deva, refused to submit to the authority of Delhi, and the Khaljī troops had been investing the fort for five or six years without any success. So, in 1308,[31] 'Alā-ud-dīn marched against Siwāna, and pressed the siege with greater vigour. For months the Rājputs bravely defended the fort against heavy attacks of catapults and other siege engines, but they were defeated by the Khaljī troops, who succeeded in escalading the fort. Sītal Deva was slain, while attempting flight to Jālor (November 11, 1308). The King returned to Delhi, after having appointed Kamāl-ud-dīn Gurg to the government of Siwāna. 'Alā-ud-dīn's military activities in Rājputāna were completed by the subjugation of Jālor, which lies some fifty miles south-east of Siwāna.[32] The conquest of Jālor did not prove to be an easy task as its ruler Kanhar Deva (Krishṇadeva) offered a strong resistance to the Muslims who besieged the fort, and inflicted reverses on them. It was not until the arrival of Kamāl-ud-dīn Gurg, whom the King despatched with fresh reinforcement, that the tide turned in favour of the besiegers. Kanhar Deva was killed in action and the fortress capitulated. With the fall of Jālor, 'Alā-ud-dīn's activities in Rājputāna came to an end, as the more prominent Rājput States had already been brought under the authority of Delhi. According to an inscription of A.D. 1301, Jodhpur had submitted to Delhi,[32a] though there is no mention of it in the chronicles. According to Tod, Būndī, Mandor and Tonk had been overrun by the Khaljī troops.[32b]

10. *Expedition to Warangal*

The success of the Devagiri campaign encouraged 'Alā-ud-dīn to send an expedition to Warangal, particularly as the failure of his early invasion of 1303 required the vindication of the prestige of his arms. On November 1, 1309, Malik Nāib marched from Delhi and towards the end of December reached Devagiri, whose king Rāmachandra offered him all sorts of help and "was as dutiful as any *raiyat* of Delhi." He even sent 'a force of Marhattas, both of horse and foot', in aid of the Muslim force.[33] Malik Nāib entered the kingdom of Telingāna by way of Basīrāgarh (Bairāgarh), and invested the fort of Sirbar (Sirpur). In spite of valiant resistance

the garrison could not resist the attack, as usual women and children perished in the flames of *jauhar*, while the men were killed in action. Malik Nāib left the fort in charge of the surviving brother of the commandant on promise of obedience to the King and hastened towards the capital. On reaching the vicinity of Warangal, he established himself on the hill of Hanumankonda, commanding the city, and besieged the fort on January 19, 1310. Pratāparudra, who was reputed to have an army of 900,000 archers[3a] and 20,000 horse, took necessary steps to defend the fort against the besiegers, whose number was a hundred thousand. The fort of Warangal was made of stone and surrounded by a strong earthen wall and two deep moats, one protecting the outer wall and the other the inner fort. A night attack of the Hindus upon the besiegers, early in the course of the siege, proved abortive, and could not affect their operations. After strenuous efforts they were able to fill up the moat and made a wide breach in the wall, and in the middle of February they carried the outer line of defence by storm. After crossing the second ditch, they besieged the inner fort of stone. Pratāparudra offered resistance for a considerable time. By adopting scorched earth policy he had laid waste the enemy's route and cut off their postal system, so that for a month and a half Delhi received no news of Malik Nāib. The garrison, however, was put to much hardship on account of overcrowding in the inner fort, and Pratāparudra opened negotiations for peace. He sent his own image in gold with a golden chain round the neck to symbolise his surrender and a treaty was concluded. He gave 100 elephants, 7,000 horses, and all his accumulated treasures, and promised to pay an annual tribute. Among the jewels delivered was one 'unparalleled in the whole world,' as Amīr Khusrav calls it, and this was possibly the Koh-i-Nūr or Bābur's diamond which, according to Khāfi Khan and other later chroniclers, Malik Kāfūr brought from the Deccan.[34] On March 20, 1310, Malik Nāib set out on his return journey with treasures too heavy for a thousand camels to bear, and on June 11 reached Delhi, where thirteen days later he was given a special reception by the King in honour of his splendid success.

11 *First Expedition to South India*

At Warangal Malik Nāib had heard of the wealth of the kingdom of the Far South. On November 19, 1310, he set out with a large army towards the kingdom of Ma'bar, which lay at the extreme south of the peninsula. Not the propagation of the true faith, as the Muslim chronicler states, but the greed of gold inspired the expedition. After a journey of about two months and a half through Kaithūn (Kanhūn in Rājputāna) and Khargān (Khargāno in Nimār

district) Malik Kāfūr reached Devagiri on February 4, 1311, where the army halted for some days. Rāmachandra once more rendered him all possible help and deputed Paraśurāma Deva, his officer on the southern frontier, to guide the Khaljī troops in their march on Dvārasamudra. For, apart from his loyalty to the Sultān, Rāmachandra had no love lost for the Hoysala king Ballāla III, who had repeatedly encroached upon his territory. On reaching Bāndrī (possibly Bandir in North Kanara district) on the Hoysala frontier, Malik Nāib sent scouts to gather information of the enemy. Ballāla III was absent with his army in Ma'bar, where a civil war between the two brothers Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya offered him an opportunity of recovering his ancestral possessions in the Tamil country. Malik Nāib, accordingly, made a rapid march with 10,000 chosen cavalry, and in twelve days appeared before Dvārasamudra (February 26, 1311) On learning of the Muslim invasion, Ballāla hurried back to his capital and, in the face of the grave peril, appealed for help to the very Pāṇḍya princes, whose territory he had just invaded Vīra Pāṇḍya responded and sent an army to his help. Ballāla, however, considering himself no match for the invaders, decided to follow in the footsteps of Rāmachandra and Pratāparudra, and, rejecting the counsel of his nobles and generals, sued for peace He agreed to pay an annual tribute and surrendered all his wealth, elephants and horses

Malik Nāib did not remain long in Dvārasamudra, but on March 11 left for Ma'bar, which was his main objective. The Pāṇḍya kingdom, known to Muslim writers as Ma'bar, extended from Quilon to Nellore, about three hundred leagues along the sea coast Malik Nāib requisitioned the services of Ballāla to guide his troops in the *terra incognita* After five days' strenuous march through difficult mountain route, the invaders reached the Ma'bar frontier. They crossed the passes of Talmalī and Tābar and marched towards Birdhūl, the headquarters of Vīra Pāndya [35] On account of the civil war between the two brothers, Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāndya, it was a house divided against itself when Malik Nāib appeared on the scene But the Pandya princes, unlike other kings, did not shut themselves in forts which might be easily captured They avoided open battle with the superior force of the invaders but frequently harassed the enemy, and thus made the entire country the theatre of military operations This strategy ultimately exhausted the invaders, and Malik Nāib failed to secure the submission of the Pāndya princes Vīra Pāṇḍya had left Bīrdhūl before it fell into Muslim hands, but about 20,000 Muslims in his service deserted to the invaders Malik Nāib's operations were, however, hampered by incessant rains, as the country was flooded In spite

of great hardship and opposition of the Hindus, Malik Nāib marched on towards Kundūr (Kannanūr) in pursuit of the fugitive king. On the way he seized a squad of 120 elephants carrying treasure, but when he took Kundūr, after a severe fight, he could not find Vīra Pāṇḍya, who had escaped to impenetrable forests. Malik Nāib was obliged, after a short march, to give up the pursuit of the elusive prince and arrived at Brahmastpuri (Barmatpurī of Amīr Khusrav, modern Chidambaram),[36] where the people were massacred, the golden temple was razed to the ground, and its foundations were dug up With rich plunder, including 250 elephants, he returned on April 2, 1311 to Bīrdhūl, where he sacked its temples

The temple of Śrīrangam and other temples in the vicinity of Kannanūr were also sacked by Malik Nāib He then made a sudden descent upon Madurā, the main capital of the Pāṇḍyas, and the seat of Sundara Pāṇḍya, but the Pāṇḍya prince had already fled with his treasures. Chagrined at finding nothing but two or three elephants, he set fire to the temple of Sokkanātha At this stage he suffered a reverse at the hands of Sundara's uncle, Vikrama Pāṇḍya, who had attacked him with a large force[37] Malik Nāib, however, managed to keep the vast booty he had captured, viz, 512 elephants, 5000 horses, and 500 maunds of jewels, and broke his camp on April 25, 1311

The Muslim historians generally pass over the defeats suffered by 'Alā-ud-dīn's army in the south, while Hindu sources refer to an unbroken series of Hindu victories over the Muslim troops There is, however, no doubt that Hindu resistance against the Muslim invaders was very vehement, and the progress of Muslim arms was not as easy as Amīr Khusrav and other Muslim chroniclers would have us believe

The question has been debated by scholars whether Malik Nāib retraced his steps from Madurā towards Delhi, or advanced further south and raided Rāmesvaram. Firishta refers to the building of a mosque by him at Sīt Band Rāmesar, which would obviously mean Setubandha Rāmeśvara or Rāmesvaram in the district of Madurā on the island of Pāmban; but this identification is negatived by Firishta himself as he locates it on the coast of the Sea of 'Umān (the Arabian Sea) in the vicinity of the port of Dvārasamudra Some recent scholars have, therefore, come to the conclusion that Malik Nāib did not advance beyond Madurā and raid Rāmesvaram But it has been overlooked that while Firishta locates Sīt Band Rāmesar on the coast of the Arabian Sea in his account of the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, he definitely places it in the farthest south six hundred *kuroh* or about twelve hundred miles from Vijaya-

nagara, in his account of the Bahmanī king Mujāhid Shāh, and further states that Karnātak is in length from north to south, from the Krishnā to Sīt Band Rāmesar, six hundred *kuroh*. He adds that Mujāhid Shāh visited Sīt Band Rāmesar and repaired there a mosque built by the officers of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. So Firishta is contradictory in his statement.[38] In view of the short duration of his stay in Dvārasamudra, Malik Nāib's raid into the western coast and building a mosque there during the invasion of 1311 appears to be highly improbable. Neither Baranī nor 'Isāmī refers to his raid of Rāmesvaram; nor is there any mention of it in the *Khazāin-ul-Futūh* But in a later work, called the *'Ashīqa'*, Amīr Khusrav hints at the invasion against Vīra Pāṇḍya up to the coast of Ceylon. A raid from Madurā to Rāmesvaram, which was not very far, was quite possible for the powerful invader, who was master of speed and had marched a long way from Delhi with admirable rapidity Even if Malik Nāib could not have found time to build a mosque there in 'Alā-ud-dīn's name, the possibility of a raid cannot be altogether ruled out Hājī-ud-Dabīr, the senior contemporary of Firishta, vaguely refers to this in an embellished form, when he speaks of Malik Nāib's march to Ceylon and demolishing a temple there However, in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to come to a more definite conclusion [39]

Judged by the major objective which inspired it, the Ma'bar campaign was a brilliant raid Malik Nāib sacked temples and obtained such a huge booty by draining the resources of the country as had never before been brought to Delhi. But though he burnt and destroyed temples, raided towns and cities, and harried the country, possibly as far as Rāmesvaram, he failed to secure the submission of the Pāndya princes The Ma'bar campaign was more spectacular than effective, it had no real significance in the history of Islām's expansion in the south, it was *par excellence* a predatory raid. Malik Nāib returned to Delhi after a journey of more than five months, and was received on October 19, 1311, with special honour by the King in a *durbār* held in the Palace of the Thousand Pillars at Sirī He had brought with him the son of his valued ally Ballāla III, who was kindly received by 'Alā-ud-dīn and sent back to his father

12 *Last days of 'Alā-ud-dīn*

The triumphant return of Malik Nāib Kāfūr from Ma'bar marks the climax of 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign But at the same time one could detect behind his grandiose success sure premonitions of his decline Arduous work, intemperate habits, and advanced years ruined his

health and contributed to the rapid deterioration of his character and abilities In early life he had taken the advice of able counsellors, but in old age he was surrounded by sycophants and flatterers and concentrated all power in his own hands He became an autocrat and his word was law. The coolness and discretion of his earlier days were replaced by a violent and suspicious temper. His failing health and declining abilities led to the weakening of his personal influence and consequent intrigue for power at the court This reacted unfavourably on the administration and the empire, which revealed positive symptoms of decline Ultimately, one man profited by these circumstances and made himself supreme He was Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī, Malik Nāib, the brilliant hero of the southern campaign.

The Mongols, who had accepted Islām and settled in the country, had caused not a little trouble in the early years of 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign. They were the mutineers in the army from Gujarāt and were the main props of Ākat Khān's rebellion They were discontented on a variety of grounds. They were not appointed to lucrative offices of the State, while the resumption of *jāgīr* lands and heavy taxation reduced them to poverty According to Firishta they were all dismissed by 'Alā-ud-dīn from service These malcontents bitterly resented their lot and hatched a plot to assassinate the King, as he was hawking in the vicinity of Delhi The plot was found out, 'Alā-ud-dīn in his fury ordered a massacre of the 'New Muslims' *en masse* on an appointed day, and delivered their wives and children as well as property to their executioners Some twenty to thirty thousand Mongols were put to death at his order, though the vast majority of them were quite innocent of the plot

Malik Nāib, the favourite and all-powerful lieutenant of the King, had his rivals in Khizr Khān's mother, Malika-i-Jahan, and her brother, Alp Khān, governor of Gujarāt The marriage of Khizr Khān, 'Alā-ud-dīn's eldest son, with the daughter of Alp Khān on February 2, 1312, cemented the alliance, and the King's declaration of Khizr Khān as the heir apparent the same year further increased their influence Meanwhile Pratāparudra of Warangal had sent twenty elephants and a letter to 'Alā-ud-dīn, asking him to appoint his agent at Devagiri, to whom he might pay the annual tribute At Devagiri the loyal Rāmachandra died in 1311 and was succeeded by Siṅghaṇa II who had always been unfriendly to the king of Delhi and asserted independence Malik Nāib, who found the atmosphere in the capital too hot for him on account of the predominance of his rivals, prayed to the King to send him to the Deccan with a view to collecting tribute from Warangal and reducing the obstinate Siṅghana to obedience

13. *Second Expedition to Devagiri*

Malik Nāib, accordingly, marched to Devagiri in 1313 and defeated Siṅghaṇa II in a severe battle. Siṅghaṇa was slain and Malik Nāib took possession of his kingdom. Henceforth the Yādava kingdom formed part of the Sultanate of Delhi From his headquarters at Devagiri, Malik Nāib carried raids into the territories of Telingāna and Dvārasamudra, and asserted the authority of the king of Delhi. It seems that Malik Nāib, on instructions from the King, either personally led or sent an expedition into Ma'bar with a view to restoring Sundara Pāṇḍya to his kingdom, as the latter, being worsted in the struggle for the throne, had gone to Delhi and sought 'Alā-ud-dīn's help Malik Nāib, however, could not subjugate the entire Yādava kingdom The kingdom of Kampilī,[40] comprising Bellary, Rāichur and Dhārwār, asserted its independence, and he led one indecisive campaign against it For about three years the great proconsul of the South sent tribute received from Warangal and Dvārasamudra, until in 1315 he was recalled by the King due to his serious illness

The absence of Malik Nāib in the Deccan led to the undisputed supremacy of Malika-i-Jahān and Alp Khān at the court. She now married her second son Shādī Khān to the second daughter of her brother, on which occasion Khizr Khān was allowed to marry Devalā Devī, daughter of Rājā Karna Meanwhile the health of the King rapidly declined He had been suffering from dropsy and consequent fever, and was sadly neglected by his son Khizr Khān and his mother, the well beloved wife of 'Alā-ud-dīn's early life. He had neglected the education of his sons who, being left free at an early age to do as they liked, took to drink and debauchery In utter helplessness he recalled his favourite lieutenant from the Deccan and acquainted him with his troubles (1315). The astute Malik Nāib availed himself of the opportunity for overthrowing the Alp Khān junta by poisoning the king's mind against Khizr Khān, his mother, and his father-in-law, but he failed to secure the King's sanction for killing Alp Khān as a necessary step towards his own safety However, the relentless Kāfūr and his follower Kamāl-ud-dīn Gurg murdered Alp Khan in cold blood The junta was broken and Malik Nāib became master of the situation Khizr Khān was removed from the capital he was first despatched to Amrohā and then as a prisoner to Gwalior; while his mother was imprisoned in the fort at Delhi These happenings at the capital reacted on the empire, and the army in Gujarāt revolted after the murder of Alp Khān. Kamāl-ud-dīn Gurg, who was despatched there, failed to quell the rebellion, and was himself killed by the rebels. Troubles

broke out in Chitor, where 'Alā-ud-dīn's protégé Māladeva was challenged by Hammīr, ruler of the Sisodiya branch. Devagiri asserted its independence under Harapāladeva, son-in-law of Rāmachandra. It was in the midst of these troubles that 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, the mighty king of Delhi, passed away on January 5, 1316.[40a]

It is difficult to analyse or pass a verdict on 'Alā-ud-dīn's character. As a king he was a ruthless tyrant, and as a man, treacherous and ungrateful. But with all these defects in his character, what carried him through was his resourcefulness, energy and capacity for work to which was added his unbounded courage tempered with calculation and a penetrating common sense. He was a man of inordinate ambition, but also possessed bold and original ideas to which he would give practical shape with his genius for organization and leadership A vigorous commander, he knew how to carry his army through strenuous campaigns. A master of diplomacy and finesse, he revealed it in his wonderful blitzkrieg in Devagiri and the subsequent events which led to his accession As a ruler he was vigorous and efficient, and as a reformer, bold and original He held a very exalted conception of kingship, the absolute State was the ideal for which he worked—a State untrammelled by the authority of the 'Ulamā and unhampered by the influence of a powerful nobility. He understood the value of and prepared the ground for the separation of the State from the Church He was not more bigoted than his age Himself almost illiterate, he had nothing but contempt for learning and scholarship, though during his reign Delhi became 'the rival of Cairo and the equal of Constantinople' because of the throng of great men of whom the poet Amīr Khusrav and Hasan were the most famous 'Alā-ud-dīn was the first Muslim imperialist and the first great Muslim administrator of India The history of Muslim empire and Muslim administration in India really begins with him 'Alā-ud-dīn, Sher Shāh, and Akbar—each marks a distinctive step in the evolution of Indo-Muslim history

III END OF THE KHALJĪ RULE

1. *Mubārak Shāh*

Malik Nāib Kāfūr, who had possibly hastened the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn,[41] produced to the nobles his master's will, which he managed to exact, disinheriting Khizr Khān and nominating Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umar, a child of five or six, as his successor The child was raised to the throne and Malik Kāfūr acted as regent He married the infant king's mother, who was a daughter of Rāmachandra of Devagiri He caused Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān to be blinded, and imprisoned all the other sons of 'Alā-ud-dīn He thought of

destroying the entire family of the late king and the partisans of Khizr Khān, and of ascending the throne himself. The fateful hour arrived when the regent sent some foot soldiers to blind Mubārak Khān, 'Alā-ud-dīn's third son. As they approached the prince, he bribed them with his jewelled necklace and reminded them of their duty to the sons of the late king Moved by gold and sentiment, they came back; four of them rushed to the apartment of Malik Kāfūr and slew him just thirty-five days after the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn.

The nobles then released Mubārak from prison and appointed him regent. For two months he acted as such, but when he felt his position secure, he blinded Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umar, and on April 19, 1316[42] ascended the throne as Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh The foot soldiers, who brought about the murder of Malik Nāib Kāfūr and the consequent accession of Mūbārak to power, now aspired to the position of Praetorian guards Two of their leaders, Mubshar and Bashīr, were executed and they were dispersed and sent to different garrisons. Otherwise Mubārak began his reign with a policy of extreme moderation and leniency Immediately after his accession he ordered a general amnesty, releasing all prisoners and permitting the return of all exiled for offences He amply rewarded the soldiers and officers, gave back the *jāgīrs* and endowments that had been resumed, withdrew the market regulations and relaxed the rigour in the administration Prices of commodities rose high, but people who had suffered so much in 'Alā-ud-dīn's regime obtained relief, specially the landowners and peasants, who benefited by the reduction in the revenue-demand The charming and popular king was, however, immersed in drinking, debauchery and pleasure, and the capital, following his example and due to his policy of relaxation, indulged in an excess of wanton sensuality As Baranī says, 'every house became a tavern' Bribery, corruption and malversation ate into the vitals of administration, which was paralysed. Mubārak's right-hand man was Hasan, an unknown slave from Gujarāt, whom he entitled Khusrav Khān and raised to the position of chief minister (*wazīr*)

In the first year of his reign Mubārak appointed 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ghāzī Malik Tughluq to suppress the revolt of Alp Khān's followers in Gujarāt 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had already been summoned from Devagiri and deputed for this work by Malik Kāfūr, had advanced as far as Rājputāna The royal force encountered the rebel leader at Patan 'Ain-ul-Mulk won over some of the rebel officers to his side and thus by diplomacy divided the rebel force and easily defeated it Malik Dīnār, Mubārak's father-in-law, who had recently been awarded the title of Zafar Khān, was appointed governor

of Gujarāt. Zafar Khān proved an able administrator and restored order throughout the province within a few months

In 1318, leaving Delhi in charge of Shāhīn, on whom he conferred the title of Vafā Malik, Mubārak marched towards the Deccan at the head of a large army with a view to recovering Devagiri and securing treasures from the Deccan princes At the approach of the army Harapāladeva fled to the hills Khusrav tracked Harapāladeva to his mountain retreat and had to fight two or three battles. In the final encounter Harapāladeva was severely wounded, taken prisoner, and put to death by royal order (flayed alive according to Baranī). Khusrav Khān was appointed to lead an expedition to Telingāna and the King left for Delhi

A plot was formed by Asad-ud-dīn, son of Yaghrush Khān, 'Alā-ud-dīn's uncle, to assassinate Mubārak on the way, but it failed and all the conspirators were arrested and forthwith executed Following the policy of his father, Mubārak caused all the twenty-nine members of the family of Yaghrush Khān to be put to death, though some of them were mere children and could have no hand in the plot The coins struck at Delhi in 718 A H (A D 1318-19) in the name of Shams-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh prove the existence of a pretender at the capital, though it is difficult to say whether Asad-ud-dīn or the regent Vafā Malik intended to assume this title, or a ten-year old son of Khizr Khān was the object of this conspiracy, as Ibn Batūtah asserts Mubārak now became bitterly suspicious From Jhāin he sent an officer to Gwalior to put to death all the three sons of 'Alā-ud-dīn

On his return to Delhi, Mubarāk grew very high-handed and cruel He summoned Zafar Khān from Gujarāt and executed him, Hisām-ud-dīn, half-brother of Khusrav Khān, was appointed governor in his place The regent Malik Shāhīn was also executed on suspicion of complicity in the recent conspiracy against the king Mubārak now immersed himself in debauchery and appeared at the court in female attire with finery and jewels The palace was full of women and buffoons, who did not hesitate to insult the highest dignitaries with indecent gestures and filthy abuses

Hisām-ud-dīn, the successor of Zafar Khān, collected his kinsmen and followers and raised the standard of revolt in Gujarāt The nobles and officers of Gujarāt captured him and sent him to Delhi but Mubārak ignored his crime and restored him to favour, as he was the brother of Khusrav Khān Wahid-ud-dīn Quraishi was awarded the title of Sadr-ul-Mulk and sent as the next governor of Gujarāt. He proved an efficient and worthy administrator, under whom the province remained quiet

Close on the heels of the revolt in Gujarāt came the report of the rebellion of Malik Yaklakhī, governor of Devagiri, who asserted independence under the title of Shams-ud-dīn and began to mint coins in his own name. A large force was sent against him and he was easily defeated, as his officers and army deserted him He and his associates were captured and sent to Delhi, where his ears and nose were chopped off and his followers were severely punished 'Ain-ul-Mulk was sent as the governor of Devagiri

Meanwhile Khusrav Khān was operating in the South When he approached the vicinity of Warangal, he was opposed by Pratāparudra's force consisting of 10,000 horse and innumerable foot-soldiers, but they were defeated Khusrav Khān then attacked the outer wall of the fortress and, defeating the garrison and killing the chief commandant, invested the inner fortress Pratāparudra was alarmed and made peace with him by agreeing to cede the strategic fort of Badrkot and pay a tribute of 100 elephants, 12,000 horses, and gold, jewels and gems beyond compute [43]

From Warangal Khusrav Khān turned towards Ma'bar As he entered Ma'bar, the princes and the people adopted the old tactics of evading battle and carrying away all their treasures He now thought of establishing himself independently in Ma'bar Probably, as Baranī says he was maturing his plans to achieve his ultimate object of usurping the throne But Malik Talbagha, Malik Tamar and other loyal officers of the State gave a mild warning to Khusrav and acquainted the King with his evil designs

Khusrav was recalled to Delhi, but Mubārak was so much infatuated with him that, far from taking him to task or asking any explanation for his evil designs, he punished those well-wishers whom he held responsible for Khusrav's failure in Ma'bar Talbagha was blinded, beaten and thrown into prison, and the *jāgīrs* of both Tamar and Talbagha were seized. Khusrav now became supreme, no one dared to speak against him and some nobles joined him on selfish grounds Khusrav's growing influence enabled him to secure royal permission to bring his friends and kinsmen from Gujarāt and raise a corps of 40,000 horse, composed entirely of men of his own tribe and loyal to him Thus reinforced, he formed a plot to assassinate the King in his palace To further his design he got possession of the palace, securing the king's permission for his men to enter at night on the ground that he could not meet them at daytime due to his preoccupation One of these, Jaharya, advanced towards the King's apartment, and as he killed the chief guards, Mubarak rushed towards the harem But Khusrav seized him by the hair and, during the scuffle that followed, Jaharya cut

off the head of the King and threw it down into the courtyard (April 15, 1320).[44]

Mubārak was an unworthy successor of his father. Frivolous and depraved, cruel and arrogant, Mubārak lacked his father's ability and vigour as well as his genius for organization and leadership. In him the vices of 'Alā-ud-dīn were magnified, but his virtues were lacking. Though he did not observe fasts and say prayers, he assumed the title of Commander of the Faithful and Vicegerent of God as well as *Imām*, and thereby made the kingdom of Delhi independent of the Caliphate. His predecessors, including the lordly Balban and the mighty 'Alā-ud-dīn *Sikandar Sānī*, had all acknowledged the legal sovereignty of the Caliph.[45] Mubārak also displayed hatred and animosity against the saint Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā.[46]

2. *Khusrav*

At midnight, after the murder of Mubārak Shāh, Khusrav Khān summoned the prominent nobles like 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Wahīd-ud-dīn Quraishī, Fakhr-ud-dīn Jauna, Bahā-ud-dīn Dabīr and others, and detained them in the palace till the next morning, when he ascended the throne under the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Khusrav Shāh. Meanwhile his followers removed all possible claimants to the throne by killing two and blinding three of the sons of 'Alā-ud-dīn, and perpetrated abominable crimes in the harem. Thus the Khalji dynasty came to an ignoble end.

Baranī, who gives the above account, is very hard on Khusrav Khān, and treats him with supreme contempt, as he was a Hindu convert. It is not unlikely, however, that Khusrav has been more sinned against than sinning. True, he was ignoble, cruel, and treacherous, but possibly he was not worse than either Mubārak or 'Alā-ud-dīn in this respect. He had been converted to Islām in childhood, when he was given the name of Hasan, and along with his brother fell into the hands of 'Ain-āl-Mulk during his invasion of Mālwa in 1305. Hasan was attached to the body of the personal slaves of 'Alā-ud-dīn and brought up at the royal palace. Muslim chroniclers, in their contempt for the crowned convert, describe Khusrav as an outcaste and low born. It is not possible to determine the real name of the tribe or caste to which Khusrav belonged on account of the variants in the chronicles (*Parwār, Barwār, Barāv*, etc.), and there is very little evidence to show that he belonged to a low caste.[47] Nor is there sufficient evidence to prove the contention of Baranī that Khusrav Khān's *coup de main* was the consequence of a Hindu revolution and his accession ushered in a period

of the triumph of Hinduism and the downfall of Islām. A considerable number of his followers, members of his tribe from Gujarāt, were Hindu, and after his accession, they might have oppressed those Muslims who were opposed to their leader. Probably some of them practised Hindu religious rites in the palace, and this offended Muslim sentiments. But Khusrav Khān never aimed at the restoration of a Hindu monarchy; nor did he champion the cause of Hinduism. On the contrary, he had shown the iconoclastic zeal of a Muslim during his campaigns in the south. Khusrav regarded himself as a Muslim; the *khutba* was recited in his name, and his coins bear the title of Commander of the Faithful

After his accession Khusrav Khān executed some of the nobles hostile to him. He married a wife of Mubārak Shāh and conferred titles and positions on those who had helped him. Randhol, his main prop in the conspiracy, was given the title of Rāi-i-Rāyān, and his brother Hisām-ud-dīn was given the hand of a daughter of 'Alā-ud-dīn and the title of Khān Khanān He did not fail to placate those who might prove hostile On 'Ain-ul-Mulk was conferred the title of 'Ālam Khān, and Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn Jauna, son of Ghāzī Malik, who wielded great influence among the nobility, was appointed master of the horse Wahīd-ud-dīn Quraishi was appointed chief minister With certain exceptions, he retained the services of old officers of the State and he was anxious to secure the support of the nobility Both Amīr Khusrav and Ibn Batūtah state that he did obtain the support and homage of the nobles and governors

It was only a small section of the nobility which was opposed to him The murder of the late king with the consequent orgy of bloodshed alienated some, while there were others, orthodox Muslims, who saw in the accession of Khusrav the triumph of heathenism and great danger to Islām They, however, formed a small minority, for there was no great sympathy for the Khaljīs who had fallen. The spokesman of the opposition was Ghāzī Tughluq, governor of Dīpālpur, whose son Malik Jauna was at the court The astute warden of the marches raised the slogan of Islām in danger, which has always proved so effective a weapon in Muslim history The first step he took was to instruct his son Malik Jauna to join him at Dīpālpur The master of the horse one day slipped away from Delhi, and the die was cast Eluding the army sent by Khusrav Khān in pursuit of him, he safely reached Sarsuti (Sirsā), which had already been garrisoned by his father Ghāzī Malik then sent appeals to the governors of Uch, Multān, Siwastān (Sehwan), Sāmāna, and Jālor as well as to 'Ain-ul-Mulk who was at Delhi Of these the governor of Uch, Bahrām Aiba, alone responded to the

call of Ghāzī Tughluq. On the refusal of Malik Mughultāi, governor of Multān, to join him, Ghāzi Malik incited the people of Multān to rise against their governor, and the rebels killed him. Malik Yaklakhī, governor of Sāmāna, who was loyal to Khusrav, marched against Ghāzī Tughluq, but was killed by his own men Muhammad Shāh, governor of Siwastān, who had been imprisoned by his mutinous soldiers, was released, when the appeal for help came; but he made a half-hearted response. Similar was the response of Muhammad Hūshang, governor of Jālor 'Ain-ul-Mulk maintained his neutrality, though he assured Ghāzī Malik of his secret help. It is significant that Ghāzī Malik's appeal was mainly to the governors of the western frontier and even there he found little response He also failed to obtain the moral support of the great saint Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā All this reveals the true nature of the Tughluq revolution which overthrew Khusrav Khān, and the motive of its author The cry of Islām in danger was merely a pretext

Khusrav Khān sent a force, 40,000 strong, under his brother to check the advance of Ghāzi Malik The army marched to Sarsuti, but the Khān Khānān failed to capture it, and proceeded towards Dipālpur to meet the enemy On the way the royal force encountered Ghāzī Malik and was totally defeated, the Khān Khānān fled, leaving elephants and treasures to the victors Ghāzī Malik, by forced marches, arrived at the vicinity of Delhi, and Khusrav Khān made desperate and frantic preparations to oppose him He advanced two and a half months' pay to the soldiers and emptied his treasury to please his followers Having organized his forces he marched from Delhi at the head of a big army with a large number of elephants At this critical juncture, just on the eve of the battle, 'Ain-ul-Mulk deserted Khusrav and left for Mālwa

On September 6, 1320, the battle for Delhi was fought near Indarpat. Khusrav Khān fought valiantly and desperately till the evening, when a sudden attack of Ghāzī Malik upon his soldiers, who had dispersed for plundering, turned the tide of the battle Khusrav's army was totally defeated and fled in confusion Khusrav Khān fled from the battlefield and took shelter in the garden of Shādi Khān at Tilpat Next day he was seized and beheaded. Ghāzī Malik rode in state to the Palace of the Thousand Pillars and, after studied hesitation and with the consent of the nobles, who pointed to him that there was no surviving prince of the royal family, ascended the throne on September 8, 1320, under the title of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh [46]

APPENDIX A

The date of 'Alā-ud-dīn's first expedition to Devagiri

All modern writers except K. S. Lal give A.D. 1294 as the date of 'Alā-ud-dīn's invasion of Devagiri. Their authority is Firishta who gives the date of this expedition as 694 A H. which commenced on November 21, 1294. The only contemporary authority, who gives the date of this invasion, is Amīr Khusrav, who says that 'Alā-ud-dīn left Karā on 19 Rabī'-ul-ākhir, 695, which corresponds to February 26, 1926 (*Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, Calcutta text, p. 8) Elliot is wrong when he states that 19 Rabī'-ul-ākhir, 695 corresponds to February, 1295

According to Baranī, Jalāl-ud-dīn marched to Gwalior in 695 A H., which commenced on November 10, 1295, and at Gwalior he received the report that 'Alā-ud-dīn had plundered Devagiri and was returning with an immense booty (*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 223). Now, we have from the *Khazāin-ul-Futūh* the date of 'Alā-ud-dīn's return to Karā as well 28 Rajab, 695, which corresponds to June 3, 1296. So it was obviously in May 1296 that Jalāl-ud-dīn got the news

If 'Alā-ud-dīn had started in December 1294, he would have spent altogether one year and a half in the Devagiri expedition. This would be too long, for according to Firishta (I, p. 96. Kanpur text) 'Alā-ud-dīn remained at Devagiri only for twenty-five days he could not have taken seventeen months in marching to Devagiri and returning from there to Karā

'Isāmī (Madras text pp. 228-9) says that 'Alā-ud-dīn's plan was to return within two months, and from the accounts of the other chroniclers as well it appears obvious that 'Alā-ud-dīn planned a rapid campaign We learn from Baranī (p 222) that already during his Bhilsa campaign, 'Alā-ud-dīn had gathered information about the roads to Devagiri A long period would defeat the very objective of the campaign It was undertaken without Jalāl-ud-dīn's leave and it was a means to an end through it he would attempt a *coup de main* against the King Eighteen months would be too long a period for the purpose, as it would be difficult to prevent leakage of information It appears obvious from all authorities that 'Alā-ud-dīn was in a hurry. It was improbable that Jalāl-ud-dīn should not have heard of 'Alā-ud-dīn's activities in the south for a comparatively long period of one year and a half

Baranī, as already noted, was not very precise in his chronology, and his statement that 'Alā-ud-dīn spent more than a year in the expedition seems incorrect On the whole it seems more reasonable to accept the date of Amīr Khusrav, viz , A D 1296 because he gives the exact date of 'Alā-ud-dīn's departure from Karā and return to that place

[The date usually given for this expedition, A D 1294, was adopted in Vol V, p 195 But although no definite conclusion is possible, the date A D 1296, given by a contemporary authority, seems preferable, and has been adopted in this Volume, Ed]

APPENDIX B

The name of Rāmachandra's son

The son and successor of Rāmachandra, the Yādava king, during whose reign the first Muslim invasion of the South took place, has been named Śankara by almost all modern writers, from Fleet to Haig. Fleet, in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (pp. 71-78) and in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (I, p. 530), has Śankara. Sewell in his work, *A sketch of the dynasties of Southern India*, (Madras, 1883, p. 114), has Śamkara (1309-13) and he himself says that his source of information is Fleet. R G Bhandarkar has the same in his *Early History of the Dekkan* (Bombay, 1885, p. 119). All subsequent writers have generally followed them

Now, the name of Śankara does not occur in any Hindu or Indian source Fleet himself has made this point clear in the following remark about the sources for the history of the Yādava dynasty. "For the period after 1298, no epigraphical records, throwing any light on the history of this dynasty, have as yet come to notice Our knowledge of what occurred then, and of the leading incidents during the previous few years, which led up to it, is derived only from the pages of the Mussalman chronicler Ferishta" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I p. 530). In the footnote the translation of Briggs is referred to Sewell also (op cit, p. 115, f.n) says that his authority is Firishta.

Firishta (Kanpur text, I. p. 117 and Bombay text, I, pp 204-5) has Sankaldev. Sankaldev is, of course, Śankara But in the 'Ashīqa of Amir Khusrav we have Sinkhan Dev (*Devalrānī wa Khizr Khān*, Aligarh ed, p. 85). In his translation from the 'Ashīqa, Elliot (III, p 551) has 'Sankh Deo' The Aligarh edition is a collated text, based on several MSS It seems that in Elliot's MS the letter N (*nūn*) has been dropped and it has been read as Sankh Deo In manuscripts G (*gāf*) is often confounded with K (*kāf*) and vice versa (Steingass' Persian Dictionary, pp 999 and 1971) Sinkhan Dev is, therefore, nothing but Singhana Deva Venkataramanayya has incorrectly read the name in the '*Ashīqa* as Sangama Dev (*Early Muslim expansion in South India*, p 17 f n 10) and K A N Sastri has adopted this reading (*History of South India*, p. 217) As Hodivala (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p 373) has pointed out, the name Singhana is to be found in the dynastic list of the Yādavas of Devagiri Further, as between Firishta, who composed his work early in the seventeenth century, and Amir Khusrav, who was a contemporary writer, the authority of Amīr Khusrav should be given more weight In view of all these reasons it appears that the name of Rāmachandra's son and successor was Singhana and not Śankara, as given by Firishta and accepted by modern writers.

(Prof Abdur Rashid reads the name, in the Aligarh text of the '*Ashiqa*, as Sanghan Deo or Sankun Deo, but prefers the former Thus the second letter is read by him as '*gh*', and this supports the above contention In view of the fact that the name Singhana was borne by the greatest ruler of the dynasty, it is preferable to

take the name of the crown-prince as Siṅghaṇa. The *'Ashīqa* also gives the name of his brother as Bhillam, another familiar name in the family. As Prof. Rashid has pointed out, the author of the *Futūh-us-Salātīn* speaks of Bhillam as a son of Rām Deo, but not as the only son, as is supposed by Venkataramanayya (*op. cit.*). We must therefore conclude that the Yādava king Rāmachandra had two sons Siṅghaṇa and Bhiḷlama In Vol. V, pp 195-6, the name of the former has been given as Śankara, following the usual practice But even though it is of long standing, the weighty arguments given above seem to be strongly in favour of the change, and hence the name Siṅghana has been adopted in this Volume I am indebted to Prof Abdur Rashid for the valuable information supplied by him Ed.)

1 The date is given as June 13 in Vol V (p 158). The actual date is 3 Jumādī-us-sānī, 689 A H As the Muslim day begins at sunset, 3 Jumādī-us-sānī 689, begins at sunset of June 13, 1290, and ends in the afternoon of 14, and consequently the major portion of it covers June 14 The system of giving such dates as June 14 has been followed in converting Hijra dates into their corresponding dates in the Christian Era
2 A different view has been expressed by Pande (*PIHC*, X 310), but his arguments are not convincing
3 In Jodhpur State, 26° 21' N, 73° 5' E (cf above Vol III, p 65) Baranī, p 220, has Mandor, and 'Isāmī, p 215, has Mandowar *CHI*, III, p 95, has Mandāwar
4 19 Rabī'-ul-ākhir, 695, *Khazain-ul-Futūh*, p 8 Firishta has 693 A H/A D 1294 See Appendix A
5 See Appendix B
5a According to 'Isāmī it consisted of 500,000 foot and 10,000 horse (*Futūh-us-Salātīn*, Madras Text, p 234) He, however, calls the son of Rāmadeva, Bhillama.
6 See Hodivala *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p 246
7 See Hodivala, op cit, pp 248-49, A K Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p 470, f n 7
8 Recently some scholars have questioned the historicity of Kamalā Devī and Devalā Devī and regard the entire episode relating to them as pure fiction See G H Ojha, *Gujarati* Annual Number 1933, K M Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Pt III, pp 225-226 (Bombay, 1944) and Pt II, pp 431-54 of revised edition, Bombay 1955 A K Majumdar *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p 192
9 Siwastan or Sehwān in Baranī, p 253, and Firishta, Vol I, p 103 'Isāmī, p 251, has Sīstān which is obviously a slip for Siwastan *CHI*, III p 101, has Sibī.
9a Firishta puts these reasons somewhat differently (Briggs, I, p 344)
10 Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, pp 255-6 As pointed out by him, and by Moreland, 'Alā-ud-dīn could not altogether abolish the system of grants, but he made them very sparingly
11 According to Tripathi (op cit, 256) these Hindu chiefs held lands from the State on condition of paying a stipulated amount of revenue and are to be distinguished from autonomous rulers who were allowed to rule over their territories on condition of payment of fixed amount to the Delhi King as tribute For *Khūt* cf also Moreland, *The Agrarian system of Muslem India*, pp 224-25,
12 The passage, dealing with these ordinances in Baranī, pp 287-88, is defective, and consequently it is difficult to understand what Baranī means See Moreland, op cit, pp 224-27 and Tripathi, op cit pp 256-62
13 Tripathi, op cit. 258
14 Moreland, op cit., 224
15 Ibid, 32
16 *HIED* III, pp 183-5 [The Editor is responsible for this paragraph]
16a P Hardy has recently pointed out by a comparison of the *Tārikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* with the *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī* that Baranī put his own ideas into the mouths of the personages in his *Tarikh* (*BSOS*, 1957, XX, pp 315-21) But this is too complicated a question to be discussed here
17. The future Muhammad bin Tughluq Baranī refers to Fakhr ud-dīn Jauna as holding the office of *Dādbak* in 1302-3 'Alā-ud dīn would hardly have entrusted such a responsible office to Jauna or appointed him to the command of the Warangal expedition, if he were a boy of twelve or thirteen The year

1290 as the date of his birth, suggested by Agha Mahdi Husain (*MTMH*, 22), does not fit in with the above facts.

18. See Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, pp 24-25.
19. Nensi, *Khyat*, Vol I, p 21; Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I, p. 311. In Tod the name of the Rāṇā is Bhīm Singh. 'Isāmī, p 281, gives the name of the Rāṇā as Sonarsia.
20. See G. H Ojha, *Udaipur Rājya ka Itihās*, Vol I, pp. 191-202, 233-34.
21. See Ojha, op cit., pp 183-191; Habib, *Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, p 48; and Wahid Mirza, text, pp 162-63 K R. Qanungo, *Prabāsi* (in Bengali), 1337 B S and Nopani Lectures, Calcutta University (1956); R R Halder, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIX, pp. 235-37, S. C. Datta, *IHQ*, VII, 296-298, and K S Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, pp. 120-130. It should be noted that both Abu-l-Fazl and Hājī ud-Dabīr use Padminī not as a name, but as a woman possessing special attributes (*Āīn-i-Akbari*, *Nawal Kishore Text, Vol II, p 258 and Hajī-ud-Dabīr, pp. 787-88*) In Hindi, Padminī is the name of a woman of the most excellent of the four classes in which women are divided. It is in this sense that they use the word For the story of Solomon and Bilqīs, the beautiful Queen of Sheba, see Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, pp 601-604, London 1885. Amīr Khusrav compares 'Alā-ud-dīn with Solomon and himself with his lapwing hudhud, which brought the news of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon
22. Koka seems to be a mistranscription for Goga, whose identification presents some difficulty. According to an inscription of V S 1354 (*Buddhiprakas*, Gujarati, 1910, p 77, *ASI*, 1935 36, p 98) Sārangadeva, the king of Gujarāt (A D. 1274-1296), defeated one Goga, and another inscription of A D 1439 praises Lakshmasimha, the Guhilot prince of Mewar for having defeated Goga-deva, the King of Malwa (ASI 1907-08 214) Firishta also calls Koka the Rajā of Malwa (Briggs, p 361), but Amīr Khusrav calls Koka the Pardhan of Rāi Mahalak Deo. King of Mālwa, and adds that "Koka, the *Wazīr*, commanded the army and he was stronger in the country of Malwa than the Rai" (*Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, HIED, III, p 76 Tr by M Habib JIH, VIII 365 '*Ashīqa HIED*, III 544-45) According to Wassāf, about the year A D 1270, a king of Mālwa died, and dissension broke out between his son and minister as a result of which Mālwa was divided between the two (*HIED*, III, 31) It is possible, therefore, that Koka or Goga was the minister referred to by Wassaf who made common cause with his erstwhile king when the country was threatened with a Muslim invasion See A K Majumdar *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p 182 (Ed)
23. Baranī, p 320, has Nāyak, Amir Khusrav, *Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, p 38, Mānik 'Isāmī, p 301-2 Nanak. The name was either Nayak or Mānik and the leader of the campaign was a Hindu as Khusrav states in the '*Ashīqa*, p 61. He is possibly the Mānik, who saved 'Ala ud-dīn from Ākat Khān's assault referred to by Baranī, p 273 According to Firishta, Malik Naib and Ghāzi Malik Tughluq were leaders of the campaign
24. The account of the Mongol invasion of 1306 given by the chroniclers particularly that of Baranī, is confusing The above account is based on the *Khazāin ul-Futūh* and the '*Ashīqa* as well as *Futūh-us-Salātin* of Isāmī, who agrees with Amīr Khusrav in treating the campaign under Kabak as the last Mongol invasion Baranī speaks of three campaigns in three different years, the first under Kabak; the commander of the second is not named, and the third under Iqbālmandah Firishta plays havoc with facts and names See *Khazāin-ul Futūh*, pp 41-46 and Habib, English translation, pp 29-34 '*Ashīqa*, pp. 62 63; 'Isāmī, pp 317-22, and *JASB*, 1870, pp. 43-47
25. 'Isāmī, p. 283
28. For a different version see 'Isāmī, pp 286-87 'Isāmī and Amīr Khusrav (in the text is given on the authority of Amīr Khusrav
27. A K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp 189-192
28. For a different version see 'Isāmī, pp 268-87 Isāmī and Amīr Khusrav (in the '*Ashīqa*, pp 85-87) make it a separate campaign The account in the text is based on Firishta, who gives a detailed and systematic account of Devala Devī. Karna could not obtain asylum in Devagiri, obviously due to Malik Nāib's invasion, and fled to Telingāna
29. This question of Devalā Devī has been discussed by K. M Munshi and Dr B Prasad in *The Glory That Was Gurjaradesa*, II, by K M Munshi, pp 431 ff and by A K Majumdar, op cit pp 194 ff See also Qanungo The historicity of the love romance, 'Deval Rani wa Khizr Khān', in PIHC, III, pp. 877-79. For a different view see A L Srivastava Historicity of 'Deval Rānī-Khizr Khan' in the Is.C 1956 He holds that there is little that is impossible in the basic theme of the '*Ashīqa*, which stands the test of historical criticism and is substantially true

30 A. K. Majumdar, op cit. pp 194 ff [The Editor is responsible for this paragraph and the account of Devalā Devī]
31. 13 Muharram, 708 A.H (July 4, 1308), *Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, B I. text, p 69.
32. We have no contemporary account of the Khaljī conquest of Jālor and have to rely on the later authorities like Firishta and Nensī. It seems Jalor was raided by Muslim troops in A.D 1299 on their way back from Gujarāt, though 'Alā-ud-dīn could not have personally undertaken it as Nensī would have us believe. On the second occasion Jālor was invaded by Alp Khān and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, while they were returning from Mālwa; and Rājā Kanhar Deva, alarmed at the success of Muslim arms in Mālwa, offered his submission to 'Alā-ud-dīn. Kanhar Deva, however, revised his policy, asserted independence, and defied the authority of Delhi, which necessitated the third and final invasion of the territory. Firishta places the subjugation of Jālor about the time of the expedition against Siwāna, while Nensī places it in A D. 1311 (*Khyāt*, I p. 163). As the Khaljī army was engaged in Siwāna in 1308, a campaign after its fall against Jālor, which was in the vicinity, was quite probable. But Nensī's date is to a certain extent corroborated by Jinaprabha Surī who, in the *Tirthakalpa*, refers to 'Alā-ud-dīn's destruction of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sanchor in the vicinity of Jālor in A.D. 1310, and modern scholars like Ojha, Reu and others accept it.
32a *ASI*, 1909-10, p 131.
32b. Tod, *Annals*, Ed. by Crooke, I, 312
33. *HIED*, III, 202.
33a 'Isāmī, *Futūh-us-Salātīn*, Madras Text, p 294
34 See *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1899, pp 370-389
35. Bīrdhūl or Vīradhavalam has been identified with Uyyakkondān Tirumalai, two miles from Uraiyūr (*EI*, XXVII, 311)
36. For a different identification see *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, April, 1941, p 4 and *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 63 n, where Dr Venkataramanayya identifies the place with Kāñchī
37 See Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, pp. 66-67
38 See Firishta, Bombay edition, Vol I, pp 210, 567, and 570, Lucknow edition, Vol I, pp 119, and 297-299 Sit Band Rāmesar on the coast of the Arabian Sea is possibly Cape Rama, south of Goa, as Briggs suggests (I 374)
39 See *'Ashiqa*, pp 70-71; Hajī ud-Dabīr, p 156, S K Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* pp 100-101 118, and Introduction to Habib's English translation of the *Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, pp XXVII XXIX, Venkataramanayya, op cit, pp 68-69 and K S Lal, op cit, pp 369-371 In the *'Ashiqa*, p 72, Amīr Khusrav refers to Malik Nāib's attack on Patan which Dr Aiyangar identifies with one of the Pattinams Rāmeswarapattinam which is also called Pattinam merely, or Periapattinam or another Pattinam on the opposite coast of India Patan is described as the seat of Vīrā Pāṇḍya's residence and a careful comparison of the Ma'bar campaign in the *Khazāin-ul-Futūh* and the *'Ashiqa* would lead to the conclusion that Patan of the latter and Bīrdhūl of the former are the same place and the headquarters of Vīra Pāṇḍya, but we do not know it Rameswaram was so In fact these places cannot be properly identified
40 Baranī writes the same as Kampila (*HIED* III, 236) and Firishta, as Kumpila (Briggs, I, 418)
40a The date is given as January 2 in *CHI*, III, 119
41. Both Baranī (*HIED* III, 208) and Firishta (Briggs I, 381) refer to the suspicion to this effect
42 24 Muharram, 716, *Nuh Sipihr*, p 51
43. 'Isāmī, pp 361-363, gives a different account of the expedition, he does not refer to any hostilities According to him Pratāparudra agreed to pay the arrears without any resistance
44. Briggs, I, 395. According to Baranī the headless trunk of the Sultān was cast into the courtyard (*HIED*, III 223)
45 See T W Arnold, *The Caliphate*, pp. 116-117, Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, pp 52-53
46 For an interesting account of the relation between the two, cf *Is C* XX, 137-8.
47 See Hodivala, *op cit*, 369 371. There is. of course, considerable force in the suggestion of A. L Srivastava that the word is *Barwār* i e. *Bharwār* or *Bharvad*, which in Gujarati means a shepherd, and Khusrav came of this shepherd caste, which is neither high nor low See *PIHC*, 1953, 173-177
48. According to the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Ghiyās-ud-dīn's accession took place in 721 A H (A D. 1321-22) Baranī gives the date as 720 A H. (A D 1320-21)

CHAPTER III

GHIYAS-UD-DIN TUGHLUQ (A.D. 1320-25)

Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, also called simply Tughluq, was the founder of the Tughluq dynasty. It is generally believed that Tughluq was the name of his family or of the tribe to which he belonged, and hence this cognomen is applied to all the members of his family [1] But it is held by some that Tughluq was merely the personal name of the founder of the new dynasty, and was neither a family name, nor the designation of a class, clan, or tribe. In support of this view it is pointed out that the second king of the dynasty called himself Muhammad bin Tughluq (son of Tughluq) or its equivalents, and very rarely Muhammad Tughluq, while none of his successors ever used the word Tughluq as part of his name.[2] But as sometimes the personal name of the founder is given to the dynasty, we may, following the present practice, call the ruling family the Tughluq Dynasty, and use the word Tughluq after the proper name, as names like Muhammad Tughluq or Fīrūz Tughluq are more familiar to us in these forms

According to Ibn Batūtah, Tughluq belonged to the race of the Qaraunah Turks But nothing is definitely known about this clan, not even whether it was Turk or Mongol. Marco Polo, a contemporary foreign traveller, describes the Qaraunahs as a people of mixed breed, while some derive the name from *Karaṇa*, the name of a mixed caste in India The question has been fully discussed by several historians[3] in all its bearings, and while they generally agree that Tughluq was certainly a Turk, some are of opinion that far from being a Qaraunah, he was a lineal descendant of the Sassanian kings of Persia. The most probable view seems to be that of Sir Wolseley Haig who connects the Tughluq with the 'Taghlik', a tribe of Turks, now dwelling near Khotān [4]

There is also a difference of opinion, even among the old authorities, regarding the early career of Tughluq, whose original name was Ghāzī Malik or Ghāzī Beg Tughluq. According to Ibn Batūtah and Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, he came from Khurāsān to India during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. On the other hand, Firishta states, as a result of his inquiry at Lahore, that although there was no authentic account in any book, it was generally believed that Malik Tughluq, a Turkish slave of Sultān Balban, married a woman of the Jāt tribe, and their son was Ghāzī Malik who later became

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. Dr. M. Husain, who prefers this account to the older one, ignores the fact that this goes against his view that Tughluq was a personal name of the founder of the royal dynasty and not a cognomen. The story of the Jāt marriage is in a way indirectly supported by 'Afīf who says that Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, when governor of Dīpālpur, gave his brother in marriage to the daughter of a Hindu nobleman of the province, who was extremely unwilling but was coerced by threat to accept the proposal. It may be added that the issue of this marriage was the future Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq.

But if we accept the view of 'Afīf that Ghāzī Malik himself came to India from Khurāsān during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, he can hardly be the son of a Jāt mother The statement of Amīr Khusrav, a contemporary writer, that Ghāzī Malik served under Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī seems to indicate, however, that Firishta's account is the correct one We may, therefore, hold that Tughluq was the son of an Indian mother and, like his father, was in the service of the Sultāns of Delhi He distinguished himself by his successful defence against the Mongol invaders and ultimately became the governor of Dīpālpur He held the post till he was called to the throne under circumstances already described above

Tughluq proved to be an able ruler His first concern was to restore the authority of the Sultanate in the Deccan. Pratāparudra, the Kākatīya ruler of Warangal, had taken advantage of the disorders in Delhi, and not only threw off the yoke of the Sultanate by refusing to pay tribute, but increased his power enormously by extensive conquests, as stated above[5] Owing to a singular lack of political wisdom he ignored or underestimated the Muslim menace. Instead of attempting to organize a united front of the Hindu rulers of Deccan and South India in order to prevent the catastrophe which had already overwhelmed him once before, he was now fully engaged in leading military campaigns against them and thereby frittered away his energy and resources But he had to pay the penalty for his folly as soon as Tughluq ascended the throne In the second year of his reign (A D 1321-22) the Sultān sent an expedition against him under the command of his son Jūna or Jauna Khān, also Known as Ulugh Khān The latter marched by way of Devagiri and laid siege to the fort of Warangal Pratāparudra offered a heroic resistance The Hindus from all sides mustered strong to fight against the Muslims and frustrated all their attempts to capture the fort The siege dragged on and the casualties were heavy among the besiegers Pratāparudra sued for peace, offering to pay annual tribute as before, and also to furnish elephants and

treasure. Prince Jauna haughtily rejected the offer and vigorously pressed the siege.

But soon the Muslim army met with a terrible disaster. This was due to the desertion of a large number of nobles with their armies, but the exact cause of this defection is difficult to determine. According to Baranī, 'Ubaid, a boon-companion of Jauna, deliberately spread a false report among the soldiers to the effect that the Sultān was dead and that a new prince now sat upon the throne of Delhi. 'Ubaid also told the nobles that Jauna intended to kill them. Believing in these rumours most of the military leaders left the camp together with their followers, and then a panic seized the imperial army. The besieged Hindus sallied forth and plundered the baggage of the army of Jauna, and he fled with his followers towards Devagiri. Of the nobles and military leaders, who had deserted the camp, some met with disaster at the hands of the Hindus, and many suffered terrible punishments in the hands of the Sultān. Jauna, however, reached Devagiri in safety Baranī does not say anything about 'Ubaid's motive and seems to imply that he was actuated by a desire to create mischief. On the other hand, Ibn Batūtah definitely asserts that Jauna intended to rebel against his father, and ordered 'Ubaid to spread the false report in the hope that the officers and troops would swear allegiance to him. But the result was just the opposite, as the *amīrs* rebelled and deserted the prince, who thereupon fled to his father with ten horsemen.

Baranī's account has been followed by later Muslim historians.[6] Among modern writers Wolseley Haig and many others accept Ibn Batūtah's version, while Ishwari Prasad and M Husain accept Baranī's account Baranī's narrative fails to supply a reasonably satisfactory motive for the treacherous conduct of 'Ubaid, an intimate friend of Prince Jauna Khān. On the other hand, Ibn Batūtah's account hardly fits in with two ascertained facts namely, (1) that while the Sultān punished the officers who deserted, he not only did not admonish the prince, but again sent him in command of a second expedition against Warangal in A D 1323, (2) the Sultān also appointed Jauna regent in Delhi during his own absence in Bengal.[7]

According to Muslim chronicles the second expedition was completely successful Jauna again laid siege to Warangal and captured it. King Pratāparudra surrendered and was sent to Delhi "with his elephants and treasures, relations, and dependants". Baranī adds that "the name of Warangal was changed to Sultānpūr, and all the country of Tilang was conquered" But this must be regard-

ed as an obvious exaggeration. For, as noted above,[7a] Pratāparudra is referred to as the ruling king in an inscription dated A.D. 1326, found at Guntur. It is, therefore, very likely that even if he were taken as a captive to Delhi, he must have been released and was either allowed to rule as a subordinate chief or asserted his independence.

There is another question that may be discussed in this connection. According to local chronicles the Pāṇḍya kingdom of Madurā (Ma'bar of Muslim chronicles) was conquered by an army from Delhi in the year A.D. 1323.[8] This is supported by the fact that this province is included by Baranī among the dominions of Delhi Sultanate at the time when Muhammad bin Tughluq transferred his capital to Devagiri in A.D. 1327, although there is no reference to any expedition against this place led by him before this date. If we accept the date A.D. 1323 for the conquest of Ma'bar by the Sultān of Delhi, it would appear very likely that Jauna carried on an expedition to this southernmost limit of India after his victory over Pratāparudra. But, then, it is inexplicable why such a resounding victory should have been ignored by all the Muslim historians.

But whatever we might think of this expedition, there is no doubt that after the conquest of Warangal, Jauna Khān led an expedition to the eastern coast. Baranī simply says that he marched towards Jājnagar and captured forty elephants. An inscription,[9] in a mosque at Rājahmundry, records that it was built in A.D. 1324, during the regime of Ulugh Khān. This shows that the latter had advanced as far as Rājahmundry. It is probable that from Rājahmundry Jauna Khān proceeded towards Orissa. Bhānudeva II, king of Orissa, sent a large force to the frontier to defend his kingdom. According to 'Isāmī, the only contemporary author who gives an account of this expedition, the Orissan forces were defeated and fled, and Jauna Khān plundered their camp and took much booty. But the Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV credit Bhānudeva II with a victory over Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. This probably refers to the same expedition,[10] and in that case, we must presume that Ulugh Khān suffered some reverse, and his expedition was not as successful as 'Isāmī describes it to be. This is supported by the very cryptic reference to it by Baranī, and explains the sudden retirement of Jauna Khān after a victorious campaign, which has struck modern historians as rather unusual.[11]

Jauna was warmly received by his father on his return from the brilliant campaign. The Sultān honoured him and held great rejoicings, though these were partly marred by the news that the

Mongols had crossed the Sindhu and invaded Sāmāna. But the imperial army sent against them won two victories, drove them back, and took many prisoners.

After having quelled a Parwāri insurrection in Gujarāt, the Sultān turned his attention to Bengal which had been an independent principality since the death of Balban. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq decided to assert his authority over the province and started with an army at the beginning of A D 1324, having left, in charge of the government at Delhi, his son Jauna who was, according to some accounts, specially summoned to Delhi from Telingāna for that purpose in January, 1324 The details of the campaign and its result will be described in Chapter, X E It will suffice to state here that the Sultān succeeded in his main object. He defeated the Sultān of Bengal, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur, and brought him captive to Delhi. He confirmed Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn in the government of North Bengal with its capital at Lakhnāwatī. Eastern and Southern Bengal, with capitals respectively at Sonārgāon and Sātgāon, were annexed to the Sultanate, and his adopted son Bahrām Khān was appointed to govern them.

In course of the expedition to Bengal, the Sultān defeated the Rājā of Tirhut (N. Bihar) There is some difference of opinion among scholars regarding the date of this Tirhut campaign. Some hold that it took place when the Sultān was returning to Delhi after having settled affairs in Bengal, while others hold that the Sultān conquered Tirhut on his way to Bengal But the evidence of 'Isāmi is decisive on this point. His detailed account leaves no doubt that Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq invaded Tirhut on his way back from Bengal Harisiṁha, the king of Tirhut, offered a stubborn resistance to the imperial army, and Ghiyās-ud-dīn started for Delhi before the ruler of Tirhut was completely subdued, as will be related in Chapter XIII, D-II.

In course of his return journey the Sultān received some alarming news of his son's conduct and general disquiet at Delhi, and proceeded by forced marches What followed is thus described by Ibn Batūtah: "As the Sultān neared the capital he sent orders to his son, Ulugh Khān, that he should build him a palace near Afghānpūr This palace was in the main a wooden structure, constructed within three days under the supervision of Malikzāda Ahmad bin Aiyāz, the superintendent of buildings, later known as Khvāja Jahān, the principal *wazīr* of Sultān Muhammad It rested on wooden columns and was so contrived that should the elephants step on a part of it the whole structure would collapse and tumble down. The Sultān stopped in this palace and fed his guests. After

they dispersed, the prince asked the Sultān to allow him to have the elephants ride past him, and permission was granted. Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn informed me that he was with the Sultān at the time, when Jauna Khān approached him saying: 'Maulānā, it is time for the *'Asr* prayer, come and pray' The Shaikh complied with this request, and the elephants were brought from a certain direction, as had been arranged. When they stepped over the palace, it immediately collapsed on the Sultān and his son Mahmūd The Shaikh said, 'I heard the uproar and returned without saying the prayer. I saw that the structure had fallen, and the Sultān's son was ordering pickaxes and shovels to be brought to dig out the Sultān, but he made signs for them to delay and the implements were not brought till after the sunset' When the Sultān was dug out he was seen bending over his son to save him from death. Some presumed that he was taken out dead; some apprehended that he was taken out alive and afterwards murdered. He was carried in the course of the night to the tomb, which he had built outside the city of Tughluqābād."[12]

It will appear from the above account that Ibn Batūtah definitely accuses Ulugh Khān (Jauna) of murdering his father. The testimony of Baranī, the only other contemporary writer, does not, however, support this view After referring to the reception of the Sultān in a temporary pavilion, Baranī states 'A calamity occurred, like a thunderbolt falling from heaven on the denizens of the earth, and the roof of the dais, on which Sultān Tughluq Shāh was sitting, fell, and the emperor, with five or six persons, fell beneath the roof, and was united to the neighbourhood of God's mercy" [13]

It should be noted that Baranī's expression is somewhat vague. Some historians, both of old and modern times, have taken his words literally to mean that the pavilion was struck by lightning. But it has been pointed out that if that was Baranī's intention to convey, he would have worded the expression differently.[14]

It has been suggested by old and modern writers that Baranī dared not speak the truth unfavourable to Ulugh Khān, later Emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq, as he wrote during the reign of Fīrūz who was greatly attached to the Emperor While this is a forceful argument, it should be remembered that Baranī has not hesitated to describe many harsh and oppressive acts of Muhammad bin Tughluq and severely condemn him Later historians have supported either the view of deliberate conspiracy and murder by Ulugh Khān, or accidental death by lightning as concluded from the statement of Baranī Badāūnī and the authors of the *Futūh-us-Salātīn* (an almost contemporary work), *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, and *Tabaqāt-*

i-Akbarī support the view of Ibn Batūtah, while Firishta supports the view of Baranī. But Firishta evidently was not quite convinced, for he concluded with the very characteristic expression, "God only knows the real truth". The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* neither refers to the lightning, nor to the deliberate murder.[15]

Dr Ishwari Prasad has critically discussed the question and is inclined to the view that Ulugh Khān murdered his father.[16] He points out that there were several causes of estrangement between the father and the son, the most important of which was Sultān's aversion against Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā, to whom Ulugh Khān was devoutly attached. Further, when Tughluq was returning from his campaign he sent an order to the Shaikh to quit the city before his arrival. The Shaikh, when warned by his friends of the approach of the Sultān almost to the suburbs of the city, is said to have replied. "Delhi is yet far off". This may also be taken to indicate some sort of conspiracy to kill the Sultān before he could actually reach the capital city. But many writers are of opinion that even if there were any such conspiracy, Nizām-ud-din Auliyā had probably nothing to do with it It is also very significant that the official, under whose supervision the pavilion was constructed, was not only not punished, but promoted to a higher post Unless Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn had deliberately made a false statement to Ibn Batūtah, or the latter grossly misrepresented him, the circumstantial narrative of the former, who was present on the occasion, must be preferred to the vague statement of Baranī. On the whole, though no definite conclusion is possible, one would perhaps be inclined to agree with Dr. Ishwari Prasad "that the Sultān's death was the result of pre-meditation and conspiracy and not of accident " This is also the view of Sir Wolseley Haig who observes "Ibn Batūtah's impartial evidence is conclusive" [17] Dr M Husain has made an attempt to exculpate Ulugh Khān, but his discussion, though elaborate and painstaking [18] does not carry conviction, and appears more like a special pleading than an impartial investigation of truth.

Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq died in A D 1325 (February or March), but during his short reign of less than five years he showed great ability in administration The State treasury had been almost depleted by the reckless expenditure of Mubārak and Khusrav, and grant of *jāgīrs* on a large scale. The Sultān not only issued orders to resume the lands unlawfully granted, but also forced many to refund the amount that had been given to them The celebrated saint, Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā, who had spent the money granted to him in charity, and was therefore unable to refund it,

did not even send any reply to the Sultān's demand. For this reason there was an estrangement between the two. The Sultān was very angry with his son Jauna for his extreme reverence for the saint, as has been noted above.

The land revenue was equitably settled and the farming system was abolished. The Sultān took special care to prevent the exactions of peasants by officials and *jāgīrdārs* and remitted revenues to a large extent in times of drought On the whole the government was based on justice and moderation and inspired by a desire to promote the welfare of the ruled. The Sultān selected his officials on grounds of merit alone and paid them well to prevent corruption.

The Sultān led an ideal life and was free from drinking and many other usual vices of the age. He built the fortified city of Tughluqābād and removed his capital there. He also erected many buildings, the most magnificent being his own tomb which has such unique artistic features To him belongs the great credit of restoring the power and prestige of the Delhi Sultanate which had fallen very low, and revitalizing the system of administration which had almost collapsed during the disgraceful reigns of his immediate predecessors.

But Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, in spite of this admirable qualities and personal virtues, was a man of the age, and blindly adhered to the Qurānic laws as the basis of his civil administration This explains his attitude towards his Hindu subjects "who were treated with great severity and were made to feel their position of inferiority in the body politic" [19] According to the ordinance promulgated by the Sultān, "there should be left only so much to the Hindus that neither on the one hand should they become intoxicated on account of their wealth, nor on the other should they become so destitute as to leave their lands and cultivation in despair" [20] The close resemblance of this with the principles followed by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī[21] is of great significance As a man Tughluq was far superior to 'Alā-ud-dīn, but although he did not revive the agrarian and fiscal policy of the latter, his attitude towards the Hindus was not very dissimilar. This shows that the position of the Hindus in the Islāmic State of Delhi did not depend much on the character and presonality of the Sultān, but was determined by the Qurānic policy, as it was understood in this country in those days. This was clearly based upon discrimination between Muslims and Hindus, and the latter were relegated to an inferior position without any political status or civil rights in the land of their birth

1 *QTIP*, 5 ff., *CHI*, III, 127 f n
2 For a full discussion, cf *MTMH*, 45 ff.
3 For these and other debatable points that follow, full discussion with reference will be generally found in *MTMH* and *QTIP*
4 *JRAS*, 1922, p 321
5 Vol. V, pp 202-3
6 According to the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, 'Ubaid spread a report that the Emperor was dead at Delhi, he also employed the *amīrs* and *maliks* for assassinating Ulugh Khān who, however reached near the Sultān by forced marches and narrated to him the whole incident. The latter thereupon inflicted terrible punishment upon the rebel *amīrs*
7 Haig has offered a plausible explanation of these two facts (*JRAS*, 1922, pp 326-7)
7a Vol V, p 203.
8 *JOR*, XII, 212
9. *EIM*, 1923-4, p. 13
10 *JASB*, 1895, part I, pp 136, 146 But R D Banerji thinks that the inscription refers to Bhānudeva's fight with Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq during the latter's campaign in Bengal (*Orissa* I, 276)
11. N Venkataramanayya—*The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 126.
12 Based on the English translation by Dr M Husain (GOS) pp 54-5
13 The passage was wrongly translated in *HIED* (III, 235), but has been correctly rendered by W Haig (*JRAS*, 1922, p 330)
14 Ibid.
15 The author simply says "The construction was newly made, the earth under the erection trembled, and by divine pre-ordination it gave way" (*TMB*, 97), Ishwari Prasad points out that he "makes no mention of lightning and supports Ibn Batūtah" (*QTIP*, 41) while M Husain thinks otherwise (*MTMH*, 70)
16 *Op cit*, pp. 38-48
17 *JRAS*, 1922, p 336
18 *MTMH*, pp 66-74
19 *QTIP*, 51
20 Ibid
21 Above, p. 24

CHAPTER IV

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ (A.D. 1325-51)

Three days after the death of his father, Ulugh Khān (also called Jauna) ascended the throne (February or March, 1325). He is designated variously as Muhammad Tughluq, Muhammad bin Tughluq, or simply Muhammad Shāh. Following the existing practice it would be convenient to refer to him as simply Muhammad or Muhammad Tughluq Whatever view we might take regarding the part played by Muhammad in the tragic death of his father, there is no doubt that his accession was, generally speaking, accepted without demur by all concerned, in any event, there is nothing to show that there was any opposition or even popular discontent against the new ruler on that account

Of all the monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Delhi the personality and activities of Muhammad bin Tughluq have proved to be the greatest puzzle both in ancient and modern times, and have evoked the most lively discussion among historians of all ages His reign was full of stirring events, some of which were strange, and even bizarre in the extreme But, curiously enough, although we possess fairly detailed accounts of his reign written by three eminent contemporary authors, we do not know, not only the dates, but even the sequence, of these events. What is worse still, even in respect of the major schemes launched by the great Sultān, we cannot form any definite idea, either of their precise nature or of the motives that inspired them. There is, in consequence, a wide divergence of opinion among scholars regarding the proper reconstruction of the reign and a proper estimate of the character and personality of the monarch It will be our endeavour to present a detached view of the Sultān and his reign with the help of such reliable evidence as we possess, without any attempt at hypothetical reconstruction based on speculation, but incidentally referring to the different views on controversial points as far as possible [1]

One of the earliest events in the reign is the rebellion of Bahā-ud-dīn Gurshāsp [2] the son of Tughluq's sister, who held the fief of Sāgar, near Gulburga in the Deccan He had amassed vast wealth and having gained over many of the nobles of his principality, attacked those who remained loyal to the Sultān (A D 1326-7) The imperial army defeated him at Devagiri and pursued him up to Sāgar But Gurshāsp, unable to defend himself, fled with his family

and treasure to the kingdom of Kampilī, and sought shelter with its Hindu ruler.

As noted above,[3] this small kingdom, comprising Bellary, Rāichur and Dhārwār districts, was originally a dependency of the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri, and when this was annexed by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, the ruler of Kampilī declared his independence, and successfully resisted the invasion of Malik Kāfūr (A.D. 1313-15). The kingdom had since grown in power and prestige, and now included parts of Anantapur, Chitaldrug and Shimoga districts.[4] The Rājā, called Kampilīdeva in Muslim chronicles, welcomed the fugative Gurshāsp and gave him protection. Whether he was actuated by purely humanitarian consideration and traditional Hindu ideas of hospitality, or there was any political motive behind it, it is difficult to say. The statement of Firishta that Gurshāsp had maintained a friendly intercourse with the Rājā of Kampilī seems to support the latter view. The Rājā of Kampilī had been an avowed enemy of the Muslims, and might have some understanding with a chief disaffected towards the Sultān.[5]

But whatever might have been the motive of Kampilīdeva, his action brought a veritable disaster upon him and his kingdom. As could be expected, the Sultān sent a powerful force against the defiant Hindu king. But Kampilīdeva offered a heroic resistance. He twice defeated the imperial troops, but when fresh reinforcements arrived from Devagiri, he was forced to shut himself up in the fort of Hosadurg (Anagondi) It was invested by the enemy on all sides and lack of provision made it impossible for Kampilīdeva to hold out for more than a month. But he died like a hero. On his advice the ladies of the royal family died by the fearful *Jauhar* ceremony and the wives of ministers and noblemen followed their example Then Kampilīdeva and his followers sallied forth and died fighting to the last[6] Kampilī was annexed and constituted into a separate province with Malik Muhammad as its governor. The surviving sons of the king and his officers were carried to Delhi as prisoners and were forced to embrace Islām. Among these were the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. So the unique self-sacrifice of Kampilīdeva for the sake of protecting a guest did not go in vain From the ruins of his kingdom rose a mighty Hindu empire in the south, as will be related later.

When Kampilīdeva found his situation helpless he managed to send the rebel Gurshāsp with his family to the Hoysala court and commended him to the care and protection of King Ballāla III. So, after the fall of Kampilī, the imperial troops proceeded towards

Dvārasamudra, the Hoysala capital. Ballāla III evidently took lesson from the fate of Kampilīdeva. According to Firishta he seized Gurshāsp and sent him bound to the Muslim general, and at the same time acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultān of Delhi. But there are good grounds to believe that Firishta did not tell the whole truth. According to some authorities, Dvārasamudra was destroyed by the Muslims in A.D. 1327, and if so, it is very likely that Ballāla III did not yield without fight[7] Besides, an inscription, dated A.D. 1328, proves that Ballāla III ruled as an independent king in that year,[8] and this is at variance with Firishta's statement that he acknowledged the supremacy of Delhi. The probability is that Ballāla III offered some resistance at first but, being defeated, made peace by surrendering the fugitive rebel Gurshāsp. He evidently submitted to the Sultān, but was permitted to rule over at least a part of his kingdom.

The rebellion of Gurshāsp thus completed the expansion of the Delhi Sultanate to the southernmost limit of India. 'Alā-ud-dīn's policy, like that of Samudra-gupta nearly a thousand years before, was merely to establish his suzerainty over the distant provinces of the south He laid low the four great Hindu powers of the south, namely, the Kākatīyas, the Yādavas, the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas, but was content to leave them in possession of their dominions so long as they acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi Though circumstances forced him to annex the Yādava kingdom, he did not attempt to annex the other three kingdoms. The Tughluqs, however, pursued the policy of exterminating the Hindu rule in the south. Warangal and Madurā had already been incorporated in their dominions and now Kampilī and a large part of the Hoysala dominions shared the same fate. To Muhammad bin Tughluq, either as crown-prince, or as Sultān, belongs the credit of all these conquests which completed the triumph of Islām and seemed to have finally put an end to Hindu independence in the South. The authority of the Sultān was acknowledged all over India, save Kāshmīr, Orissa, Rājasthān and a strip of Malabar coast, and he established an effective system of administration over this vast empire It has been observed that even "the remote provinces like Malabar and Telingāna were as effectively under his control as the villages in the vicinity of Delhi'

But the rebellion of Gurshāsp, which brought into prominent relief the brighter side of Muhammad bin Tughluq, particularly his military abilities and the efficiency of administration, also displayed the darker side of his character When Gurshāsp was carried as prisoner to the Sultān, he ordered the rebel to be flayed alive. But

he was not satisfied with this; Gurshāsp's flesh, cooked with rice, was sent to his wife and children, while his skin, stuffed with straw, was exhibited in the principal cities of the kingdom. This revolting cruelty gave a foretaste of the barbarous, if not fiendish, spirit which characterized the Sultān, and it was not long before he displayed it on a massive scale.

One of the earliest administrative acts of the Sultān was the enhancement of taxation in the Doāb (A.D. 1325-7). This created a terrible situation which throws a lurid light on the policy and character of the Sultān. The contemporary historian Baranī gives a vivid picture of the whole affair which leaves on the minds of his reader a very deep impression of the atrocious regime of the Sultān His account may be summed up as follows:[9]

"The taxation in the Doāb was increased ten and twenty times, and the royal officials consequently created such *abwābs* or cesses and collected them with such rigour that the *ryots* were reduced to impotence, poverty and ruin. There were rebellions on all sides, the land was ruined, and cultivation was greatly diminished All this produced a famine in Delhi and its neighbourhood and the Doāb Rains failed at the same time, and the famine continued for several years Thousands of people perished, and when they tried to escape, the Sultān led punitive expeditions to various places and hunted them like wild beasts."

Baranī is the only contemporary writer who refers to this painful episode, and paints it in vivid colours. His account leaves no doubt that the result of the policy of the Sultān and the method of its execution had created utmost distress and almost devastated large parts of the kingdom. It also brings into prominence the inhuman cruelty of the Sultān. But there are some grounds to doubt the accuracy of Baranī's version of the troubles in the Doāb He does not specify the exact amount of tax which was sought to be levied from the peasants, and the increment was not probably tenfold or twentyfold as he says Firishta's statement that it was increased threefold or fourfold is probably nearer the truth

Badāūnī states that the enhancement of assessment was both a punitive measure and a means of replenishing the treasury, and this view has been accepted by Wolseley Haig Gardner Brown thinks that the taxation imposed by the Sultān was not heavy, and that the picture drawn by Baranī about the cruel deeds of the Sultān is highly exaggerated. Some other writers also seem to be inclined to this view. But even making due allowance for possible exaggeration, there is no doubt that there was widespread distress by the increased taxation and this was aggravated by famine. According

to Gardner Brown, the sufferings of the people were more due to want of rain than to heavy taxation. But, then, no steps were taken to relieve the famine-stricken people, and there was no reduction in the taxation. The people who suffered severely naturally tried to escape from their homes to avoid the heavy taxes, and they were severely punished for this. The rendering of Baranī's expression that the Sultān 'hunted men like wild beasts' may be wrong,[10] or the statement may be exaggerated, but we may well believe that they were severely and mercilessly punished. On the whole it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the step taken by the Sultān was highly reprehensible, and the method of its execution, extremely cruel. They inflicted terrible hardships upon the people, devastated a fertile province, and created disorder and confusion over a wide area

The date of the increase of taxation is a matter of dispute, as different dates are given by older authorities[11] Among modern scholars, some place the event in A D. 1326-27,[12] while others place it three years later. Assuming this later date to be true, Dr. M. Husain has sought to give a new interpretation to the whole episode. He thinks that the rank of the cultivators was swelled by the disbanded soldiers of the army recruited for expedition to Khurāsān. When the tax was increased, they not only refused to pay the taxes but also ceased to work. This amounted to rebellion, since the peasants' duty was to till the soil. Besides, they defied the tax-collectors and, as Hājī-ud-Dabīr informs us, even killed them. Hence the Sultān called the local Hindu chiefs to account and inflicted exemplary punishments on them The *amīrān-i-sadah* were then fitted out to crush the rebellion, but they were also killed by the rebels Fearing the consequences, the ringleaders then fled into the forests, with which parts of the Doāb were still covered; and when they fraternized with the hitherto independent Rājput clans of Dalmau, the Sultān pursued them over the whole area from Baran to Kanauj.[13] Dr. Husain's reconstruction of the episode is highly speculative. But even if we adopt his view of the case, it is necessary to point out that the original fault lay with the Sultān, though he could not possibly foresee all the consequences

Dr Husain refers to Hājī-ud-Dabīr's statement in support of his theory of rebellion But this writer clearly says that when the officers of the State employed rigour in collecting the taxes and practised oppression. the people rebelled in despair and abandoned their fields.[14]

About the same time when land tax was increased in the Doāb, or perhaps a little earlier, the Sultān launched two big projects,

namely, the change of the capital to Daulatābād (Devagiri or Deogīr), and the introduction of a token currency. Both these require somewhat detailed consideration.

For the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatābād (A.D. 1326-27) and the ruthless manner in which it was done, we possess a detailed account from all the three contemporary authors, Baranī, Ibn Batūtah, and 'Isāmī. The account of Baranī runs as follows:

"The second project of Sultān Muhammad, which was ruinous to the capital of the empire, and distressing to the chief men of the country, was that of making Deogīr his capital, under the title of Daulatābād. This place held a central situation. Delhī, Gujarāt Lakhanautī, Satgānw, Sunārgānw, Tilang, Ma'bar, Dhūrsamundar, and Kampila were about equi-distant from thence, there being but a slight difference in the distances. Without any consultation; and without carefully looking into the advantages and disadvantages on every side, he brought ruin upon Delhi, that city which, for 170 or 180 years, had grown in prosperity, and rivalled Baghdad and Cairo The city with its *sarāis*, and its suburbs and villages, spread over four or five *kos*. All was destroyed. So complete was the ruin, that not a cat or a dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburbs. Troops of the natives, with their families and dependents, wives and children, men-servants and maid-servants, were forced to remove. The people, who for many years and for generations had been natives and inhabitants of the land, were broken-hearted. Many, from the toils of the long journey, perished on the road, and those who arrived at Deogīr could not endure the pain of exile In despondency they pined to death. All around Deogīr, which is infidel land, there sprung up graveyards of Musulmāns. The Sultān was bounteous in his liberality and favours to the emigrants, both on their journey and on their arrival; but they were tender, and they could not endure the exile and suffering. They laid down their heads in that heathen land, and of all the multitudes of emigrants, few only survived to return to their home. Thus this city, the envy of the cities of the inhabited world, was reduced to ruin".[16]

Ibn Batūtah refers to the same event as follows.—

"One of the most serious reprehensions against the Sultān is that he forced the inhabitants of Delhi into exile The cause of it was this. They used to write letters containing abuses and scandals, and they would seal the letters writing on the cover—'By the head of His Majesty none except he should read the letter.' These letters they used to throw into the council hall in the course of the night. When he tore them open, he found abuses and scandals in the con-

tents. So he resolved to lay Delhi waste. He bought the houses and dwellings from all the inhabitants of Delhi and paid the price for them. Then he ordered the inhabitants to leave Delhi and move on to Daulatābād, but they refused to do so. Thereupon his crier went forth proclaiming that no one should remain in Delhi after three days. As a result, most of the people went away; but some concealed themselves in their houses. The Sultān ordered a search for those who still lingered; and in the lanes of the city his slaves lighted upon two men—one being a cripple and the other a blind man. Both were brought to the court and the Sultān ordered the cripple to be thrown up in the air by means of the ballista (*minjanīq*) and the blind man to be dragged from Delhi to Daulatābād—a distance of forty days' journey. He was torn to pieces on the way, and only a leg of his reached Daulatābād. When the Sultān had done that, all the inhabitants of Delhi came out leaving behind their property and baggage, and the city was reduced to a desert. I was informed on reliable authority that in the night the Sultān mounted the roof of his palace and looked round Delhi. When neither a light nor even a smoke or a lamp came into sight he remarked, 'Now my heart is pleased and my soul is at rest'. Then he wrote to the inhabitants of other provinces to repair to Delhi to re-people it As a result, those provinces were destroyed, but Delhi was not repeopled on account of its vastness and immensity. It is one of the greatest cities of the world, and when we entered it we found it in the state above referred to; it was empty and was but scantily inhabited"[16]

In spite of the concurrent testimony of these two contemporary witnesses, with which the other contemporary, 'Isāmī, agrees,[17] it has been urged by some modern scholars that the account given by them is an exaggerated one. They argue that the statement that the city of Delhi was *altogether deserted* is in conflict with Ibn Batūtah's description of the city of Delhi as populous in the year A.D. 1334, i.e. three years before the restoration of Delhi as the capital city This completely ignores the last three sentences of the extract quoted above from Ibn Batūtah's *Rehla*. Again, it is pointed out that constructive works were designed and carried out in Delhi by the Sultān during the very years in which he is supposed to have removed all the inhabitants of Delhi to Deogīr. On these and other grounds Dr M Husain has made an elaborate and vigorous plea in defence of his contention that the city of Delhi never ceased to be the capital, and as such, was never depopulated or deserted[18] His arguments have been considered by Prof. N. B. Roy whose conclusion seems to be a more reasonable one. "The old capital," he says, "was not, however, reduced to utter desolation; it continued

to remain a seat of administration and a mint-town, coins being issued from Delhi in 728, 729 and 730 A.H. (A D. 1327-30). And during these years the royal palace too often buzzed with noise at the occasional visits of the Sultān required by the outbreak of rebellions. The city, however, wore a deserted appearance; and in spite of the Sultān's efforts to re-people it by bringing in men from other places, Ibn Batūtah, 'found it empty and depopulated' save for a few inhabitants, when he visited Delhi six years after this event".[19]

Thus although the city of Delhi might not have been absolutely depopulated and deserted, the story of the removal of the people *en masse* and the "incalculable magnitude of the suffering" caused thereby cannot be doubted.[20]

At the same time it is only fair to remember that the Sultān made various arrangements to alleviate the sufferings of the emigrants. "The two distant cities were connected by a good road bordered with rows of trees to give shade to travelling men and beasts. Couriers who maintained an efficient service of carrying despatches by relays were set up at every *coss*, rest-houses and hospices were built at successive stages. Each was placed in charge of a Shaikh and provision was made for supplying food, cold drink and betels to the travelling multitude at these stations These measures undoubtedly offered partial relief from the pangs of thirst and hunger, but they could not protect the men from the scorching blaze of the tropical sun, nor could they assuage the home-sickness which 'kills an Indian in exile.' "[21]

Some modern writers hold that the reason advanced by Ibn Batūtah for the removal of the capital is unworthy of credence, and that given by Baranī is also not perhaps quite accurate They point out that the cessation of the invasion of the Mongols and the extension of the Delhi Sultanate to the southernmost extremity of India diminished the importance of Delhi as the capital city and increased the necessity of having a centre of political activity in a more central place like Daulatābād Dr M Husain is of the opinion that Sultān Muhammad probably decided to remove to Deogīr on account of the paucity of Muslims in the Deccan and wanted to make Daulatābād a centre of Muslim culture, planting there a colony of Muslim saints, *'ulamā'* and nobles; and this view has been shared by others.[22]

According to the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* there were two migrations to Daulatābād, one, of the notables, in A.D. 1327, and the other, of the inhabitants of Delhi as a punitive measure, about two years later.[23] Dr. M. Husain also holds that the transfer of the people to Deogīr was effected in two stages, but he holds that

only the leading Muslims, and not "the common people—the masses or the Hindus"—were forced to migrate there He further asserts that "Delhi was never deserted and, in fact, never ceased to be the capital". In his opinion Sultān Muhammad never intended to leave Delhi, much less to destroy it What he wanted was to have two capitals for his far-flung empire, namely, Delhi and Daulatābād.[24] But this view is not shared by others and is not supported even by the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* to which Dr. Husain refers, for it distinctly speaks of a forcible mass migration and evacuation of Delhi about A D. 1329, which was carried out so thoroughly that not even the cry of dogs or cats was heard in the city [24a]

Shortly after the transfer of the capital the Sultān marched against the impregnable hill-fort of Siṁhagarh (then called Kondana), eight miles south of Poona In spite of the heroic resistance of its Koli chieftain, the fort was besieged for eight months and practically starved into submission (A D 1327-28).

This was followed by the rebellion of Bahrām Aiba, surnamed Kishlū Khān, who was a close friend of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, and highly respected by Muhammad As Kishlū held the fiefs of Uch, Sind and Multān which guarded the north-western frontier of the empire, his rebellion was a serious affair Different causes of his rebellion are given by different authorities The most probable view seems to be the refusal of the chief to send his family to the newly established capital Daulatābād and his quarrel with the messenger who brought to him the Sultān's order to this effect. Kishlū gathered a large army, but was defeated by the Sultān who hurriedly advanced from the Deccan with a large army (A D. 1327-28) Kishlū fled, but was captured and executed His head was hung up at the gate of the city as a warning to others

Troubles also broke out in Bengal, where Muhammad Tughluq had introduced a new system of administration [24b] He had divided the province into three administrative units, with capitals respectively at Lakhnāwatī, Sonārgāon, and Sātgāon. He appointed Qadr Khān as joint ruler at Lakhnāwatī with the Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn, whom Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq had left in independent charge of the province Qadr, though nominally subordinate to Nāsīr-ud-dīn, was the *de facto* ruler, directly responsible to the Sultān of Delhi Muhammad Tughluq introduced a similar policy of check and balance also in eastern Bengal Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur who, as mentioned above, was brought captive to Delhi by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, was released by Muhammad Tughluq and was sent back to Sonārgāon to rule jointly with Bahrām Khān A new governor was appointed for Sātgāon. Nasīr-ud-dīn, whose power was gradually

reduced to nullity, accepted the position without demur. But Ghiyās-ud-dīn, warned by the fate of his brother Nasīr-ud-dīn, rebelled after three years, in 728 A.H. (A.D. 1327-8). He was, however, defeated and captured by Bahrām Khān, who killed him, flayed his skin, and sent it to Muhammad Tughluq.

The only exception to the brilliant military successes of the Sultān is furnished by his wars with the Rājputs and the invasion of the Mongols, and as opinions differ on both these episodes, they require a somewhat detailed treatment. According to the Rājput chronicles, Rāṇā Hammīra had taken advantage of the confusion in the Delhi Sultanate after the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī to increase his power and seized Chitor in A.D. 1326. He gradually established his authority over the whole of Mewār and assumed the title of Mahārāṇā The Chauhān ruler Jaiza, son of Māldev, who was ruling Mewār as a feudatory of the Sultān, fled to Muhammad Tughluq at Delhi. Thereupon the latter marched against the Mahārāṇā, but was defeated in a battle near the village of Singoli and was taken prisoner by the Mahārāṇā. Three months later, he was released by the Mahārāṇā after he ceded to him Ajmer, Ranthambor, Nāgaur and Sooespur, paid 50 *lakhs* of rupees, and gave 100 elephants.

This circumstantial narrative is not directly corroborated by any other evidence, but according to a Jain temple inscription, dated A.D. 1438, a Muslim army was defeated by Hammīra. That Mewār acknowledged the suzerainty of Tughluq Shāh is proved by an inscription in the fort of Chitor. So the Muslim-Rājput clash evidently took place in the reign of Muhammad. It is also quite clear from contemporary chronicles that Muhammad Tughluq and the later Sultāns practically left Rājputāna severely alone, and the various Rājput principalities recognised Mewār as the paramount power at least in name. The story of Hammīra's success against the Muslims cannot, therefore, be regarded as altogether baseless We may accept the conclusion of Ojha that not only Mewār but nearly the whole of Rājputāna became practically independent of Delhi Sultanate, but, as he rightly observes, the story of the defeat and imprisonment of Muhammad Tughluq cannot be regarded as true in the absence of corroborative evidence Possibly the Muslim army was led by some general and not the Sultān himself [25]

Some time about A.D. 1327, India was invaded by the Mongols under the Chaghatai chief Tarmāshīrīn (Dharmaśrī) of Transoxiana, who was a Buddhist but later converted to Islām According to Firishta, Tarmāshīrīn marched with a huge army towards India with a view to conquering it, and having subdued Lamghān, Multān

and other regions, advanced rapidly towards Delhi. Sultān Muhammad humiliated himself before him and purchased peace by giving the invader a huge quantity of wealth. On receiving almost the price of the kingdom, Tarmāshirīn retreated, after having plundered Gujarāt and Sind and taking many prisoners.

According to other, and earlier, accounts, the Sultān pursued the Mongols, after they had retreated, as far as Kalanor (in Gujarāt district, Punjab), and though no actual engagement is mentioned, Tarmāshirīn is described as a vanquished enemy. But that the Mongols ravaged the territory almost up to the gates of Delhi, if not further to the east, and Muhammad could not oppose their advance, seems to be the general view This is clearly stated in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*[26] and, curiously enough, is fully supported by a passage in the autobiography of Tīmūr. We learn from this work that "Tarmāshirīn with a host beyond all number and compute had assailed Meerut".[27] According to the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Muhammad Tughluq encamped in his capital and did not come out until the Mongols had turned back of their own accord after the devastation of the country.[28]

Dr. Ishwari Prasad accepts Firishta's account as more probable than others,[29] but some modern historians do not accept this view. Sir Wolseley Haig accepts the story of the invasion, but rejects the account of the Sultān's surrender and his attempt to bribe the invader.[30] Dr. M. Husain puts an entirely different construction on the whole episode According to him Tarmāshirīn came to India as a refugee, because of the defeat he had suffered in A.D. 1326 at the hands of Amīr Choban near Ghaznī He fled with a large part of his army into the Punjab and came through Multān to Delhi. The Sultān gave him 5,000 *dīnārs* by way of help, and he retired.[31] This extremely speculative view is unsupported by any reliable testimony and opposed to almost all the evidence that we possess.

The most remarkable experiment of the Sultān which took place shortly after this was the issue of his fictitious currency (A D 1329-30) It is probable that he borrowed this idea from the paper currency prevalent in China and Persia He issued brass or copper tokens[32] and also a decree to the effect that they should pass current for the silver *tanka* of 140 grains There is no unanimity of opinion about the object or the wisdom of this policy. The contemporary historian Baranī remarks that the Sultān's bounty and munificence had caused a great deficiency in the treasury and he wanted large amount of money for his ambitious plan to conquer the whole world So he introduced his copper money. Many later chroniclers hold the same view, and the policy has been severely condemned. But

some modern writers are of opinion that the token currency was introduced not to refill the empty coffers but to remove the difficulty caused by the shortage in the world's supply of silver and the consequent scarcity of the silver currency. They believe that the Sultān's treasury was still quite rich, as is proved by Baranī's own statement that the token coins were later exchanged at their face value.

As regards the wisdom of the measure, Mr. Thomas held that the measure cannot be regarded as unjust, and Dr. M. Husain regards the scheme as "on the whole quite good and statesmanlike"; but others hold less favourable view.[33] There is however, unanimity of opinion that the result of the introduction of token coins was most disastrous and that it was mainly due to the way in which the plan was executed. It should be noted that the ordinary gold and silver coins were also legal tender along with the token coins. The result was that the people paid their revenues in the token currency, and the foreign merchants paid for their expenses in the token currency, but refused to take them in payment for their goods. The evil results of this were increased hundred times by the fact that there was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the royal mint and the handiwork of the moderately skilled artisans Unlike the precautions taken to prevent imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was practically no check on the unauthorized issue of the copper token and no limit to the power of production of the masses at large The result of all this was almost the wholesale counterfeiting of the token coins, and Baranī refers to it in his cryptic remark that the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint and every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop. Although the token coins were not current for more than three or four years, there was a very heavy loss to the treasury. But it must be said to the credit of the Sultān that he gave the public gold (and possibly also silver) coins in exchange for the token copper coins. It is pointed out by contemporary chroniclers that mountains of these copper coins arose at the different treasuries of the government and lay there for years; the remains of them were to be seen even a century later

Shortly after the invasion of Tarmāshīrīn, the Sultān formed the ambitious design of conquering Transoxiana, Khurāsān and Iraq. With this object in view he began to raise a new army Baranī says that 3,70,000 troops were collected and paid for one year, but then the king disbanded them. According to Baranī, this was one of the measures which diminished his treasury and brought distress upon his kingdom. Many have condemned the action of the Sultān and even denounced the project as a mad one Some modern histo-

rians, however, have taken a more lenient view They are of the opinion that considering the power and prestige of the Sultān there was nothing inherently absurd in his plan of conquering neighbouring countries, particularly as the distracted political condition of Khurāsān at that time appeared to be favourable to such an enterprise.[34] But even admitting this point of view, one might wonder what good could be expected from such an expedition. While there was no reasonable prospect of permanently holding the distant land, there was the great risk that the army of invasion might suffer terrible loss in the steppe that separates India from that region.[35] It is also admitted on all hands that at a time when the kingdom was suffering from the effects of the transfer of capital, token currency, and rebellions, it was highly impolitic to undertake such an expedition Besides, as events proved, the Sultān had very little knowledge about the real state of affairs in Khurāsān.

Although the Sultān abandoned the idea of conquering Khurāsān, he did not give up altogether the idea of foreign conquests A few years later, he conquered Nagarkot (A D. 1337) in the Kangra district. Next he undertook an expedition in the Himālayan region, the object of which has been held by many, on the authority of Firishta, to be the conquest of China But this view is not confirmed by any contemporary or any other later reliable authorities, and we must reject it Both Baranī and Ibn Batūtah state that the expedition was aimed against Qurachal mountain, which lies between India and China, and there is no doubt that this view is the correct one. The name of the State is written in various ways such as Qurachal, Qarajal and Farajal Some later writers write it as Himachal It has been suggested that the name Himachal and also the other names are derived from the Himālaya (mountains) Others hold that the name Qarachil is derived from Kumachal or Kūrmāchal which is the name of Kumaon But, whatever may be the correct form of the name, or its derivation, there is no doubt that the State was situated at the foot of the Himālayas, most probably in the region now comprised in the Kumaon Division, and extended up to the Terai.[36]

As regards the objects of the expedition, also, the authorities differ considerably According to Baranī, it was a preliminary step to the conquest of Khurāsān and Transoxiana, but this view may be rejected, as Kumaon does not lie on the way from India to those regions. The most probable reason seems to be that the Sultān wanted to extend the suzerainty of Delhi over the hill chiefs who gave him troubles and with whom Indian rebels, when defeated, found shelter. As a matter of fact, the expedition to Qarachal may be regarded as due to the same policy which led the Sultān to

invade Nagarkot, namely, the security of the northern frontier. But whatever may be the object or ultimate destination, the expedition proved to be one of the greatest calamities.

According to all accounts, the Sultān sent a large army for the expedition. Ibn Batūtah says that it consisted of "a hundred thousand horsemen besides a large number of infantry". It seems that the expedition passed through the Moradābād district. The royal troops captured the city of Jidya, which lay at the foot of the mountain, along with the adjacent territories, and burnt the country The people here, all Hindus, left their hearth and home and took refuge in the mountain heights There was only one road leading up to the hill-top and only a single horseman could pass through it. The royal troops climbed by this way and captured the city of Warangal They wrote about their victory to the Sultān who ordered them to remain there[37] But when the rains set in, a disease broke out in the army Accordingly, with the permission of the Sultān, the troops began to descend, but the people took their stand in the gorges and occupied the pass before them. Then they threw down pieces of huge trees which killed a large number of the Sultān's army. Those who survived were captured and the people plundered the wealth, horses and the arms of the royal army. Only three officers of this army escaped, and the rest perished. This is the account left by Ibn Batūtah,[38] and it is substantially corroborated by other writers. The consequences of this ill-judged military expedition proved highly disastrous, and so seriously affected the military strength of the Sultān that he could never again collect a large force against his enemies But. on the other hand, as the hill people could not cultivate the low lands at the foot of the hill without acknowledging the authority of the Sultān of Delhi, a peace was concluded with the mountain chief who agreed to pay tribute Thus though the object of the expedition was partially fulfilled, it may be easily concluded that the military disaster was one of the primary causes of the revolts and disturbances that occurred almost throughout the empire For, while the military resources of the empire were being exhausted in the expeditions against Nagarkot and Qarachal, the disintegration of the mighty empire had already begun in the south.

Sayyid Ahsan Shāh, the *kotwāl* of Ma'bar, the southernmost province of the empire with its headquarters in Madurā, declared independence in A D. 1334-5 According to Baranī,[39] "the army sent from Delhi to recover Ma'bar remained there" This evidently means that it was won over by Ahsan Shāh. The Sultān then personally advanced against him via Daulatābād and Warangal. At the former place he levied heavy taxes and his oppressive exactions

drove many persons to kill themselves. There was a cholera epidemic at Warangal, and the Sultān himelf was attacked In the meantime famine broke out in Delhi and Mālwa, and there were rebellions in Lahore. So the Sultān gave up the campaign and returned to Delhi. Ma'bar became independent and Ahsan Shāh founded the Madurā Sultanate

But far more serious was the rising of the Hindus in Telingāna, Andhra and the territory to the south of the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā. Though the exact details are lacking, it appears that the organization of a sort of Hindu confederacy was attempted in the south in order to free the country from the yoke of the Muslims. This is quite natural and easily intelligible, for the first Muslim inroad into this region, which was more of the nature of a raid than of a conquest, took place during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, barely a quarter of a century ago, and the destruction of the Kākatīya kingdom and the firm establishment of Muslim rule in the Deccan and South India were only a recent event barely five years old. The Muslim chronicles either ignore this movement among the Hindus or merely view it as one more rebellion against the Sultān. In any case their reference to it is brief and casual. This shows how much we are liable to misread or misinterpret Indian history so long as we have to derive our information from Muslim chronicles alone.

Though the ruling houses and many noble families in the Deccan perished on account of the Muslim raids, some of the chieftains who survived the catastrophe joined hands with the object of freeing their country from the Muslim yoke According to contemporary Hindu records, Prolaya Nāyaka drew his sword against the Musulmāns to re-establish the Hindu *dharma*, to restore the worship of the gods, and to protect the Brāhmana and the cow Prolaya probably hailed from Musunuru in Paka-nāḍu in the southern Andhra country He was supported by two other leaders, namely, Prolaya Vema, the founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Addanki and Kondavīḍu, and Bhaktirāja, the Telugu Choḍa Prince of Eruva People from all parts joined their standard, and under their inspiring leadership defeated the Muslims in a series of battles. As a result of these victories Prolaya Nāyaka drove the Muslim garrison from the coastal districts of Andhra and established himself at Ekapalli in the Bhadrāchalam *tāluk* in the East Godāvari district

Prolaya died between A.D 1330 and 1335 and was succeeded by his nephew (brother's son), Kāpaya Nāyaka, the Kanāya or Kṛishna Nāyak of the Muslim historians. The successful rebellion of Ma'bar at this time served both as an inspiration and opportunity to him. As already mentioned above, Muhammad Tughluq, advanc-

ed up to Warangal in course of his campaign against the rebellious governor of Ma'bar. He must have been aware of the Hindu resurgence in this region and made a new arrangement for the administration of Tiling or Telingāna. He divided it into two parts and placed the eastern division, with its capital at Warangal, under Malik Maqbūl, a general of the old Kākatīya kingdom, called Nagaya Gauna, who had embraced Islām. As we shall see, he followed with success a similar policy in similar circumstances at Kampilī, and no doubt hoped that a native of the locality, once holding a high office there, would be in a position to exercise great influence over the people. But the anticipated result did not follow in Telingāna.

Kāpaya Nāyaka was a shrewd statesman and could easily read the signs of the time. He was the leader of a confederacy of seventy-five chiefs, and in order to hasten the impending ruin of the Sultanate, he tried to organize a league of all the Hindu chiefs of the South. With this object in view he visited Vīra Ballāla III, the powerful Hoysala king and the only independent Hindu ruler in the south. Ballāla readily lent his support to the sacred cause It was agreed that he should fortify a strategic place on the northern frontier of his kingdom and also send a body of troops to the help of Kāpaya The plan was eminently successful. Kāpaya Nāyaka, accompanied by the Hoysala troops, invaded Tiling and stirred up a Hindu rebellion In the face of this national revolt, backed up by a regular army, Malik Maqbūl found himself unable to protect Warangal He fled from the province and the Andhra country was thus lost to the Sultān Ballāla III and Kāpaya next invaded the northern districts of Ma'bar, or the recently founded Sultanate of Madura They expelled the Muslim from Tondaimanḍalam and handed it over to Venrumankoṇḍān Śāmbuvarāya who established himself at Kānchi

A similar national movement of the Hindus had also been working in the region along the Krishnā under the leadership of Chālukya Somadeva, the progenitor of the Aravidu family. He belonged to the Kurnool district and was probably supported by Prolaya Vema and other leaders of the similar movement on the eastern coast; indeed both may be regarded as part of one and the same movement. Somadeva is said to have captured a number of forts and won many battles. But his greatest achievement was his victory over Malik Muhammad who was appointed governor of Kampilī after it was conquered by Muhammad Tughluq only a few years before, as noted above in connection with the rebellion of Gurshāsp. That the victory over the governor of Kampilī was the result of a national uprising of the Hindus is supported by the testimony of Nuniz. According to this Portuguese chronicler the people

of Kampilī, who rose in rebellion against the Muslim governor, withheld the payment of taxes, surrounded him in his headquarters, and allowed no provisions to reach him.

But here Muhammad Tughluq tried with success the method which failed him at Warangal. He appointed Harihara and Bukka who, as mentioned above, were taken prisoners from Kampilī and forced to embrace Islām, as governor and deputy-governor of Kampilī, and sent them with an army to restore order. They were opposed by Ballāla III who probably came to the support of Someśvara. At first Harihara and Bukka were defeated, and perhaps they wandered about the country as refugees It was during this period that they secured the help of the sage Vidyāraṇya, and thanks to his advice, ultimately succeeded in establishing themselves at Anegundi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadrā

The movement initiated by Somadeva with the support of Vīra Ballāla III failed for the time being, but the resounding success of the Hindus under Kāpaya Nāyaka in the coastal region, mentioned above, gave fresh impetus to the people of Kampilī. What is more important, even the Muslim governor of Kampilī fell under the influence of the Hindu nationalist movement Harihara and Bukka, under the inspiration of Vidyāraṇya, renounced Islām, took the lead of the new movement, and founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara in A D. 1336 as will be related later.[40]

As noted above, Muhammad Tughluq had succeeded, by A.D 1328, in establishing his authority almost up to the southern extremity of Indian Peninsula But in less than ten years he lost the entire region to the south of the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā line, and even a part of Telingāna and the coastal districts of Andhra It marked the disintegration of the empire in a manner which no one could fail to notice. This was further signalized by the series of rebellions that took place about this time, in Lahore, Daulatābād, Sarsuti and Hānsi These were all put down, but as a result of the rebellion of Fakhr-ud-dīn in Bengal, to which detailed reference will be made later, that province was lost to the Delhi Sultanate. Thus big cracks appeared in the mighty fabric of the Delhi Sultanate, and it was no longer a question of whether but when that great structure would fall.

When the Sultān returned from Warangal to Delhi famine was raging in Delhi and its neighbourhood in a severe form, and men and cattle died in thousands Even the Sultān felt it necessary to remove his family and court from Delhi to a newly founded town called Saragdwāri (gate of heaven) on the Gaṅgā near modern Shamsābād. But he had to deal with several rebellions, namely,

those of Nizām Māin at Karā, Nusrat Khān at Bidar, 'Alī Shāh at Gulburga, and 'Ain-ul-Mulk in Awadh, which were all put down.[40]

The Sultān personally marched against Shāhū Afghān who had killed the governor of Multān and seized the city. The rebel fled, but on his return to Delhi the Sultān found the distress in the Doāb unbearable. As the contemporary authorities tersely put it, "man was devouring man". The Sultān tried to alleviate the sufferings, but with no success. He was soon faced with popular outbreaks in Sannam, Sāmāna, Kaithal, and Kuhran. The Jāt and Rājput tribes in this region in east Punjab formed *maṇḍals* (strong-holds), withheld the tribute, and created disturbances The situation was probably similar to that in the Doāb[41] The Sultān sternly repressed the rebellions and took their ringleaders to Delhi. Baranī says that many of them became Musulmāns, which probably means that they were forced to embrace Islām.

But these revolts were not the only causes which distracted the mind of the Sultān He found to his dismay that his authority was defied even by Muslim divines,—the *'ulamā', qāzīs* etc. Muhammad Tughluq put many of them ruthlessly to death. But such acts of cruelty shocked the rank and file of the Muslims and further estranged them from the Sultān. He not unnaturally connected the rebellions with this feeling and decided to reinforce his authority by seeking recognition from the 'Abbasid Caliph in Egypt. Baranī's account may be summed up as follows —

It occurred to the mind of the Sultān that no king could exercise regal power without confirmation by the Khalifa. So he sent despatches to Egypt while he was at Saragdwāri On returning to Delhi he had his own name and style removed from his coins and that of the Khalifa substituted. In the year 744 A.H. (A.D 1343-4) an envoy from Egypt brought to the Sultān honours and a robe from the Khalifa The Sultān with all his nobles went forth to meet him and walked before him barefoot for some distance. From that date it was ordered that in mentioning the name of the king in the *khutba* they should be declared to have reigned under the authority and confirmation of the 'Abbasid Khalifa.[42]

The motive attributed to Muhammad Tughluq by Baranī may be correct, but there may be some truth in the view held by other early writers that the Sultān hoped that his receiving the patent from the Caliph would strike fear into the hearts of his enemies But such anticipations were not fulfilled.[43]

The Sultān now turned to a new device to pacify the country. He introduced new economic and administrative measures which aimed at lessening the burden of taxes, development of agriculture,

increased supervision of the administration of justice, and other laudable objects.[44] But though the plan was good, the method of execution rendered it ineffective. In order to ensure efficient working of the new policy he dismissed the old officials and replaced them by new employees of humble birth. Baranī calls them all upstarts and stigmatizes them as barber, cook, gardener, weaver, drunkards, rogues etc.

The removal of a veteran official like Qutlugh Khān, Governor of Daulatābād, caused dismay and disgust among the people, and many of them broke into rebellion.[45] The appointment of 'Azīz Himār[46] as governor of Mālwa was another fatal step Baranī tells us that while investing the base-born 'Azīz with this office the Sultān warned him against the *amīrān-i-sadah* (centurions).[47] Most of them were turbulent, selfish and unscrupulous, and always ready to create chaos as friends of rebels and promoters of mischief. The Sultān told 'Azīz that if he came to know that any of the centurions of Dhār was rebellious he must try to get rid of him in the best way he could 'Azīz carried out the instructions of his master to the letter Shortly after his arrival at Dhār he beheaded eighty centurions in front of his palace on a got-up charge of rebellion According to Baranī, the Sultān honoured 'Azīz for the horrid massacre, but "this slaughter of the foreign *amīrs* of Dhār on the mere ground of their being foreigners caused those of Deogīr and Gujarāt and every other place to unite and to break out into insurrection".[48]

Indeed this was the beginning of the end In A.D 1345 the centurions of Gujarāt revolted, and the Sultān proceeded against them via Patan and Mt Abu After a severe contest resulting in heavy casualties the rebels fled towards Daulatābād. The Nāib Wazīr pursued and dispersed them, but treacherously killed a large number of *amīrs* of Broach under instruction of the Sultān.

The Sultān encamped at Broach and sent orders to Deogīr to send fifteen hundred horsemen with the most noted of the "foreign *amīrs*". These *amīrs* accordingly started for Broach, but had not proceeded far when they suspected treachery and revolted. They returned, killed the officials, captured the treasury, and proclaimed one of them, Makh Afghān as king. They were joined by the centurions of Dabhoi and Barodā and established their authority over a large part of Mahārāshṭra.

The Sultān marched with a large army to Daulatābād and defeated the rebels who took to flight. He then besieged the fort of Daulatābād where Makh Afghān had shut himself up But as there was a fresh rebellion in Gujarāt led by Taghī, the Sultān left Daulatābād to punish him He spent the remaining days of his

life in vainly trying to suppress the rebellion of Taghī, and could not return to the Deccan. As a result of this, rebellion in the Deccan could not be checked and led to the foundation of an independent kingdom in the Deccan known as the Bahmanī kingdom whose history will be treated in detail in another chapter.

Taghī, supported by the *muqaddams* and the centurions of Gujarāt, slew the governor and deputy-governor of Gujarāt, plundered Cambay, and besieged the fort of Broach. It appears that Taghī had the sympathy and support of the people, both Hindu and Muslim, and his revolt was really a general outbreak of the people When the Sultān arrived at Broach, Taghī avoided an open fight, and by brilliant guerilla tactics moved to Cambay, Aswal, and Patan But being overtaken at Takalpur, and defeated by the Sultān after a severe engagement, he went to Tattah and sought shelter with the Sumrās of Sind who had also broken out into rebellion

The Sultān spent some time in Gujarāt, cleared it of rebels, and re-established peace and order. He then proceeded towards Tattah in pursuit of Taghī He planned to attack the town by land and sea and crossed the Sindhu with his whole army, which was strengthened by four or five thousand Mongol horse sent by the chief of Ferghana. But on the way he contracted fever, and while the army was within a short distance of Tattah, he died on March 20, 1351

Thus ended the career of one of the most remarkable personalities that ever sat on the throne of Delhi. He had extended the Delhi Empire to its farthest limits, but before his death he lost everything to the south of the Vindhya. Like the waves in the sea the empire reached the highest point only to break down But though from this point of view the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq cannot claim great success, his unique personality and abnormal temperament invest it with great importance

No ruler in medieval India has evoked so much discussion concerning his policy and character as Muhammad Tughluq Muslim chroniclers, without exception, describe him as a blood-thirsty tyrant and severely condemn his various measures It has also been held by many modern historians, that he was a blood-thirsty tyrant almost verging on insanity, whose policy ruined the Sultanate of Delhi. In recent times, however, some reputed historians have challenged this almost universal belief of both scholars and laymen and sought to exonerate his character. The truth, as usual, perhaps lies midway between the two extremes, and Muhammad Tughluq's character was probably a mixture of opposites. It must be admitted that he had many good qualities of head and heart, while his cruel-

ties were shocking and horrid, and he showed a capricious temper and a sad lack of judgment and common sense on many occasions. We may, therefore, begin by a general description of both the good and bad qualities of Muhammad Tughluq.

Muhammad Tughluq possessed in a remarkable degree some traits of character which distinguish a good king. He was active, energetic and hard-working, and unwearied in his efforts to supervise the affairs of the State. He was a good general and often acquitted himself well in military campaigns.

The Sultān had a very high moral character and was immune from most of the moral lapses which characterized the rulers of the middle age. He abstained from drinking and was very strict in his relation with women. He forbade the use of intoxicating liquor among his subjects and on several occasions issued orders that no woman should be permitted to remain in the military camp. But he was not a puritan like Aurangzeb and had no scruple to witness the performance of musicians and dancing girls.

The lavish generosity of the Sultan has been described by both contemporary and later writers Even Baranī, who is the foremost in casting aspersions on the character of the Sultān, refers to his liberal gifts and acts of hospitality It is difficult to enumerate all the instances in which he made gifts on a lavish scale both to the nobles as well as to the learned and pious men who came from foreign countries. He discouraged begging and made provisions for the up-keep of poor, and forty thousand beggars were fed every day at the public kitchen.

Although he is accused of killing his father, it seems that he tried to make amends for it by causing his father's name to be inscribed on the coins immediately after his accession. In any case, there is unanimity of opinion that he paid the highest respect and obedience to his mother and treated her most honourably throughout her life The Sultān had also great respect for the elders, and always enjoyed the society of learned men

The Sultān was one of the most learned and accomplished men of his age. He was a patron of learning and his liberality attracted to Delhi some of the most learned men of India He possessed a wonderful memory which enabled him to store a vast amount of knowledge on different subjects, particularly history. His intellectual attainments were very great and he possessed high scholarship in logic, astronomy, philosophy, mathematics and the physical sciences He was not only well read in literary works but was himself a poet of no mean order His letters, both in Arabic and Persian, were marked by a high degree of elegance, good taste, and

good sense. His powers of conversation were also very great and, in debate, he could hold his own against the most eminent scientists and other people. He was also a great calligraphist. Above all, he acquired a good knowledge of medical science, and it is said that it was his favourite pastime to sit by the side of the patients, afflicted with any remarkable disease, in order to hold discussions with the physicians about proper diagnosis and suitable remedies for them. He established hospitals for the sick and alms-houses for widows and orphans, on the most liberal scale.[49]

He had also a high sense of justice and himself tried to judge cases in a fair manner. Ibn Batūtah narrates several anecdotes in illustration of the Sultān's modesty and justice[50] Once an eminent Hindu filed a suit against the Sultān and had him summoned before the *qāzī*. The Emperor walked on foot, completely unarmed, to the *qāzī's* court where he saluted and bowed. Previous to his departure he had issued orders to the *qāzī* instructing him that he must not stand or budge out of regard for him when he appeared in his court. Accordingly the Emperor attended the court and stood before the *qāzī*, who gave his verdict against him ordering him to compensate his opponent for the blood of his brother The Emperor gave him satisfaction

Against these good qualities and the versatile gifts and accomplishments of Muhammad Tughluq must be set his vices, the chief among which were cruelty and caprice. According to Barani the Sultān "wantonly shed the blood of innocent Muslims, so much so indeed that a stream of blood was always seen flowing before the threshold of the palace".[51] Reference has already been made above to Baranī's account of the Sultān's inhuman treatment of the peasants of the Doāb, whom he hunted like wild beasts over a large area Almost all the other Muslim chroniclers also describe Muhammad Tughluq as a cruel monster, and several of them apply the epithet 'bloody' to him[52] Some modern writers have made an attempt to extenuate his crimes, and even the sober historian Ishwari Prasad has tried to explain away the charge of 'habitual and wanton cruelty' against the Sultān.[53] He holds that Muhammad Tughluq was not a monster who took delight in shedding blood for its own sake He admits his cruelty, but points out that in the age in which he lived such cruel punishments were not regarded as abnormal He is also of opinion that the Sultān was not essentially inhuman or wicked, but the hostile attitude of the people goaded him to desperation, so that he was compelled to have recourse to punishments and vengeance as the only means of saving his kingdom from ruin

In judging this matter the opinion of Ibn Batūtah seems to be quite decisive. He knew intimately not only the affairs of Muhammad Tughluq but also the customs prevalent in that age over a large part of the world. He was a keen observer of man and things and had no reason to be unduly severe against the Sultān. He said, by way of prefatory remark to his account, that he told the unvarnished truth in respect of things which he himself witnessed, and we have no reason to disbelieve it In view of these there can be no better evidence of the cruel character of the Sultān than the severe denunciation made by this foreign traveller He begins by making the following general observations.

"Notwithstanding all his modesty, his sense of equity and justice, and his extraordinary liberality and kindness to the poor that we have described, he had immense daring (*sic*) to shed blood. His gate was hardly free from the corpse of a man who had been executed. And I used to see frequently a number of people killed at the gate of the royal palace and the corpses abandoned there. One day as I arrived there my horse was startled, and as I looked round I saw on the earth some white thing. 'What is it?' said I. One of my comrades replied, 'It is the torso of a man who has been cut into three pieces'

"The Sultān used to punish all wrongs whether big or small and he would spare neither the men of learning (*ahl-ul-'ilm*) and probity (*salāh*), nor those of high descent (*sharaf*) Every day hundreds of people in chains with their hands fastened to the neck and their feet tightened were brought into the council hall

"Those who were to be killed were killed and those who were to be tortured were tortured and those who were to be beaten were beaten .May God save us from the calamity!"[54]

Ibn Batūtah illustrates his general observations by citing a number of individual examples[55] It would be tedious to relate them all, but in view of the differences of opinion on the subject, a few instances may be related.

(1) The Sultān accused his brother of rebellion and the latter admitted his guilt, "for, as a rule, he who refuses to acknowledge a charge of this kind is tortured. Hence people preferred death to torture. The Sultān ordered that he should be beheaded and he was killed in the centre of the market Two years previously his mother had been stoned to death in the same place on account of her confession of adultery"[56]

(2) Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn, a pious and accomplished person, was one of the principal saints. As he declined to accept service

under the Sultān, the latter ordered a venerable jurist to pull the hair of his beard and, on his refusal to do so, ordered that the beards of both of them should be pulled out, and this order was duly carried out. Several years later Shihāb-ud-dīn, when approached by a Malik, said. "I will never serve a tyrant". When the Sultān brought the Shaikh to him and said, "You say I am a tyrant"! "Yes", retorted the Shaikh, "you are a tyrant and such and such are the instances of your tyranny." Then he gave several examples amongst which was the destruction of the city of Delhi and the expulsion of its inhabitants. For this offence they "tied him with four chains and fastened his hands and in this state he remained for a fortnight at a stretch without any food or drink". But still he refused to recant what he said. On the fourteenth day, food was sent to him but he refused to take it, and then the Sultān ordered the Shaikh to be forcibly fed with human refuse. So they stretched him on his back, "opened his mouth with pincers and dropped into it the human refuse dissolved in water," which they made him drink [57]

(3) On one occasion the Sultān tortured two jurists of Sind for quite innocuous remarks "They were stretched on their backs and a sheet of red-hot iron was placed on the chest of each After a while the sheet was removed, and it came off together with the flesh of their chests Then a little urine mixed with ashes was painted on their wounds" After this they confessed their guilt and also wrote that their confession was voluntary. "Had they said that they had been forced in confessing, they would have been tortured to the utmost".[58]

(4) On one occasion a young man and his brother-in-law, suspected of helping a rebellion, were ordered by the Sultān to be hung by their hands from a stake, and commanded some men to shoot them with arrows They were consequently pierced with arrows till they died. After their death the Chamberlain remarked "that youth did not deserve death". For saying this the Sultān ordered the Chamberlain to be "whipped about two hundred lashes, threw him into prison, and gave off his property to the head executioner".[59]

In view of the fact that Ibn Batūtah himself vouches for these punishments and treats them as if they were quite unusual and abnormal, it is difficult to agree with the view of Ishwari Prasad mentioned above. It is also to be remembered that even the Sultān's successor and great admirer Fīrūz was so much conscious of the excess committed by Muhammad Tughluq that he tried to atone for his sins by paying compensation to the successors of his victims and got a letter written by them that they were satisfied, so that

his soul might rest in peace in heaven This proves that Fīrūz also regarded the cruelty as of abnormal nature.

Reference may be made in this connection to the long conversation which the Sultān had with Baranī in which he expounded what may be called his gospel of cruelty An interesting sidelight on his character is thrown by his confession, in course of this conversation, that he inflicted chastisement on mere suspicion or presumption of the rebellious and treacherous designs of the people, and punished the most trifling act of contumacy with death; and then he added, "this I will do until I die, or until the people will act honestly and give up rebellion and contumacy".[60] In view of this it is easy to understand the numerous cruel deeds of the Sultān and his approval of the mass execution of the *amīrān-i-sadah* in Mālwa.

Next to cruelty the chief blots on the character of Muhammad Tughluq were his unpractical visionary ideas backed by caprice and tyranny The idea of changing the capital from Delhi to Deogīr, the issue of token currency, and the ambitious military expeditions to Khurāsān, are generally regarded as due to his capricious temperament. As has been pointed out above, some modern historians have tried to show that none of these projects was inherently bad in itself, but the failure of each was due to lack of foresight and practical experience But even these are great defects in the character of a king, and considering the amount of misery they entailed upon the people and the kingdom, the king cannot be altogether exonerated of the charges of caprice levelled against him, particularly when we remember that all these projects were products of his own brain and he did not take into confidence or consult any of his advisers The only redeeming feature is that he did not push any of these schemes to extremities, and desisted as soon as their bad effects were apparent to him

Muhammad bin Tughluq has been charged with irreligiousness by his contemporaries, but this is hardly a just accusation In what is regarded by some as his own Memoirs he "acknowledges his faith in the existence of God, in the Prophet, and his Viceregent, the rightful Imām"[61] This is also supported by the evidence of his coins "His staunch orthodoxy is reflected on nearly all his coins, not only in the reappearance of the *Kalima*, but in the assumption by the monarch of such titles as "the warrior in the cause of God"[62] Firishta also praises his orthodoxy.[63]

A clear analysis of the known facts indicates that while the Sultān scrupulously practised all the observances of the Muslim faith, he did not show the same respect for the Muslim divines as

was shown by the orthodox Muslims. This, however, is due to the fact that he was very keen on supporting the rationalists (*ahl-i-ma'qūlat*) against the traditionists (*ahl-i-manqūlat*).[64] His liberal spirit is further indicated by a Jain tradition which tells us that the Sultān honoured the great Jain scholar and saint, Jinaprabha Sūri, who visited his court at Delhi in A.D. 1328. Muhammad bin Tughluq "treated him with respect, seated him by his side, and offered to give him wealth, land, horses, elephants etc. which the saint declined. The Sultān praised him and issued a *farmān* with royal seal for the construction of a new *basādi upāśraya,* i.e. rest house for the monks A procession started in his honour to his residence to the accompaniment of varied music and dances of young women, and the saint was seated on the State elephant surrounded by Maliks"[65] In view of the bigotry shown by most of the rulers of the period, all this reflects great credit upon Muhammad Tughluq and testifies to his liberal and rational mentality. So, from the modern point of view it should be regarded as a great merit in the character of the Sultān that he could rise above the rank bigotry of his age and, without succumbing to a blind and superstitious reverence for anything that passed in the name of religion, allowed himself to be guided by a rational spirit On the whole, the charge of heterodoxy levelled against Muhammad is not true, and in this respect he deserves more praise than blame.

Both Baranī and 'Isāmī denounce Muhammad Tughluq as irreligious. 'Isāmī calls him a *kāfir* and urges a general revolt against him. He censures him for siding with the Hindus and mixing privately with the yogis.[66] "It has been contended that the Sultān had the audacity to employ and treat the *'ulamā'* and saints like ordinary men and he was therefore a blasphemer".[67] As a matter of fact the high classes of Muslims, including official classes, the *'ulamā'*, the *qāzīs* or judges, the *khatībs* or preachers, *faqhis* or jurists, and the *mashaikhs* or saints, a body of people who had hitherto enjoyed sanctity, were the ringleaders of the Muslim rebellions against the Sultān[68] "Muhammad Tughluq put them ruthlessly to death—a practice which horrified the rank and file of the Muslims".[69] But this crime, great as it was, was the result, more of his cruel temperament than of irreligion; and his whole attitude to the Muslim saints was due to caprice or egoism, which was a distinctive trait in his character, rather than an act of blasphemy. Thus although we may not pronounce Muhammad Tughluq as lacking in orthdox religious spirit, his general attitude towards the Muslim divines and particularly the severe punishments he inflicted upon them, must be regarded as a serious blemish in his character.

It is generally held that Muhammad's policy and action were responsible for the break-up of the Delhi Empire. This is undoubtedly true to a large extent. It may be urged that disintegration of a vast all-India empire was not unusual, and almost inevitable in those days of lack of communication and absence of any real bond of union between the distant parts of the empire. Other empires like those of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī also crumbled into ruins within a few years. It is also pointed out that Fīrūz Tughluq left the Delhi Sultanate much worse than he found it. All this is no doubt true to a certain extent. But even the inevitable collapse of an empire has generally to be attributed to certain immediate causes, and Muhammad Tughluq's policy, which alienated the minds of the people and created disaffection throughout the kingdom, must be regarded as one of the predisposing causes.

It would appear from what has been said above that although the current view about Muhammad Tughluq may not be true to the whole extent, the attempts of some recent historians to exonerate him from all blemishes have not proved successful. He was not a monster or a lunatic, as has been suggested by some, but there is no doubt that he was a mixture of opposites, for his many good qualities of head and heart seem to be quite incompatible with certain traits of vices in his character, such as revolting cruelty, frivolous caprice, and an inordinate belief in his own view of things. He might have had good ideas, but he had not the capacity to execute them. This was best exemplified in his ambitious projects like change of capitals, issue of token currency and foreign expeditions, and the appointment of new classes of officials All these indicate a want of judgment which is undoubtedly a great defect in the character of a ruler, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his character and policy largely contributed to the decline of the Delhi Empire.

1 For different views on the character and activities of Muhammad Tughluq cf. *QTIP*, *MTMH*, *CHI* III, (Chapter VI)
2 The epithet is differently spelt in different texts such as Gashtasp, Gashtasb, Gashbashb (*QTIP*, 64, f n)
3. See above p 39
4 *HSIS*, 224
5 For a detailed account, cf *HSIS*, 224 According to K A N Sastri, Kampilīdeva "treated with contempt a demand for tribute from the officers of the Tughluq Sultanate, and entered into friendly negotiations with Baha-ud-dīn Garshāsp" (ibid), but he cites no authority. Cf. also N Venkataramanavya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, 134
6 For a detailed account, cf *HSIS* 224 According to Firishta "The Raja of Kampila was made prisoner". (Briggs, I, 419)
7. Cf *MTMH*, p 143, f n 5
8 *QTIP*, 81
9 The translation in *HIED* is not accurate; cf *QTIP*, 70-71, *MTMH*, 148 ff.; *CHI*, III, 145
10. *MTMH*, 149, f n 1.
11. Different authorities assign different dates for the events of Muhammad's reign. The contemporary authority, Baranī, is very chary in regard to dates Hence

modern writers hold different views on this point The chronological scheme of Dr. Ishwari Prasad has generally been followed in this chapter Sir Wolseley Haig has drawn up a tentative chronology (*JRAS*, 1922 pp 336 ff) S. N H. Rizvi also has made an attempt to fix the chronology on the authority of *Futūh-us-Salātin*, as he believes that the events are narrated in this work "in perfect chronological order" (*PIHC*, V, 302) But these views have not been accepted by scholars.

12 *QTIP*, 67-8
13 *MTMH*, 148-152.
14 *QTIP*. 73, f n 49
15 *HIED*, III, 239.
16 *IBH*, 94
17 An English translation of 'Isāmi s account is given in *JIH* XX, 172. The story of the cripple and the blind—the most incredible part of Ibn Batūtah's account—is in a way supported by 'Isāmī, who "feelingly describes how his grandfather, an old man of ninety, was turned out One morning while still in bed, he was seized, thrown out of his home, and set on the road to Daulatābād But he died shortly after" (*MTMH*, 122) For a fuller discussion of the different views about the transfer of the capital cf *MTMH*, 108 ff *QTIP*, 82 ff; *JIH*, XX, 159 ff.
18 *MTMH*, 116 ff His views have been endorsed by S M Haq (*PIHC*, VII, 269 ff)
19 *JIH*, XX, 170
20. Ibid , 171
21. Ibid.
22. *MTMH*, 108 ff N B Roy also thinks that "the Sultan was inspired by a strong missionary zeal for making the cause of Islâm triumphant in the south" (*JIH*, XX, 164) This view is also supported by Dr S M Haq (*PIHC*, VII, 269)
23. *TMB*, 100-1, 104, *QTIP*, 84 Although Badāūnī and Firishta also refer to two migrations Ishwari Prasad rejects the view (*QTIP* 84 5)
24 *MTMH*, 108 ff; cf specially pp. 114, 115 123
24a *QTIP*, 84
24b For the system introduced by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, see above, p 56
25. For the different views cf. *QTIP*, 58 9, *MTMH* 94 ff Also cf Chapter XIII, A.
26 According to this authority (*TMB*, 103) Tarmāshīrīn "marched against Delhi with a vast army, conquered most of the citadels and put under confinement the people of Lahore, Sāmāno , when his army reached the banks of the Jaun (Yamunâ) he retraced his way back '
27. *HIED*, III, 450
28. *TMB*, 103
29. *QTIP*. 97
30. *CHI*, III, 143
31. *MTMH*, 100 ff
32 According to Baranī the tokens were of copper while Firishta alone refers to both copper and brass coins As brass coins have actually been found the latter view seems to be correct
33 *MTMH*, 134 For a favourable view of the token currency and a full reference to other views, cf Dr Ishwari Prasad's elaborate discussion in *QTIP*, 101 ff He holds the view that the "scheme failed more on account of prejudice, ignorance and lack of proper safeguards than on account of any inherent defect" (p 117) But while there is a great deal of force in the arguments of Thomas and Ishwari Prasad, it must be remembered that a novel experiment of this kind should not be judged from merely theoretical point of view, and one who cannot properly judge of the fitness or ripeness of the time for it, or provide for, and even think of adequate precautions to ensure its success, fully deserves condemnation
34 *QTIP*, 122 ff
35 *Is C* , XX, 140
36 *QTIP*, 125 ff, *MTMH*, 126 ff
37 IBH, 98 According to some views the commander of the army transgressed the Emperor's orders and advanced across the mountains into Tibet (*MTMH*, 130-1)
38 Op cit , 98
39 *HIED*, III, 243 For details see Chapter on Ma'bar
40 The very important and interesting episode of the Hindu rising in the South has been practically ignored by both ancient and modern writers The Muslim chroniclers make only casual references to isolated events which do not convey any idea of the general movement and are full of errors Hardly any notice is taken of it in *CHI*, III and *MTMH* The account in *QTIP* is also very meagre and misleading. The account given in the text is based upon the following.
1 Dr N Venkataramanayya *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*

2. Dr N Venkataramanayya, The Date of the rebellions of Tilang and Kampila against Sultān Muhammad, *IC*, V, 135 ff, 262 ff
3 Prolavaram Grant of Kāpaya Nāyaka, Ed by S Sharma, *JBORS*, *XX*, 260
4 M. S. Sharma, *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History* A somewhat different view is taken by Dr Rama Rao (*PIHC*, X, 292 ff) who holds that "the liberation of Andhradesa from Muslim occupation was the result of a series of individual efforts by the chieftains of the time, and not of a planned and co-ordinated movement directed by Musunuri Kāpaya Nāyaka (ibid 297)
40a. For a detailed account of the various rebellions, cf *MTMH*, Ch VIII Dr Venkataramanayya has discussed in detail the dates of these rebellions in *IC*, V 135 ff, 262 ff.
41 *MTMH*, 164; *QTIP*, 173
42 *HIED*, III, 249-50 For other acts of similar flatteries and servility of *CHI*, III. 159, 164, *QTIP*, 180.
43 Cf *MTMH*, 168 ff, for an elaborate discussion
44. For details cf *MTMH*, 175 ff
45. *HIED*, III, 251
46 'Aziz is styled *himār*(ass) in some texts and *khammār* (vintner) in others As the addition of a single dot changes the one into the other word, probably *khammār* is the correct designation and the other is "a scribe's error or deliberate pleasantry" (*CHI*, III, 166 f n)
47 Sultān Muhammad had divided the southern provinces into small units of hundred or more villages to which officers were appointed who were directly under the governor These officers were known as *amīrān-i-sadah*, e officers of hundreds These centurions had to carry out both military and civil duties As civil officers they were responsible for the collection of revenue and other dues of the territory under their jurisdiction, and their position as military officers gave them the necessary strength to carry out their civil duties This system continued till about A D 1345 when Muhammad Tughluq, finding that it could not successfully check rebellious elements, modified it to ensure stable administration He sub-divided the province of Deccan into four parts or *shiqs* to each of which he appointed an officer subordinate to the *wazir* at Daulatābād The *amīran-i-sadah* or centurions in each of these sub-divisions were now immediately responsible to the *shiqdār* of their sub-division and through him to the governor of the province But this reform came too late
48 *HIED*, III, 252
49 Cf Firishta who describes Muhammad Tughluq as 'the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time" (*Briggs*, I, 410-11)
50 *IBH*, 83
51 *QTIP* 312
52 Ibid, 314.
53 Ibid, 316 ff
54 *IBH*, 85
55 The examples must be regarded as illustrative and not exhaustive, as Dr Ishwari Prasad seems to imply (*QTIP*, 318)
56 *IBH*, 85-6
57 Ibid 86-8
58 Ibid, 89
59 Ibid, 93
60 *HIED*, III, 254-6
61 *JIH* *XX*, 161 For a discussion on Sultan Muhammad's autobiography, see above p 4
62 Brown C J, *The Coins of India*, 73-4
63 Briggs I, 411
64 *Is C* XX, 139
65 *PIHC*, V, 296
66 *MTMH*, 175
67 Ibid, 174
68 Ibid, 170
69 Ibid, 171

CHAPTER V

FIRŪZ SHĀH

The death of Muhammad bin Tughluq, during the course of a military campaign, created a perilous situation, and the disorderly retreat of the leaderless army led to chaos and wild confusion Taking advantage of this, not only the rebels in Sind but also the Mongol mercenaries, who had come to assist the Sultān's army, plundered the imperial camp without any opposition. After suffering this disgrace and humiliation for two days, the officers and nobles present in the camp offered the vacant throne to Fīrūz, whose father Rajab was the younger brother of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, and who was thus the first cousin of the late Sultān Fīrūz, at first unwilling to accept the offer, ultimately yielded to the pressure of the nobles and was hailed as the Emperor on March 23, 1351.

Apart from the immediate necessity of a leader to save the difficult situation in which the imperial army was placed, the choice of the nobles was probably determined by the fact, or at least a general belief, that Muhammad Tughluq, having no son, had nominated Fīrūz as his successor. A protest was made by Khudāvand-zāda, the sister of Muhammad Tughluq, on behalf of her son, who was more closely related to the late Sultān, but the nobles rejected his claim on the ground that he was incompetent and incapable of governing.

As soon as the news of Sultān Muhammad's death reached Delhi the minister, Khvāja Jahān, raised to the throne a child, whom he gave out as the son and heir of the late ruler Some modern historians are of opinion that the infant enthroned at Delhi was the real son of Sultān Muhammad, and disbelieve the story that the latter, on his death-bed, declared Fīrūz as his heir They hold that possibly Sultān Muhammad bequeathed to Fīrūz the regency, and exhorted him to do all in his power to extricate the army from its dangerous situation [1] But almost all the contemporary and non-contemporary writers, including Sujan Rai Bhandari, the author of the *Khulasat-ut-Tavārīkh,* are in accord that the late Sultān had left no male issue, and this is also indirectly proved by the claim put forward by Khudāvand-zāda on behalf of her son. Both the contemporary authorities, Baranī and 'Afīf, refer to the nomination of Fīrūz as his heir-apparent by Muhammad Tughluq In view of all these it is reasonable to

hold that Fīrūz was justified in accepting the throne when it was offered to him in the Sindhu valley. In any case the real or pretended son of Muhammad Tughluq was not supported by any party, and Khvāja Jahān submitted to the new Sultān, who at first pardoned him, but soon changed his mind and had him executed

After having driven off the enemy in Sind, Fīrūz proceeded on his journey to Delhi. On reaching Sirsuti he heard the happy news of the death of Taghī, the rebel who had defied Muhammad Tughluq and had tired him to death The royal journey was then resumed, and on reaching Delhi the coronation was celebrated in the month of August, 1351. It was followed by new distribution of offices, remission of oppressive taxes, and the cancellation of punitive measures and sanguinary punishments of the previous regime Towards the close of A D 1353 Fīrūz set out on an expedition to Bengal for putting down its ruler Hājī Ilyās Shāh, who had assumed independence and styled himself Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh As the Sultān approached, the rebel withdrew into the strong fortress of Ekdālā in East Bengal, protected by rivers and jungles. After a short siege the Sultān feigned retreat, and Ilyās pursued him with a big force But he was defeated and fell back. Ekdālā, however, held out, and as the rainy season was then fast approaching, the Sultān made peace with Ilyās, practically recognizing his independence, and returned to the capital in A.D. 1355.[2] In that year he built the city of Fīrūzābād on the bank of the Yamunā, which became known as New Delhi

In A D 1356 a robe of honour arrived for the Sultān from the Caliph Al-Hakīm of Egypt with a patent conferring on him the whole of Hindusthān Towards the close of this year there came messengers from Hājī Ilyas of Lakhnāwatī with splendid presents and gifts Through the Bengali messengers who had come to Delhi (1357), the Sultān despatched steeds with foreign fruits to Shams-ud-dīn of Lakhnāwati, and sent an embassy But it was learnt shortly after that Sultān Shams-ud-dīn had died and was succeeded by his son Sultān Sikandar. So the embassy was recalled But the Sultān's action showed that he formally acknowledged the independence of Bengal

Nevertheless the Sultān resolved to lead a second expedition to Bengal. Zafar Khān, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-din, the independent ruler of Bengal, had come as a fugitive to the camp of the Sultān, and complained of the high-handedness of Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās. He begged the Sultān to intercede on his behalf, and the latter took advantage of it to make a renewed attempt to subdue Bengal

'Afif's *Tārikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, which contains a detailed account of Fīrūz Shāh's campaign, tends to show that this expedition was undertaken and carried through more like a pleasure trip than a regular march to extirpate and crush the enemy. The Sultān had proceeded a few stages from Delhi when he began to indulge in wine, and loitered six months in the tract between Kanauj and Awadh to found a new city on the Gumti, which was named Jaunpur, apparently to commemorate the memory of Muhammad Tughluq, whose name was Jauna. After a long delay the Sultān at last reached Bengal in A.D 1359. Sultān Sikandar, like his father, shut himself up in the fortress of Ekdālā Fīrūz besieged it, but his operations were marked by indecision and lack of military skill. According to 'Afīf, the Sultān would not give the orders for attack on the enemy, even when urged by the best of his generals, saying, "although it was very desirable that the place should be captured, still if it were taken by a sudden assault, thousands of worthy and respectable women would be subjected to violence and indignity at the hands of the graceless men." But others hold the view that the Sultān found the fortress too strong for capture and hence restrained his men from attempting to take it by assault The deadlock sickened both the parties who thereupon made overtures for peace Peace was concluded, according to 'Afīf, on condition that Zafar Khān should be established in Sonārgāon But this seems to be very unlikely. According to other historians, Sikandar promised only to send an annual tribute of elephants to the Emperor 'Afīf says that Sikandar was awarded a *royal title* in return, besides a jewelled crown worth 80,000 *tankas* and 500 Arab and Turki horses On the whole, Fīrūz failed to recover Bengal as a part of the Delhi Sultanate

The Sultān had reached Jaunpur on his way back to Delhi from Bengal, when he suddenly conceived the plan of making a raid upon Orissa, referred to as Jājnagar by Muslim chroniclers [3] He set out in October, 1360, with a large cavalry and reached Bihār about December, 1360. Then he marched through modern Pachet to Sikhar in the Mānbhum district. The ruler of this place was an important chief with thirty-six minor chiefs as his vassals. He fled, but the garrison in the capital put up a stern fight before they were overpowered. Then Fīrūz pushed towards the south through the defiles of Mānbhum and Singhbhum till he reached Tinanagar within the frontier of Orissa, which had never before been invaded by any Muslim army. The people offered resistance, but were defeated, and then Fīrūz proceeded to a prosperous town named Kinianagar, which is probably to be identified with Khiching, the capital of the old Mayurbhanj State Then marching through

Keonjhar, the Sultān reached the frontier of the Cuttack district. The movement was so swift, that King Bhānudeva III of Orissa, being taken by surprise, fled from the fortress of Saranghar. The garrison, however, put up a brave fight, but were defeated. Fīrūz then marched to the capital city Cuttack, and later proceeded to the holy city of Puri, where he demolished the temple of Jagannātha and desecrated the images.

After having achieved this cherished object, the Sultān proceeded to an island near the sea-coast where "nearly one hundred thousand men of Jājnagar had taken refuge with their women, children, kinsmen and relations". The locality no doubt refers to the region round the Chilkā Lake. The Sultān converted "the island into a basin of blood by the massacre of the unbelievers". Those who survived the massacre, particularly women, were "pressed as slaves into service in the house of every soldier". "Women with babies and pregnant ladies were haltered, manacled, fettered and enchained, and no vestige of the infidels was left except their blood". After this the "jubilant" Sultān concluded his victorious campaign by an elephant-hunt at Padamtala (in the old Baramba State of Orissa) [4]

According to 'Afīf, the Rājā of Orissa sent envoys to the Sultān offering submission. The Sultān assured the Rājā of his friendly intentions and the latter "agreed to furnish certain elephants yearly in payment of revenue". This satisfied the Sultān "who sent robes and insignia to the Rāy."[5]

'Afīf gives a detailed account of the return journey of the army, on the authority of his father, who accompanied it. The guides lost their way and the army, passing through unknown hills and jungles, for six months, "were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the arduous march". To make matters worse, "provision became very scarce, and the army was reduced to the verge of destruction".[6]

According to a recent writer, "it was an audacious campaign, brilliantly conceived and mightily executed", and "the successful execution of this campaign testifies to Fīrūz's undoubted skill as a general".[7] The campaign was certainly audacious, but the above description of the return journey leaves the impression that it was neither planned nor executed in a manner worthy of a skilful general.

This brings us to another important question, namely, the object of the expedition. That it was an afterthought and due to a sudden impulse is clearly proved by the fact that the Sultān had to retrace his steps to Bihār. Evidently the idea of such an expedition was

formed only after he had reached Jaunpur, or at least not long before it. Fortunately, the two contemporary official sources which supply the details of the expedition also mention the objects for which it was undertaken. According to the *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, these were: "extirpating Rāi Gajpat, massacring the unbelievers, demolishing their temples, hunting elephants, and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country."[8] 'Ain-ul-Mulk echoes the same sentiment. "The object of the expedition was," says he, "to break the idols, to shed the blood of the enemies of Islām (and) to hunt elephants."[9] Referring to this a modern writer has observed that "Fīrūz Shāh's main purpose was elephant-hunting, though hedged round by other reasons...."[10] It is dificult to accept this view. Apart from the commonsense view that a sober ruler is hardly likely to undertake such a risky expedition through unknown hills and jungles to a distant land, merely, or even mainly, for elephant-hunting, the spirit of bigotry which characterized the Sultān hardly leaves any doubt that the main object of the Sultān was, as expressly stated by both the contemporary authorities, the destruction of the holy temple of Jagannātha at Puri, held with the greatest veneration all over India. It bears some analogy to the expedition of Sultān Mahmūd to Somanātha, and, curiously enough the analogy extends to the sufferings during the return journeys of both. The argument advanced in support of the view that the elephant-hunting was the only object of the expedition is that the Sultān "broke no idol, pillaged no shrine".[11] It is even said that he went to Puri to view and admire the famous temple of Jagannātha and if he carried the idol, perhaps he wanted it for his museum.[12]

This ingenious and somewhat puerile attempt to whitewash the conduct of Fīrūz is rendered futile by the clear statement in the *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* that the temple of Jagannātha was destroyed and the images deliberately desecrated.[13] The terms of the treaty with the ruler of Orissa do not indicate that the conquest of the country was the main objective of the Sultān. On the whole, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Sultān Fīrūz was animated by the spirit of Sultān Mahmūd, and the destruction of the temple of Jagannātha and the chastisement of the Hindus were his main objects. The subjugation of Orissa and the elephant-hunting were at best subsidiary issues. It is exceedingly probable that on his way back from Bengal the Sultān heard of the great sanctity of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, and decided to destroy this citadel of infidels. This satisfactorily explains his sudden decision to lead a campaign against Orissa.

In 1361, Fīrūz proceeded to Sirhind with the object of invading Nagarkot (Kāngra), which was conquered by Muhammad Tughluq,

but whose ruler had since asserted independence. The sanctity of the temple of Jvālamukhī in Nagarkot, which attracted thousands of Hindu pilgrims, was probably an additional reason for this expedition.[14] His march to Sirhind was leisurely, and in the course of it he stopped to construct a canal and a fort. Afterwards he resumed his march towards Kāngra, whose chief submitted and was allowed to keep his territory as a fief. Next year Fīrūz undertook an expedition against Sind. If we remember the tragic circumstances amid which Muhammad Tughluq's campaign in that region ended in A.D. 1351, we need hardly wonder that Fīrūz should have undertaken a fresh one to vindicate the imperial prestige. Indeed, from this point of view it seems to have been long overdue. Apart from the desire of new conquest, recovering the lost prestige, and avenging the wrongs done to the late Sultān by the chiefs of Sind—the motives mentioned by 'Afīf—the turbulent activities of those chiefs for years, engendered by a hostile and rebellious spirit, furnished a clear excuse for the Sind campaign.[15]

Fīrūz set out with a large army of 90,000 horse and 480 elephants. He collected a large fleet of boats on the Sindhu and besieged Tattah, the capital of the Jāms of Sind. The ruler, Jām Banhbina,[16] bravely defended the city and made frequent sorties The Sultān's army suffered from famine, and a pestilence carried off nearly three-fourths of the horses To make matters worse, the royal fleet fell into the hands of the enemy. Thereupon the Sultān decided to withdraw, and marched with his troops towards Gujarāt. The retreat is said to have been more calamitous than the siege. Many died for want of the necessaries of life, and the obnoxious disease among the horses continued in all its fury Treacherous guides misled the army into the Rann of Cutch where drinkable water was not available, and thirst was added to the untold miseries and afflictions of the soldiers[17] With great difficulty, however, the army reached Gujarāt whence the governor Nizām-ul-Mulk, who had failed to send the much-needed supplies and guides, was expelled and was replaced by Zafar Khān

The greater part of the year 1363 the Sultān spent in recouping his strength in Gujarāt. About this time he received an invitation from Bahrām, a rival prince of the Bahmanī dynasty, to intervene and conquer the Deccan. It was a good opportunity which, if seized, might have enabled the Sultān to conquer the Bahmanī kingdom But Fīrūz, who had set his heart on Sind, refused the offer He came back and besieged Tattah, whose ruler surrendered and sued for peace. He accompanied the Sultān to Delhi, but after some time was restored to the government of Sind on condition of paying an

annual tribute.[18] The Sultān was sorry for having undertaken the Sind expedition and swore not to launch any aggressive campaign in future To those who had suffered and died in the Rann of Cutch he made concessions by enabling their heirs to enjoy the property of the deceased rent-free.

The year 1374 was a melancholy one in the course of which died Fath Khān the eldest and most talented of the sons of Fīrūz. This event almost unhinged the mind of Fīrūz, so much so that the efficiency of administration declined considerably and the empire became decadent. He appointed one Dāmaghānī governor of Gujarāt in place of Zafar Khān, merely because Dāmaghānī had promised to send more money annually, which the other declared himself unable to do. As soon as Dāmaghānī arrived in Gujarāt, his extortionate demands were opposed and, finding himself unable to fulfil his promise, he broke into rebellion. But he was slain by the *amīrān-i-sadah,* who sent his head to Delhi. The Sultān then appointed one Malik Mufarrah or Farhat-ul-Mulk to the government of Gujarāt (A.D. 1377).

Another difficult situation arose in 1377 when the *zamindārs* of Etāwa threatened to rebel. It should be noted that the Etāwa district had long been recalcitrant, and the revenue in that district had almost always to be collected with the help of armed force. The rebellion of the *zamindārs* was, however, put down by the Sultān

About the same time the Sultān led an expedition against Kharku, the Rājā of Katehr (Rohilkhand), who had treacherously murdered the governor of Badāūn, Sayyid Muhammad, and his two brothers. In A D 1380, the Sultān marched with an army to Katehr and perpetrated almost a wholesale massacre of the Hindus. Indeed, the massacre was so general and indiscriminate that one historian has remarked: "The spirit of the murdered Sayyids themselves arose to intercede". The Sultān then pursued Kharku, who fled into Kumaon. Here, again, although Kharku could not be seized, a very large number of Hindus were killed and 23,000 captured and enslaved Before returning to Delhi, Fīrūz left a positive order to devastate Katehr annually for the next five years, and appointed an Afghān to execute this bloody work. The Sultān himself annually visited the region during the next five years in order to see that his ferocious order was duly carried into effect. The result was, as a contemporary chronicler has observed· "In those years not an acre of land was cultivated, no man slept in his house, and the death of the three Sayyids was avenged on countless thousands of Hindus".[19]

In 1385 the Sultān founded one more city, called in derision Fīrūzpūr Ikhleri or Ākhirīnpūr, i.e. the last of his cities, since, senility and decay of intellect having overtaken him, the Sultān was not able to found any other city or construct any more works of public utility.

Ākhirīnpūr set the seal to the personal history of Sultān Fīrūz. He had now reached the age of eighty[19a] and was thoroughly dominated by the minister Khān Jahān The latter became so powerful that he cast covetous eyes on the throne and endeavoured to capture it by removing the legal heir, prince Muhammad Khān. But the scheme failed, and the cunning minister Khān Jahān fled to Mewāt, seeking shelter with its chief, Kokā Chauhān Sultān Fīrūz then associated prince Muhammad with him in the administration and even gave him the royal title. The joint rule of the father and son—the latter being styled Nasir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh—was proclaimed on August 22, 1387[20] Khān Jahān was seized and killed.

Muhammad had gone to Sirmur for a hunting excursion, when news reached him that Farhat-ul-Mulk, the governor of Gujarāt, had murdered Sikandar Khān, who had been appointed to succeed him Muhammad hastened back to Delhi, but instead of taking suitable steps to suppress the revolt, gave himself up entirely to pleasure He dismissed the officers of the court who attempted to rouse him from his lethargy, and filled their places with parasites and flatterers The nobles of the court thereupon rose against him and were supported by the populace Being defeated in a bloody battle, they were driven into the city which, for two days, became a scene of civil war with all its attendant horrors On the third day the rebels, who had secured the palace, brought out the old King in a litter and placed it on the street between the combatants. The soldiers of Muhammad received the Sultān with cries of joy and crowded round him Muhammad, thus deserted, fled to Sirmur. Fīrūz again resumed his full authority but, being old and infirm, acceded to the request of his household troops to place on the throne Ghiyās-ud-dīn, the son of his eldest son Fath Khān Shortly after this Fīrūz died in 1388[21]

Fīrūz Shāh was more than forty years of age when he ascended the throne, and it seems that he had learnt a good lesson from the reactions and revolts of the preceding reign. He had been heretofore a passive instrument in the hands of the reactionary *'ulamā'* and saints; and he continued to play the same role throughout his reign of 37 years (1351-88) Thus the State under him came under the influence of the theologians, and this is perhaps the reason of

his popularity. 'Afīf, the contemporary historian and author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī,* has painted Fīrūz in the brightest colour and the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* depicted him as an ideal ruler under whom all kinds of oppression, tyranny, high-handedness, violence, decline of the realm and rebellion of the people—a curse with which the reign of the late Sultān Muhammad Tughluq Shāh had been afflicted—were replaced by justice, equity, peace, prosperity and consolidation.[22] Learning and knowledge were promoted and the numbers of *'ulamā'* and doctors of law increased. 'Afīf rejoices to record the deference paid by Fīrūz to the learned and holy men in court and the harmony and good feeling which subsisted between Fīrūz Shāh and his *amīrs,* a blessing which could not have been attained without a complete overhaul of the policy and administration of the preceding reign. Fīrūz conferred new offices on the *amīrs* and gained the full co-operation of the *'ulamā'* and saints by granting them stipends and aids.

All these were sure to enlist the sympathy of the Muslims, particularly as Fīrūz, orthodox in his belief and practices, offered a striking contrast to his predecessor, who had shown but scant regard to the Muslim divines. But there were other very good reasons for the great popularity of Fīrūz He held many liberal views, which were far in advance of his age, and was probably the first Muslim ruler in India, who regarded the promotion of material welfare of subjects as a more important duty of the king than wars and conquests.

Contemporary records refer to the high principles which Fīrūz adopted as the basis of his government. Fīrūz himself has frankly explained his conception of royal duty in a small book written by himself and entitled *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī,*[23] which contains a brief summary of the *res gestae* of his reign, or as he designated them, his victories. The following passage from this work is worth being quoted in full in view of the horrors of inhuman torture, which the King, perhaps alone throughout the middle ages, had expressed so vividly and taken steps to prevent

"In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Musulmāns had been shed, and many varieties of torture employed Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses, tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet, and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of

Musulmāns, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men.......

"Through the mercy which God has shown to me these severities and terrors have been exchanged for tenderness, kindness and mercy. Fear and respect have thus taken firmer hold of the hearts of men, and there has been no need of executions, scourgings, tortures, or terrors".[24]

Side by side with the abolition of mutilation and tortures, we should mention his liberal and humane attitude towards slaves. The following is culled from the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf: "The Sultān commanded his great fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war, and to pick out and send the best for the service of the court. The chiefs and officers naturally exerted themselves in procuring more and more slaves and a great number of them were thus collected When they were found to be in excess, the Sultān sent them to important cities. In all cases, provision was made for their support in a liberal manner. Arrangement was made for educating the slaves and training them in various arts and crafts. In some places they were provided for in the army. It has been estimated that in the city and in the various fiefs, there were 180,000 slaves for whose maintenance and comfort the Sultān took special care. About 12,000 slaves became artisans of various kinds, and 40,000 worked as military guards to Sultān. The Sultān created a separate department with a number of officers for administering the affairs of these slaves Gradually the slaves increased to such a degree that they were employed in all sorts of domestic duties, so much so that there was no occupation in which the slaves of Fīrūz Shāh were not employed. By order of the Sultān, the great feudal chieftains also treated the slaves like children providing them with food and raiments, lodging them and training them, and taking every care for their wants".[25]

The Sultān gives a long list of more than twenty "frivolous, unlawful and unjust cesses", which were collected by his predecessors but were abolished by him because these sources of revenue were not "recognised by the sacred law and approved by books of authority". While recording this he quotes the following couplet.

"Better a people's weal than treasures vast,
Better an empty chest than hearts downcast".[26]

Fīrūz made many changes in the existing practices and customs in order to bring them into conformity with the sacred Law.[27] For this reason he strictly realized *Jizya* from the non-Muslims, as will be related later

Fīrūz had a love for building new cities. He is said to have founded 300 towns, which is obviously an exaggeration. Among the important towns founded by him may be mentioned Fatehābād, Hissār, Fīrūzpur (near Badāūn), Jaunpur and Fīrūzābād. The last-named city, built on the banks of the Yamunā, became his favourite residence, and is now represented by the ruins of 'Firoz Kotla' a little to the south of the Red Fort in Delhi. The new city comprised the sites of eighteen villages and extended from Indarpat (near Sher Shah's fort) to Kūshk-i-shikār (on the Ridge), five *kos* apart. It was crowded with buildings and there were eight public mosques, each large enough to accommodate 10,000 devotees.[28]

Great credit is due to Fīrūz for his public works, more particularly the five canals for irrigation constructed by him. The longest and most important of these ran for 150 miles from the Yamunā watering the arid tract as far as the city of Hissār founded by the Sultān Another, 96 miles long, connected the Sutlej with the Ghāghrā Two others ran respectively from the Ghāghrā and the Yamunā to the town of Fīrūzābād, another new town established by the Sultān. The fifth served the tract from the neighbourhood of Sirmur hills to the town of Hānsi Wolseley Haig very rightly observes. "Fīrūz Shāh is still remembered as the author of schemes of irrigation, and traces of his canals yet remain He also sank 150 wells for purposes of irrigation and for the use of travellers and indulged in a passion for building which equalled, if it did not surpass, that of the Roman Emperor Augustus".[29] Firishta credits him with the construction of 50 dams across rivers to promote irrigation, 40 mosques, 30 colleges with mosques attached, 20 palaces 100 caravanserais, 200 towns, 30 reservoirs or lakes for irrigating lands, 100 hospitals, 5 mausolea, 100 public baths, 10 monumental pillars, 10 public wells, and 150 bridges, besides numerous gardens and pleasure houses. Lands were assigned at the same time for the maintenance of these public buildings, in order to keep them in thorough repair.[30]

Fīrūz appointed as assessor of the revenue an *amīr* named Khvāja Hisām-ud-dīn Junaid, who made extensive tours for six years and made a comprehensive survey which enabled the Sultān to reduce the State-demand of the revenue Although this was not made upon the sure basis of measurement of land or an estimate of the actual produce, the land revenue was fixed more or less on a permanent basis, and this, by itself, was a creditable achievement The Sultān also abolished the practice of levying benevolences which the provincial governors had to pay at the time of their appointment and annually, for they ultimately fell upon the shoulders of the people. Due to the excavation of irrigation canals an enormous

area of land, which had hitherto remained fallow, came under cultivation. This, as well as the levy of additional ten per cent of the rent for the use of irrigation canals, increased the revenue to the extent of two *lakhs* of *tankas*.[31] Thriving villages were to be seen uniformly in the vicinity of Delhi, besides twelve hundred gardens, which contained an incalculable number of fruit-bearing trees. The enormous output of fruits from these and other gardens laid out by Fīrūz enabled the treasury to realise the sum of one lakh and eighty thousand *tankas* annually[32] Similarly the revenue from the Doāb amounted to eighty *lakhs* of *tankas*, and that from the crown lands to six crores and eighty-five *lakhs* of *tankas*.[33] The promotion of trade and agriculture was a distinctive feature of the reign and, in spite of the military expeditions, sieges, and skirmishes, no recourse was had to increased levy. 'Afīf testifies to the all-round prosperity prevailing everywhere in the country and described the cheapness and low price of food, cloths, and other things He observes that the necessaries of life were abundant and grain continued cheap throughout the reign of Fīrūz, as in that of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, but 'without any effort', i e without any arbitrary regulations[34]

Credit is also due to Fīrūz for simplifying the legal system and discouraging the use of spies, repairing and maintaining the tombs and monuments of his predecessors, and preservation of the two Aśokan pillars which he brought from Topra and Mīrāt and fitted up carefully in Delhi.[35]

Fīrūz was not only a great patron of learning but was himself an accomplished scholar. He established thirty *madrasas* including three great colleges. Teachers were liberally paid by the State and stipends were granted to students According to Firishta, Fīrūz encouraged learned men to reside in different parts of the empire for the sake of imparting instruction to the people The same authority tells us that Fīrūz found a fine library of Hindu books, consisting of 1300 volumes, at the temple of Jvālāmukhī, in Kāngra and ordered one of them, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into Persian, and called it *Dalā'il-i Fīrūz Shāhī*.[36] He was fond of history and patronized Baranī, 'Afīf and the author of the *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*. Reference has been made above to the *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* composed by him It is said by 'Afīf that the sum of thirty-six *lakhs* of *tankas* was spent for allowances given to learned men and Qurān-readers.[37]

One of the earliest acts of Fīrūz was his vicarious atonement for the sins of his predecessor Muhammad bin Tughluq He presented gifts to the heirs of those who had been killed, and to those that were mutilated during the reign of the latter, and secured

written statements from them to the effect that they were satisfied. The 'written deeds of pardon', duly attested by witnesses, were collected in a box and placed in the tomb of Muhammad Tughluq in order that God might pardon him for his misdeeds.[38] Incidentally, as noted above, it shows the contemporary opinion about the character of Muhammad bin Tughluq and the light in which it was viewed even by his closest friends and well-wishers. There is, however, no doubt that in doing this Fīrūz was actuated by a spirit of piety and benevolence rarely witnessed among the rulers of the age. The same spirit marks two other institutions started by him. The first was a 'charity bureau' (*Diwān-i-Khairāt*) which was established to help the widows and orphans and give pecuniary help to facilitate marriage of Muslim girls who remained unmarried for want of dowry.[39] Another was an agency to provide employment, mostly clerical and administrative, to those who were unemployed.[40] It was conducted more on a chariable basis than a regular bureau of employment. The Sultān also established a charitable hospital near Delhi, where the patients were treated by skilful physicians and got diet and medicine free of charge.[41]

In view of all this it is no wonder that Fīrūz has been highly praised by many Indian writers. There is, however, also a dark side of the picture. It should be noted that the reign of Fīrūz Shāh was a period of reaction marked by the revival of influence, even in affairs of State, of those *maulavīs*, *muftis*, *qāzīs*, *pīrs* and religious leaders and dignitaries, who had been humiliated under his revolutionary predecessor, and by the preponderance of nobles—*maliks* and *amīrs* or the *amīrān-i-sadah*—who had revolted against the latter. The period also witnessed the re-emergence of the mercenary spirit among that section of the *'ulamā'* and saints who were really ignorant of the ethics of Islām.

Fīrūz lacked the military skill and warlike spirit which distinguished his predecessor and was a *sine qua non* for successful rule in those days. He also lacked in energy and enthusiasm. He failed to recover Bengal and made no attempt to regain authority in the Deccan and South India. He was weak and irresponsible and, as in Bengal, abandoned the chances of victory on account of either incapacity or religious scruples which more befitted a *darvīsh* than a ruler

The Sultān was too idle and ease-loving to supervise the administration in a proper manner, and the result was corruption and inefficiency. What was worse, his spirit of benevolence went even so far as to shield his own corrupt officials. His misplaced benevolence for old and inefficient soldiers and connivance at corrup-

tion[42] gradually destroyed the efficiency of the army and civil administration, and distinctly lowered the standard of both. The Sultān was addicted to the pleasures of the harem and his high officials imitated his folly.

The Sultān re-introduced the system of granting *jāgīrs* to civil and military officers discouraged by his predecessor as well as by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, and the system of hereditary appointment abolished by Muhammad Tughluq.[43] He also deviated from their practices by extending the farming system and getting the land revenue settled with the highest bidder. These considerably impaired the efficiency of administration, and inflicted hardships on the peasants.

The weak and vacillating policy of Fīrūz was conspicuous throughout his reign, in both civil administration and military affairs. The only occasion on which he showed strength, resolution and firm determination was in the persecution of the Hindus A glaring instance is furnished by his barbarous method of warfare in Katehr, referred to above, and the tenacity with which he persecuted the Hindus of that region offers a striking contrast to his humane attitude towards Muslim rebels, for example those in Bengal. As he himself said, "he was resolved never more to make war upon Muslims."[44]

This brings us to the question of the bigotry of Fīrūz Shāh which formed the blackest spot on his character. Anyone who reads the *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*[45] written by the Sultān himself, cannot avoid the impression that Fīrūz possessed both the virtues and vices of an orthodox Muslim ruler. The most prominent of these vices was the intolerance of any faith other than orthodox Islām It is evident from this book that the Sultān divided mankind into two groups, Musulmāns (by which he meant Musulmān of the approved orthodox type), and non-Musulmāns, and regarded the former alone as his special concern. This will be evident, among others, from the passage quoted above[45a] regarding the abolition of torture But the Sultān was not satisfied merely with this negative attitude He considered it to be his duty to suppress irreligion and he takes pride that he laboured diligently "until things repugnant to religion were set aside." Of course by religion he meant only the orthodox Muslim faith.

So far as the Hindus were concerned, the following passage gives an idea of his bigoted attitude:—

"The Hindus and idol-worshippers had agreed to pay the money for toleration (*zar-i-zimmiya*), and had consented to the poll tax (*jizya*), in return for which they and their families enjoyed security.

These people now erected new idol-temples in the city and the environs in opposition to the Law of the Prophet which declares that such temples are not to be tolerated. Under Divine guidance I destroyed these edifices, and killed those leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error, and the lower orders I subjected to stripes and chastisement, until this abuse was entirely abolished. The following is an instance:—In the village of Malūh there is a tank which they call *kund* (tank). Here they had built idol-temples, and on certain days the Hindus were accustomed to proceed thither on horseback, and wearing arms Their women and children also went out in palankins and carts There they assembled in thousands and performed idol worship. This abuse had been so overlooked that the *bāzār* people took out there all sorts of provisions, and set up stalls and sold their goods Some graceless Musulmāns. thinking only of their gratification, took part in these meetings When intelligence of this came to my ears my religious feelings prompted me at once to put a stop to this scandal and offence to the religion of Islām. On the day of the assembling I went there in person, and I ordered that the leaders of these people and the promoters of this abomination should be put to death I forbade the infliction of any severe punishments on the Hindus in general, but I destroyed their idol temples, and instead thereof raised mosques"[46] Fīrūz also cites another concrete instance where the Hindus who had erected new temples were put to death before the gate of the palace, and their books, the images of deities, and the vessels used in their worship were publicly burnt This was to serve "as a warning to all men, that no *zimmī* could follow such wicked practices in a *Musulmān country*".[47] Other instances are given by contemporary writers. 'Afīf gives a graphic description of one such case A Brāhman of Delhi was charged with "publicly performing the worship of idols in his house and perverting Muhammadan women, leading them to become infidels" The Brāhman was told that according to law he must "either become a Musulmān or be burned" The Brāhman having refused to change his faith, "was tied hand and foot and cast into a burning pile of faggots" 'Afīf, who witnessed the execution, ends his account by saying "Behold the Sultān's strict adherence to law and rectitude, how he would not deviate in the least from its decrees".[48]

In two respects, the Sultān was more oppressive to the Hindus than his predecessors In the first place, he imposed *jizya* tax upon the Brāhmans, who were never required to pay them before. The Brāhmans went in a body to the Sultān to protest against this innovation. "They were determined", they said, "to collect wood and to burn themselves under the walls of the palace rather than

pay the tax". The Sultān "replied that they might burn and destroy themselves at once, for they would not escape from the payment". "The Brahmans remained fasting for several days at the palace until they were on the point of death". The Hindus of the city, in order to save the lives of the Brāhmans, told them that they would undertake to pay it for them. Ultimately the Brāhmans begged the Sultān to reduce the amount of the tax, and this was agreed.[49]

In the second place, the Sultān himself boasts that he adopted every means to induce the Hindus to adopt Islām. This will be evident from the following passage.—

"I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musulmān should be exempt from the *jizya*, or poll-tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves, and were admitted to the honour of Islām Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and, adopting the faith, were exonerated from the *jizya*, and were favoured with presents and honours".[50] This is probably the first recorded instance, after Muslim conquest of India, of the State itself becoming a proselytising agency

Attempts have been made to show that the Sultān was tolerant to the Hindus, by citing some instances that even when he conquered Hindu kingdoms, he did not destroy their temples or image This is belied by the following facts, among others

The *Sīrāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* as noted above, was a text written either at the dictation or at the dictates of Fīrūz Shāh himself According to this chronicle, two of the objectives of the Sultān in undertaking the expedition against Jājnagar or Orissa, as noted above, were "massacring the unbelievers and demolishing their temples". The detailed account given in this book leaves no doubt that these objects were pursued with relentless severity As related above, Fīrūz, after the conquest of Orissa, proceeded to Puri, the famous place of Hindu pilgrimage Referring to his activities the chronicler records:—"Allāh, who is the only true God and has no other emanation, endowed the king of Islām with the strength to destroy this ancient shrine on the eastern sea-coast and to plunge it into the sea, and after its destruction, he ordered the nose of the image of Jagannāth to be perforated and disgraced it by casting it down on the ground. They dug out other idols which were worshipped by the polytheists in the kingdom of Jājnagar, and overthrew them as they did the image of Jagannāth, for being laid in front of the mosques along the path of the Sunnis and way of the *musallis* (the

multitude who offer their prayers) and stretched them in front of the portals of every mosque, so that the body and sides of the images might be trampled at the time of ascent and descent, entrance and exit, by the shoes on the feet of the Muslims".[51]

When Fīrūz invaded Nagarkot he desecrated the famous temple at Jvālāmukhī. We learn from Firishta that the Sultān "broke the idols of Jvālāmukhī, mixed their fragments with the flesh of cows, and hung them in nosebags round the necks of Brahmins, and that he sent the principal idol as a trophy to Medina".[52] There may be some exaggeration in all this, but it is impossible to ignore the evidences cited above and to avoid the conclusion that Fīrūz was the greatest bigot of this age and the precursor of Sikandar Lodī and Aurangzeb in this respect It is only fair to add, however, that he was equally intolerant towards heterodox Muslim sects. He himself describes his action against the Shiahs as follows:—

"The sect of *Shī'as*, also called *Rawāfiz*, had endeavoured to make proselytes. They wrote treatises and books, and gave instruction and lectures upon the tenets of their sect, and traduced and reviled the first chiefs of our religion (on whom be the peace of God!). I seized them all and I convicted them of their error and perversions. On the most zealous I inflicted punishment (*siyāsat*), and the rest I visited with censure (*tāzīr*) and threats (*tahdīb*) of public punishment (*tashhīr-i-zijr*). Their books I burnt in public, and so by the Grace of God, the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed".[53]

The contemporary historians, Baranī and 'Afīf, are full of praises for Fīrūz Tughluq and describe him as a just, merciful, and benevolent ruler. Modern writers like Elliot[53a] and Elphinstone have even gone so far as to regard him as the Akbar of the Sultanate period. The comparison is odious and, Ishwari Prasad has very rightly observed, "Fīrūz had not even a hundredth part of the genius of that great-hearted and broad-minded monarch".[54] Fīrūz may justly be regarded as the last of the notable Sultāns of Delhi, but it is difficult to agree with the view that "the reign of Fīrūz closes the most brilliant epoch of Muslim rule in India before the reign of Akbar".[55] For Sher Shāh's reign is no less brilliant; besides, as a ruler, he occupies a much higher place in history, and was really a great king, a title to which Fīrūz can certainly lay no claim, either by his character and personality, or by his achievements.

Fīrūz regarded the Sultanate as a Muslim State.[56] So, "as far as the beneficent activities of the State were concerned (e.g. education, care of the poor, provision of the unemployed, marriage of the poor girls, religious endowments, etc), it was largely the

Muslims who benefited". This is clearly admitted by 'Afīf. "Political power remained exclusively in Muslim hands and no post of influence is known to have been held by any Hindu".[57] In all these respects Fīrūz offers a striking contrast to Akbar and, to a certain extent, to Sher Shāh.

Although the reign of Fīrūz was marked by mildness and beneficent activities, in striking contrast to that of his predecessor, it also undermined, to a large extent, the foundation of the Sultanate. The active interest and influence of the *'ulamā'* and *mushaikhs* in affairs of State which Fīrūz permitted, partly as policy and partly as an article of faith, was a retrograde step. His connivance at the inefficiency of public servants, misplaced leniency in dealing with civil and military officials, and undue favours shown to the nobility weakened the entire administrative machinery. His aversion to war against the Muslims, even when it was imperative,—in striking contrast to the brutal severity with which he treated the Hindus of Katehr—, and particularly his unwillingness (on the specious ground of saving Muslim women from disgrace) or inability to carry the fights to a finish, destroyed the stability of the empire The organization of the slaves, though promoted by humane consideration, was no doubt partly due also to a desire to create a personal bodyguard on which the Sultān could trust for his own safety. But as could be easily foreseen, it developed into something like a Praetorian Guard and proved to be a great disturbing factor in the State On the whole, in spite of peace, prosperity, and contentment that prevailed during the long reign of Fīrūz Shāh, no one can possibly doubt that his policy and administrative measures contributed to a large extent to the downfall of the Delhi Sultanate, and accelerated the process of decline that had already set in during his predecessor's reign.

1 Wolseley Haig is the great protagonist of this view (*JRAS*, 1922, pp 365 ff; *CHI*, III, 173) The same view is reiterated by Sri Ram Sharma (*PIHC*, XV, 176) Haig's view is opposed by Ishwari Prasad (*IPMI*, 263 ff) and A C Banerji (*IC*, II, 47 ff) on the grounds stated above in the text among others
2 For a detailed account of the two expeditions to Bengal cf Chapter X, E The Sultān issued an interesting proclamation specifying the grounds of his invasion of Bengal and holding out inducements to various classes of people of this province to seek his favour (*JASB*, N S XIX, (1923) 279).
3. The details of the campaign are given in two contemporary official sources The relevant extract in the first, *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, has been summarized and translated by N B Roy (*JRASBL*, VIII, 57-98), and the account in the text is mainly based upon it (cf specially pp 74-77) Valuable information is supplied by 'Ain-ul-Mulk's account in *Inshā-i-Māhrū* which has been translated by Abdul Wali in *JASB*, N. S, XIX, 283 ff.
4. The whole of this account, including the passages quoted is taken from the English translation of *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (*JRASBL*, VIII, pp 61 ff)
5 *HIED*, III, 315
6. Ibid
7 *JRASBL*, VIII 60
8 Ibid, 69

9. *JASB*, N. S, XIX 285
10. Ibid, 288
11. Ibid
12. Ibid.
13. *JRASBL*, VIII 75 The relevant extract has been quoted below in pp. 105-6
14 *IPMI* (1925) p. 276 This is supported by his speech to the assembled Hindus and the desecration of the images of the temple to which reference is made in p 106 and note 52.
15. This generally accepted view, based on 'Afif's account (*HIED*, III 319-20), is opposed by N B. Roy. He draws attention to a letter written by 'Ain-ul-Mulk which shows that as "Banābanah, a chief of Sindh, allying himself with hordes of Mughals, made raids into the rich provinces of the Punjāb and Gujarāt," and his "daring and audacity had surpassed all bounds," Sultān Fīrūz was approached by the writer to repel the attacks N B Roy therefore argues that the expedition to Sind "was the necessary sequel to Babiniya's aggressions and did not spring from either ambitious schemes of conquest or motives of vengeance as stated by 'Afif (*JRASBL*, IV, 285 ff)" That the suppression of the rebels was an object of the expedition is clearly stated in *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, but that does not mean that the other objects were absent It is hardly likely that an official chronicle would refer to vengeance or lust for conquest as object of the expedition There is also nothing in 'Ain-ul-Mulk's letter which excludes these objects
16 'Afif mentions Jam and Babiniya as names of two separate persons (*HIED*, III 322) But as Ishwari Prasad has pointed out (*IPMI*, p 278, f n 1), Jām was the title of Banhbina For the spelling of the name Banhbina see the Chapter on Sind n 21.
17 Harrowing details are given by 'Afif (*HIED*, III. pp 324 ff)
18. According to 'Afif, "the son of the Jam and Tamachi, brother of Babiniya, were placed over Thatta, and titles were conferred upon them They paid four *lacs* of *tankas* in cash, by way of marking their allegiance and agreed to pay several *lacs of tankas* in money and goods yearly" (*HIED*, I III, 336) But both Mīr Ma'sūm and Firishta say that Jam Babiniya was restored to the government of Sind (Briggs, I. 455; *IPMI*, 280)
19 Briggs, I 457, *CHI*, III. 182-3
19a See n 21
20 Though theoretically a joint rule (*CHI*, III 184), Fīrūz virtually abdicated in favour of his son who ascended the throne, as Firishta puts it (Briggs I, 459)
21. According to 'Afif, Fīrūz was born in 709 A H (A D 1309 10) (*HIED* III 271) therefore he must have been about 80 years of age at the time of his death This age has been put as 83 by Haig (*CHI*, III 184) and 90 by Ishwari Prasad (*IPMI*, 296).
22 *TMB*, 121; *HIED*, III 362-3
23 For an English translation of *HIED*, III 374-388
24. Ibid, 375-6.
25 Ibid, 340-2
26 Ibid, 377 'Afif also refers to many such illegal cesses abolished by him (*HIED*, III 363) A list of these taxes with explanatory notes, is given by Qureshi (QAS, Appendix H p 228)
27 *HIED*, III, 377
28 Ibid, 303
29. *CHI*, III 175
30. Briggs, I, 465 'Afif also gives a detailed account of his buildings including nine palaces in the different towns and one hundred and twenty *khankahs* (monasteries) in Delhi and Fīrūzābād "in which travellers from all directions were receivable as guests for three days" (*HIED*, III 354)
31 *HIED*, III 301
32. *TKB*, II. 123, *HIED*, (III 346) puts the figure as eighty thousand
33 *HIED*, III., 346
34 Ibid, 344 'Afif draws a rosy picture of the economic condition of common people "Their homes were replete with grain, property, horses, and furniture, every one had plenty of gold and silver, no woman was without her ornaments, and no house was wanting in excellent beds and couches Wealth abounded and comforts were general" (*HIED*, III 290) This is too idealized a picture to be taken at its face value.
35. *HIED*, III. 351, 354-5
36 Briggs, I 454-462

37 *HIED*, III. 361.
38. Ibid, 385.
39. Ibid, 361.
40. Ibid, 355.
41. Ibid, 361
42 Ibid, 347-9.
43 Ibid, III. 289.
44. Ibid, 340.
45. Ibid, III, 374 ff.
45a. Above, pp. 98-99.
46 Ibid, 380-81.
47 Ibid, 381. The italics are mine
48. Ibid, 365.
49 Ibid, 365-6.
50. Ibid, 386.
51 *JRASBL*, VIII, 75 See above, pp 93-94 'Afīf also refers to the desecration of images (*HIED*, III, 314).
52. Firishta prefaces this assertion with the remark "Some historians state that" etc. (Briggs, I, 454). 'Afīf does not refer to the desecration but vigorously refutes the report "spread by the infidels" that the Sultān "held a golden umbrella over the head of the idol." It should be noted that 'Afīf denied the truth of the report on the authority of his father who was in the Sultān's retinue. The story that Fīrūz held a golden umbrella over the head of a Hindu image, incredible in itself, may therefore be dismissed as a myth 'Afīf refutes a similar charge against Muhammad bin Tughluq and adds that these two Sultāns "whenever they took an idol temple they broke and destroyed it". This evidently supports the desecration of the Jvālāmukhī temple by Fīrūz, of whom 'Afīf was a contemporary. According to 'Afīf, Fīrūz addressed the assembled Hindus at Jvālāmukhī temple as follows. "O fools and weak-minded, how can you pray to and worship this stone, for our holy law tells us that those who oppose the decrees of our religion will go to hell" (*HIED*, III 318) Ishwari Prasad translates this passage somewhat differently (*IPMI*, 276)
53 *HIED*, III 377-8
53a Ibid, 269
54. *IPMI*, 281
55 *CHI*, III 188
56. Cf the passage quoted above, on p 104 where he refers to India as 'Musulmān country' (*HIED*, III 381)
57 For detailed arguments in support of the view taken in the text, cf. "A review of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh" by Riazul Islam in *Is C*, XXIII 285

CHAPTER VI

THE SUCCESSORS OF FĪRŪZ SHĀH

On the death of Fīrūz Shāh, his grandson, the son of Fath Khān, formally ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh II. Malik Fīrūz 'Alī was appointed *wazīr* and received the title of Khān Jahān. Prince Muhammad, the son of Fīrūz, who was once the joint ruler with his father under the title Nasīr-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh, but was driven away, as mentioned above,[1] and was now residing at Sirmur, made preparations to contest the throne. An army was sent against him under the *wazīr* and Bahādur Nāhir, a Rājput chief of Mewāt, who had embraced Islām. On the approach of the royal army Muhammad fled to the mountains and occupied a strong position, but being defeated and driven from one position to another, he shut himself up at the strong fort of Nagarkot (Kāngra). The royal army did not besiege that fort, but returned to Delhi.

Ghiyās-ud-dīn proved to be a worthless ruler. He gave himself up to pleasure and debauchery, and neglected the affairs of State. His conduct produced laxity in administration and dissatisfaction among the *amīrs* Matters came to a head when the Sultān treated with cruelty and imprisoned his own brother, Sālār His cousin, Abū Bakr, the son of Zafar Khān, the third son of Fīrūz, dreading the same fate, fled and organized a conspiracy against the Sultān.[2] Their cause was supported by Rukn-ud-dīn, the deputy *wazīr,* who had a large following among the household troops, the famous *Ghulāmān-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (Slaves of Fīrūz Shāh). Several other chiefs of high rank also joined the conspiracy The conspirators rushed into the palace and killed Malik Mubārak Kabīr, the *amīr-ul-'umra'*. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, thus surprised, fled with his *wazīr* through a gate opening towards the Yamunā. They were pursued by Rukn-ud-dīn and, being overtaken, were immediately put to death (February 18, 1389) Next day the conspirators put Abū Bakr on the throne, and Rukn-ud-dīn became the *wazīr.*

Abū Bakr could not enjoy the throne for long The *amīrān-i-sadah* of Sāmāna rose in revolt, and having killed their leader, Malik Sultān Shāh Khushdil, who was loyal to Abū Bakr, invited Prince Muhammad to join them and assert his rights to the throne. Muhammad collected an army and proceeded to Sāmāna. There he proclaimed himself king (April, 1389) and marched towards Delhi.

On the way he was joined by several *amīrs* and entered Delhi at the head of 50,000 horse. Delhi now became the seat of the civil war, and the nobles of the court joined one side or the other according to their interests or inclinations. Bahādur Nāhir of Mewāt joined Abū Bakr, and with his help the Sultān succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon Muhammad. The latter fled to the Doāb and fixed his head-quarters at Jalesar,[3] where he was joined by many nobles of the court, chief among whom were Malik Sarvar, lately the *kotwāl* of Delhi, and Nasīr-ul-Mulk. The former was appointed his minister under the title Khvāja Jahān, and the latter received the title Khizr Khān Encouraged by the support Muhammad again marched towards Delhi, but was again defeated and fell back on Jalesar. But in spite of this reverse, his authority was acknowledged in many districts to the north and west of Delhi, including Lahore, Multān, Sāmāna, Hissār, and Hānsi. Chaos and confusion prevailed on all sides, and the troops of Muhammad oppressed the people of the Doāb. The Hindu chiefs there, who had proved refractory even under earlier Sultāns, now openly defied the authority of the Sultān Humāyūn, son of Muhammad, advanced from Sāmāna and plundered the country almost up to the walls of Delhi, but he was defeated at Pānipat and fled to Sāmāna. Encouraged by this success Abū Bakr now decided to take the offensive and attack Muhammad at Jalesar. But as soon as he left Delhi, Muhammad, assured of the support of a strong faction of nobles at the court, cleverly eluded the forces of his enemy, and occupied Delhi Thereupon Abū Bakr retraced his steps and Muhammad made a precipitate retreat to Jalesar. But shortly afterwards Islām Khān, the Commander of the household troops, opened communication with Muhammad The knowledge of this conspiracy so alarmed Abū Bakr that he left Delhi and fled to Bahādur Nāhir of Mewāt. Taking advantage of this Muhammad again occupied Delhi, and ascended the throne at Fīrūzābād under his old royal title Nasīr-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh (August, 1390).

Islām Khān was appointed *wazir*, but the household troops were provoked into rebellion by a royal order to take back all the elephants which had been seized by them. Most of them joined Abū Bakr, and a large number, found at Delhi, were put to death.

The Sultān now recruited a new army and sent it against Abū Bakr under his son Humāyūn and *wazīr* Islām Khān. Abū Bakr was defeated and captured, and kept a prisoner in the fort of Mirāt where he died.

The prolonged civil war, the worthless character of the rulers who succeeded Fīrūz, and the disloyal and selfish activities of the

officials and *amīrs* had brought the Sultanate on the verge of ruin. Though the new Sultān showed some energy, he could not stem the tide of decline. Farhat-ul-Mulk, the governor of Gujarāt, threw off his allegiance in A.D. 1390, and ere long the province was lost to the empire as will be related later. Nearer home the Rājput chiefs of Etāwa refused to pay tribute and declared independence. In A.D. 1391 Islām Khān proceeded with a large army and defeated the Rāthor Rājput Narsingh Bhān, the leader and the most powerful of the rebellious chiefs, and made peace with him. The other two important chiefs, the Rāthor Sarvadhāran, and Bīr Bhān, the chief of the Vais Rājputs, also offered submission. But as soon as Islām Khān returned to Delhi with Narasingh Bhān, the chiefs again rose up in arms under Sarvadhāran and ravaged Bilgrām[4] and the adjacent districts. The Sultān marched in person, defeated them, and 'levelled the fort of Etāwa with the ground' He then proceeded via Kanauj to Jalesar, and built a fort there, which was called after him Muhammadābād.

The Sultān hastened back to Delhi as reports reached him that the *wazīr*, Islām Khān, was planning a rebellion. Islām pleaded innocence, but his own nephew, a Hindu, gave evidence against him, and he was condemned to death According to Firishta, the charge was a false one and the whole affair was planned by Khvāja Jahān, who took the place of Islām Khān as *wazīr*.[5] Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk, who later distinguished himself as Muqarrab Khān, was appointed governor of Muhammadābād.

In A D. 1393, the Rājput chiefs of Etāwa again rebelled, but most of them were treacherously killed by Muqarrab-ul-Mulk, when they visited Kanauj at his invitation. The Sultān himself proceeded to Mewāt to quell the rebellion there and, having laid waste the country, proceeded to Jalesar. There he fell ill when news reached him that Bahādur Nāhir of Mewāt had plundered the country up to the gates of Delhi Though the Sultān was still suffering from fever, he hastened to Mewāt, attacked Bahādur Nāhir at Kotla and totally defeated him After this, he returned to Muhammadābād and sent his son Humāyūn to crush Shaikhā, the Khokar, who had rebelled and captured Lahore But before the Prince left Delhi, the Sultān died at Jalesar (January, 1394). He was succeeded by Prince Humāyūn who assumed the title of 'Ala-ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh But he died within six weeks of his accession.

On the death of Humāyūn his younger brother, Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh, was installed on the throne by a party of nobles in the court headed by Muqarrab-ul-Mulk who became *Vakil-us-sultanat* and received the title Muqarrab Khān But the Sultanate

had now reached the last stages of disintegration. The provincial governors and Hindu chiefs openly defied the authority of the Sultān and became *de facto* sovereigns. Malik Sarvar Khvājā Jahān, who still continued in the post of the *wazīr,* received the title of *Malik-us-Sharq* or King of the East, and was sent to subdue the rebellious chiefs of the east. He left Delhi in May 1394, and subdued the districts of Koil, Etāwa and Kanauj. He then occupied Jaunpur and founded an independent kingdom with this city as his capital. Sārang Khān Lodī, governor of Dīpālpur, expelled Khizr Khān, the governor of Multān, defeated the turbulent Khokars, and placed his own brother Adil Khān in charge of Lahore

In the meanwhile, the Sultān, leaving Muqarrab Khān in charge of Delhi, proceeded to Gwalior in the company of Sa'ādat Khān, Mallū Iqbāl Khān Lodī (brother of Sārang Khān), Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn Dharwal, and others When they arrived near Gwalior, some of the *amīrs*, led by Mallū, made a conspiracy against Sa'ādat Khān, as they were jealous of him for his great influence with the Sultān The plot leaked out and some of the conspirators were put to death, but Mallū fled to Delhi and sought the protection of Muqarrab Khān The latter, on learning that Sa'ādat Khān had sworn vengeance against him, closed the gates of Delhi against the Sultān when he returned with Sa'ādat Khān The royal army laid siege to the city, but after three months, the Sultān's party, being convinced that "the war not only originated, but was prosecuted solely on account of Sa'ādat Khān", accommodated matters with Muqarrab Khān, and was admitted into the city of Delhi Sa'ādat, unable to conquer the fort of Delhi, and finding the rainy season to be near, marched to Fīrūzābād and raised Nusrat Khān, son of Fath Khān, to the throne under the title of Nusrat Shāh But the household troops of Fīrūz Tughluq, who had joined Sa'ādat Khān, was incensed at his conduct towards them and drove him from Fīrūzābād. He thereupon sought shelter with Muqarrab Khān who put him to death in 1394

There were now two Sultāns in Delhi and the result was a protracted civil war. The *amīrs* of Fīrūzābād, Doāb, Sambal, Pānipat, Jhajhar and Rohtak supported Nusrat Shāh, while those of Delhi espoused the cause of Mahmūd Shāh. But none of the competitors for the throne could claim any real allegiance from any of the chiefs and nobles who all looked to their own interests alone. The situation is tersely, but very correctly, described by Firishta in the following words

"The government fell into anarchy· civil war raged everywhere; and a scene was exhibited, unheard of before, of two kings

in arms against each other residing in the same capital. Tātār Khān, the son of Zafar Khān of Gujarāt, and Fazlullah Balkhī, entitled Kutlugh Khān, joined the Prince Nusrat at Fīrūzābād. Muqarrab Khān and other chiefs espoused the cause of Mahmūd Tughluq; while Bahādur Nāhir and Mallū Iqbāl Khān, with a strong body of troops, occupied the fort of Sīrī, and remained neuter, (*sic*) but were prepared to join either party according to circumstances. Affairs remained in this state for three years, with astonishing equality; for if one monarch's party had at any time the superiority, the balance was soon restored by the neutral chiefs

"The warfare thus continued as if it were one battle between the two cities, wherein thousands were sometimes killed in a day, and the casualties occasioned by the slain were supplied by fresh reinforcements from different parts Some of the governors of the provinces took little share in these civil dissensions, hoping to make advantage of them, by becoming independent in the end".[6]

This state of things continued for three years In the meanwhile Mallū Iqbāl Khan, having quarrelled with Muqarrab Khān, deserted Sultān Mahmūd Shāh and joined the party of Nusrat Shāh But a few days later he formed a conspiracy against Nusrat Shāh, who fled to Pānipat and joined his *wazīr* Tātār Khan Mallū, now in possession of Fīrūzābād, strove to expel Sultān Mahmūd and Muqarrab Khān from the old city. At length, through the mediation of some nobles, peace was concluded between the rival parties But Mallū Iqbāl, perfidious as he was, attacked Muqarrab Khān in his own house and killed him Mallu then exercised royal authority in the name of Sultān Mahmūd, who was deprived of all but the name of the king and became a mere tool in his hands Mallū marched along with the pageant King from Delhi to Pānipat, the head quarters of Nusrat Khān and Tātār Khān Tātār Khān evaded him, arrived at Delhi, and besieged it In the meantime Mallū Khān captured Pānipat and took possession of the baggage and elephants left there by Tātār Khān, and hastened back to Delhi Thereupon Tātār Khān fled to his father Zafar Khān, who had practically assumed independence in Gujarāt, while Nusrat Shāh took refuge in the Doāb Mallū Iqbāl entered Delhi in October 1398, but before he could settle down to restore order, news reached him that Tīmūr (Tamerlane) had crossed the Sindhu, the Chenāb, and the Rāvi, and captured Tulamba and Multān Before we trace the subsequent history of the Tughluqs it is necessary to go back a little to relate, from the very beginning, the invasion of Tīmūr, which ultimately swept away the Tughluq dynasty, and put an end to the Turkish rule in India.[7]

1 See above p 97
2 *TMB*, 150, where the name of the Sultan's brother is given as Aspdar Shāh According to Firishta, both Sālār and Abū Bakr were thrown into prison, but effected their escape (Briggs, I, 467)
3 Jatesar, according to *TM* (*TMB*, 156).
4 This is situated to the east of the Gangā and it is doubtful if the rebel *zamindārs* of the Doāb would advance so far Hence some prefer the alternative reading Talgrām, and identify it with a place of that name in the Doāb (cf *CHI*, III, 192 f n)
5 Briggs, I, 476
6 Ibid, 481 The modern spellings of proper names have been given in the passage quoted
7 The history of the successors of Fīrūz, as given in this chapter, is principally based on Firishta's account (Briggs, I, 466 484)

CHAPTER VII

THE INVASION OF TĪMŪR AND THE END OF THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

Tīmūr was born in the year A.D. 1336 at the town called Kech or Shahr-i-sabz (green town) to the south of Samarqand in Transoxiana, that is, the territory between the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes He belonged to a noble Turk family of the Barlās clan which ruled a small principality round the town of his birth. His original name was Tīmūr, but once, in the course of a fight, he was wounded by an arrow in the leg and he limped for the rest of his life. Hence his Turkish enemies styled him "Aksak-Tīmūr" (limping Tīmūr), and the Persians, "Tīmūr-i-lang" (Tīmūr the lame), corrupted by Europeans into Tamerlane.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to relate the long life of warfare, led by Tamerlane, by which he rose from a humble position to be the ruler of a vast empire embracing in addition to Transoxiana and a part of Turkistān, the whole of Afghānistān, Persia, Syria, Qurdistān, and the major part of Asia Minor Towards the end of his career, he decided to undertake an expedition against India. He repeatedly declares in his autobiography[1] that his object in the invasion of Hindusthān was to lead an expedition against the infidels, and thereby become a Ghāzī, or a martyr.[2] But in one or two places, he refers to the twofold objects of his expedition: "The first was to war with the infidels," and thereby acquire "some claim to reward in the life to come". The other was "that the army of Islām might gain something by plundering the wealth and valuables of the infidels".[3] There can be no doubt that both the religious and the material aspects of the expedition were always present in his mind. As a matter of fact, he combined in himself the savage ferocity of Chinghīz Khān and the fanaticism of Sultān Mahmūd.

Before he launched his Indian expedition, information reached him that his grandson Pīr Muhammad, the governor of Kābul, Qandahār, Ghaznī and other neighbouring regions, had already sent an expedition against India, which crossed the river Sindhu, captured Uch, and besieged Multān Tīmūr, on his part, started from Samarqand early in A.D. 1398 (March or April). When he reached Afghānistān, a large number of Muslims, both high and low, com-

plained to him of the ill-treatment which they constantly received at the hands of the infidels of Kator and the Siyāh-poshes,[4] and asked for his protection, which was readily assured. Tīmūr himself proceeded against Kator, which denoted the region between Kāshmir and Kābul, and sent a detachment against the Siyāh-poshes The fort of Kator, deserted by the people, was levelled with the ground and the houses of the city were burnt. The infidels, who took refuge on the top of a hill, were defeated, and many of them put to death. Some of the infidels held out for three days, and Tīmūr offered them the usual alternatives of 'death' or 'Islām'. They chose the latter, but soon recanted, and attacked a regiment of Muslim soldiers during the night. But the latter were on their guard and killed a number of infidels and took 150 of them as prisoners "who were afterwards put to death by the enraged soldiery'. As soon as it was day, Tīmūr ordered his troops to advance on all four sides, "to kill all the men, to make prisoners the women and children, and to plunder and lay waste all their property". When this order was faithfully executed, he "directed towers to be built on the mountain of the skulls of those obstinate unbelievers". In order to let posterity know of this expedition "in the auspicious month of *Ramazān*, A.H. 800" (A.D. 1398), Tīmūr engraved an account of it on a neighbouring hill and then proceeded to retrieve the disaster that had befallen the other part of his army which had been sent against the Siyāh-poshes.

Burhān Aglan, who was sent against them with 10,000 men, "was routed by, and fled from, a small number of infidels". A small detachment of 400 men under Muhammad Azād, sent to his help, was attacked by the infidels, but he fought gallantly and after having recovered the horses and armour lost by Aglan, returned homewards. Tīmūr then advanced in person and captured some places but, as nothing more is said, presumably, after this, the Siyāh-poshes were left alone.[5]

Tīmūr then exterminated the "rebellious predatory tribes of the Aghānīs" and crossed the Sindhu river in Sepember, 1398. He marched along the Jhelum and defeated several local chiefs, crossed this river below its junction with the Chenāb, and reached Tulamba, which submitted without any fight Here news reached him that Pīr Muhammad had captured Multān. The two armies then joined. and after sending a part of his force by way of Dīpālpur and Sāmāna. Tīmūr himself proceeded to Bhatnir, a strong fortified place occupied by Dul Chānd, a Hindu chief, "famous throughout the whole country"

The *casus belli* was furnished by the conduct of the chiefs and nobles of the city of Dīpālpur who had tendered allegiance to Pīr Muhammad, but later turned rebels and killed Musāfir Kābulī, the governor appointed by him. On hearing of the approach of Tīmūr the rebels took refuge in Bhatnir What part, if any, the Hindu chief of Bhatnir played in the whole affair is not stated, but Tīmūr invaded and easily conquered the city. The fort was guarded by a body of Rājputs who offered a stout resistance, but ultimately Dul Chānd surrendered and presented himself to Tīmūr Tīmūr then punished various refractory chiefs, specially the 500 refugees from Dīpālpur, and "their wives and children were made slaves" This fearful retribution filled Dul Chānd's brother and son with dismay, and they fled to the fort and closed its gate But though they again submitted and were granted pardon, a dispute arose about the collection of ransom money "between the collectors and the evil-minded *rais*". So Tīmūr directed his "brave fellows to punish the infidels", and what followed is described by him as follows.—"In a short space of time all the people in the fort were put to the sword, and in the course of one hour the heads of 10,000 infidels were cut off. The sword of Islām was washed in the blood of the infidels, and all the goods and effects, the treasure and the grain which for many a long year had been stored in the fort became the spoil of my soldiers. They set fire to the houses and reduced them to ashes, and they razed the buildings and the fort to the ground" [6]

Tīmūr then captured the city of Sarsutī and the fearful scene was repeated "All these infidel Hindus were slain, their wives and children were made prisoners, and their property and goods became the spoil of the victors" Several thousand Hindu women and children, who were brought captive, became Muhammedans [7]

Tīmūr then proceeded against the Jats Although they fled into the jungles, Tīmūr pursued them there He killed 2 000 Jats, captured their wives and children, and plundered their cattle and property [8] About this time, another part of Tīmūr's army which was following a more northerly route, joined him near Sāmāna and Tīmūr marched via Pānipat towards Delhi After reaching the neighbourhood of Delhi, he sent a force of cavalry in advance, with orders "to plunder and destroy and to kill every one whom they met" They literally carried out this order, and reached the Jahānnumā palace, having, as they proceeded, 'plundered every village, killed the men, and carried a number of Hindu prisoners, both male and female' [9] Next day Tīmūr crossed the river Yamunā and captured Loni on the other bank of the river The people here were mostly Hindus "Many of the *Rājputs* placed their wives and

children in their houses and burned them, then they rushed to the battle and were killed". After this fort was captured, Tīmūr gave orders "that the Musulmān prisoners should be separated and saved, but that the infidels should all be despatched to hell with the proselytising sword".[10] Sultān Mahmūd of Delhi had hitherto taken no steps to oppose the invader, but now advanced with Mallū, and a battle was fought with a detachment of Tīmūr near the Palace of Jahānnumā (December 12, 1398) The Sultān was defeated and fled with his army.

A grim tragedy, perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world, was an indirect consequence of this battle. There were at this time about 100,000 Hindu prisoners in the camp of Tīmūr. Two *amīrs* reported to Tīmūr that "on the previous day, when the enemy's forces made the attack upon us, the prisoners made signs of rejoicing, uttered imprecations against us, and were ready, as soon as they heard of the enemy's success, to form themselves into a body, break their bonds, plunder our tents, and then to go and join the enemy, and so increase his numbers and strength" Tīmūr having asked their advice, "they said that on the great day of battle these 100,000 prisoners could not be left with the baggage, and that it would be entirely opposed to the rules of war to set these idolaters and foes of Islām at liberty In fact, no other course remained but that of making them all food for the sword". Tīmūr thereupon resolved to put them all to death He proclaimed "throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners was to put them to death, and whoever neglected to do so should himself be executed and his property given to the informer When this order became known to the *ghāzīs* of Islām, they drew their swords and put their prisoners to death 100,000 infidels, impious idolaters, were on that day slain Maulānā Nasīr-ud-dīn 'Umar, a counsellor and man of learning, who, in all his life, had never killed a sparrow, now, in execution of my order, slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus, who were his captives" [11]

On December 17, there was a pitched battle outside Delhi Tīmūr defeated Sultān Mahmūd and entered the city (December 18, 1398) Both the Sultān and his minister Mallū fled, but a terrible fate was reserved for the people of Delhi On learning "that great numbers of Hindus and *gabrs*, with their wives and children, and goods, and valuables had come into the city from all the country round", Tīmūr sent a force to seize them But "many of them drew their swords and offered resistance " "The flames of strife were thus lighted and spread through the whole city from Jahānpanāh and Sīrī to Old Delhī, burning up all it reached. The savage Turks fell to killing and plundering The Hindus set fire to their houses

with their own hands, burned their wives and children in them, and rushed into the fight and were killed." The carnage, which continued, is thus described in the autobiography of Tīmūr:—

"On that day, Thursday, and all the night of Friday, nearly 15,000 Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering, and destroying When morning broke on the Friday, all my army, no longer under control went off to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering, and making prisoners. All that day the sack was general The following day, Saturday, the 17th, all passed in the same way, and the spoil was so great that each man secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, men, women, and children. There was no man who took less than twenty. The other booty was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets, pearls, and other gems; jewels of gold and silver; *ashrafis, tankas* of gold and silver of the celebrated 'Alāī coinage; vessels of gold and silver; and brocades and silks of great value Gold and silver ornaments of the Hindu women were obtained in such quantities as to exceed all account Excepting the quarter of the *saiyids*, the *'ulamā*, and the other Musulmāns, the whole city was sacked."[12]

Tīmūr disowns all responsibility for the terrible outrage and attributes it to the "spirit of resistance" displayed by the infidel inhabitants, and so, he exclaims· "By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Delhī had been plundered."[13]

After the sack of Delhi, Tīmūr proceeded to the north (January 1, 1399, and sent several contingents to kill the infidels on the Yamunā and the Gangā It is needless to add details which would be mere repetitions The progress of his armies was marked by rapine, massacre, and plunder of the Hindus;—the adult males were slain; the children and women were taken prisoners, and were either converted into Islām or kept as slaves. After proceeding up to Siwālik Hills in the north, and devastating the countryside both on the right and the left, Tīmūr turned to the west and captured and plundered Nagarkot and Jammu. He then proceeded homewards and re-crossed the Sindhu on March 19, 1399

On the eve of his departure from India, Tīmūr held a court on March 6, and appointed Khizr Khān governor of Multān, Lahore, and Dīpālpur.[14] It is mentioned by some contemporary historians that Khizr was also nominated by him as his viceroy in Delhi.

A historian has very correctly observed that Tīmūr had inflicted "on India more misery than had ever before been inflicted by any conqueror in a single invasion"[1] Although his avowed

object was to destroy the infidel Hindus and plunder their property[16]—and this 'pious' task he did to the best of his ability—it is hard to believe that he did not inflict miseries also on the Muslims in India. Reference may be made, for example, to Sulān Mahmūd, Mallū, and their families and followers. On the whole, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his professed zeal for the cause of Islām could not always get better of his lust for plunder and massacre, and that although he might not have deliberately harmed the Muslims, as he did in the case of the Hindus, he would not scruple to do so whenever it was necessary in the course of his campaign, marked throughout by indiscriminate loot and plunder

After the departure of Tīmūr, chaos and confusion prevailed over a large part of northern India. Delhi was almost depopulated and the few that remained were severely affected by famine and pestilence. "Many died of sickness and many of hunger. For a couple of months Delhi presented a scene of desolation and woe"[17] This miserable lot of the proud imperial city of the Muslim Sultāns was brought about by one who regarded himself as the champion of that faith

The Empire also perished. Bengal, Deccan and Vijayanagara had already become independent before Tīmūr's invasion Now Gujarāt, Mālwa and Jaunpur became powerful independent principalities, while Lahore, Dīpālpur Multān, and parts of Sind were held by Khizr Khān on behalf of Tīmūr A large number of smaller independent principalities grew on all sides, such as Sāmāna, Bayāna, Kālpī, and Mahoba[18]

As mentioned above, both Sultān Mahmūd Shāh as well as his minister Mallū had fled from Delhi after their defeat in the hands of Tīmūr. As soon as Tīmūr left, Nusrat Shāh, a pretender to the throne, who was once driven by Mallū,[19] occupied Delhi and declared himself as Sultān Being, however, defeated and driven away by Mallū he proceeded to Mewāt where he breathed his last Mallū now administered Delhi and recovered control over some parts of the Doāb. But as most of the provinces had now declared independence, the sovereignty exercised by Mallū was limited to a very narrow region round about Delhi When Khvāja Jahān, ruler of Jaunpur, died and was succeeded by his adopted son, Mubārak Shah, Mallū made an attempt to recover Jaunpur, but failed.

In A.D 1401, Mallū invited the fugitive Sultān Mahmūd Shāh to Delhi. The Sultān had at first taken refuge with Muzaffar Shāh, who was practically independent in Gujarāt The position of the

Sultān at his court was anomalous for though Muzaffar received him warmly, he did not accord to him the treatment and respect due to a sovereign. Mahmūd therefore left Gujarāt in disgust and proceeded to Mālwa where Dilāvar Khān treated him with respect. On receiving the invitation of Mallū, the Sultān returned to Delhi, but was virtually a pensioner of Mallū who administered the government in his name. Mallū once more tried to re-assert the authority of Delhi over Jaunpur and, accompanied by the Sultān, proceeded towards Kanauj, where Ibrāhīm Shāh, who had succeeded his brother Mubārak Shāh, opposed him with a great force The Sultān, chafing at the control of Mallū, fled to Ibrāhīm, but was very coldly received there Thereupon he occupied Kanauj and resided there with a few attendants. Ibrāhīm allowed him to live in Kanauj, and Mallū returned discomfited to Delhi

Mallū made several attempts to recover some of the territories in the neighbourhood of Delhi, such as Gwalior and Etāwa, but did not meet with much success He then advanced against the Sultān, who shut himself up at Kanauj Unable to reduce it, Mallū, along with the chief of Sāmāna, marched towards Multān against Khizr Khān An engagement took place near Ajudhan, and Khizr Khān defeated and killed Mallū

On Mallū's death Mahmūd Shāh returned to Delhi, and Daulat Khān Lodī, an Afghān noble, was appointed military governor of the Doāb Actually Daulat Khān was the man who ruled the kingdom, and gained some success in re-asserting the authority of the Sultān over the neighbouring States But Khizr Khān proved a powerful adversary, and annexed Sāmāna, Sirhind, Sunām and Hissār. Mahmūd Shāh exercised authority only over the Doāb, Rohtak and Sambal In A.D 1408 Mahmūd Shāh re-conquered Hissār, but next year Khizr Khān besieged Fīrūzābād, a few miles to the north of Delhi. Though he had to retire for want of provisions, he reduced Rohtak and ravaged the Doāb In A D 1410, he besieged Mahmūd Shāh in his capital city and captured Fīrūzābād Once again, Khizr Khān was compelled to retire as the devastated country could not furnish enough supply for his army. At last, in A D 1412,[20] Sultān Mahmūd Shāh died. Thus ended his inglorious reign of about eighteen years, during which he was a fugitive more than once, and never exercised any real authority or power. The royal dynasty founded by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq as well as the rule of the Turks in India ended with him On his death, the

nobles of the court offered the throne to Daulat Khān Lodī, and he ascended the throne in A.D. 1413 Some of the chiefs who had joined Khizr Khān now took the side of Daulat Khān. Khizr Khān, who was supported by the *amīrs* of Hissār Fīūzā, besieged Rohtak, and laid waste Sambal He then proceeded to Delhi and invested the city. After a siege of four months Daulat Khān surrendered and was kept a prisoner at Hissār Khizr Khān took possession of Delhi and founded the so-called Sayyid Dynasty (A D 1414)

1 The account of Tīmūr is based principally on his autobiographical memoir, entitled *Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūrī* or *Tūzak-i-Tīmūrī*, translated in *HIED*, III 389-477 The figures in the footnotes, unless otherwise stated, refer to the pages of this work.

2 Pp 394-5 He refers to the following verse of the *Qurān* as his guide "O Prophet, make war upon infidels and unbelievers, and treat them with severity" Elsewhere he says "My great object in invading Hindustān had been to wage a religious war against the infidel Hindus" (p 429)

3 P 461

4 "The infidel Kators and the Siyāh-poshes exact tribute and blackmail every year from us who are true believers, and if we fail in the least of our settled amount, they slay our men and carry our women and children into slavery" It appears that the Muslim complaints practically amounted to the system of distraint for realising the arrears in rent or tribute (settled amount) The degree of severity was naturally exaggerated by them, particularly as it was imposed by the infidels on the true believers. This aspect of the case clearly emerges both from the address of the Muslims and the reply of Tīmūr "On hearing these words the flame of my zeal for Islām, and my affection for my religion, began to blaze" (p 400)

5 For a detailed account of the expedition, *cf* pp 401-408

6 Pp 420-427

7 Pp 427 8

8 P 429

9 P 432

10 P 433

11 Pp 435 6 How far such a monstrous cruelty can be justified on grounds of military necessity, urged by Tīmūr's advisers, is an intriguing problem A parallel though on a very small scale, may be found in Napoleon's action after the capture of Jaffa (March, 1799) Napoleon reluctantly issued orders to shoot 2,500 or 3 000 prisoners, who were promised quarters without his knowledge and consent As he ran short of provisions, and his soldiers refused to share the scanty supply with the Turks and Albanians, he could not keep them, nor could he send them to Egypt, there to spread discontent Besides, the latter course would mean detaching a French battalion from his small army to escort the prisoners to Egypt In spite of some apologists who have made a halting defence on these and other grounds (Rose, *The Life of Napoleon*, Ch IX, p 204) Napoleon's conduct has been condemned by many It cannot be determined whether Tīmūr's difficulties were as serious as those of Napoleon But Tīmūr's action differs from Napoleon's in one important respect Apart from the fact that the charge of treason was at best doubtful and contingent in character there is no doubt that religious bigotry played an important part The Muslim prisoners were more likely to be sympathetic to the Muslim rulers with whom Tīmūr fought But yet only the Hindu prisoners were killed If it is argued that there were no Muslim prisoners then it would follow that throughout his long march, Tīmūr either did not fight with any Muslims—which is absurd on the face of it—or did not make Muslims prisoners, following a discriminating policy against the Hindus even in this respect

12 Pp 445-46

13 P 447 Although Tīmūr declares that he earnestly wished that "no evil might happen to the people of the place," and apparently holds his soldiers responsible for the outrage, it must be remembered that it was he who had sent the soldiers

to seize the Hindu fugitives, and this led to the conflagration It is also difficult to believe that Tīmūr could not restrain his soldiers during the three days of their orgy of murder and plunder

14. According to Firishta (Briggs, I, 497) Only Multān is mentioned in Tīmūr's autobiography (p 475) and *Zafar-nāma* (p. 521), and Multān and Dīpālpur in *TM* (*TMB*, 173)
15 *CHI*, III, 200
16 P 461 The passage has been partially quoted above on p 116
17. *TMB*, 173
18. Briggs, I 498
19 See above, p 114
20 According to Firishta (Briggs, I 504) and Yahyā, *TMB*, 185 The date is given as February, 1413, in *CHI*, III 204

CHAPTER VIII

THE SAYYIDS

I KHIZR KHĀN (A.D 1414-21)

According to the contemporary writer, Yahyā Sirhindī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Khizr Khān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty, was descended from the Prophet of Islām, and was hence styled a Sayyid Yahyā, however, bases his conclusions on unsubstantial evidence, namely, the testimony of the saint Jalāl-uddīn Bukhārī,[1] and Khizr Khān's noble character which distinguished him as the Prophet's descendant.[2] It is likely that the family originally came from Arabia and settled in Multān where the governor, Malik Mardān Daulat, who was a man of pious disposition,[3] adopted Khizr Khān's father, Malik Sulaimān, as his son. Malik Mardān was succeeded by his son Malik Shaikh, and the latter by Malik Sulaimān, on whose death the governorship of Multān was conferred on Khizr Khān by Sultān Fīrūz Shāh. Khizr Khān continued to hold this office until he was expelled from Multān in A.D. 1395 by Sārang Khān, brother of Mallū Iqbāl Khān [3a] He escaped to Mewāt[4] for a time, but re-emerged to cast his lot with Tīmūr The invader, before leaving the Indian capital, is believed to have appointed Khizr Khān his viceroy at Delhi,[5] but after his departure from the country, Khizr Khān was able to re-establish himself only in Multān, Dīpālpur and parts of Sind [6] He increased his power gradually and it has been related above how he first defeated and killed the usurper. Mallū Iqbāl Khān, and then, having defeated Daulat Khān Lodī, entered Delhi in triumph on June 6, 1414. Immediately after defeating Daulat Khān he set about organizing the administration afresh by redistributing important offices of the state among his trusted followers, treating kindly at the same time the nobles of Mahmūd Tughluq's reign. He also made liberal grants and endowments to the poor to help them in their resettlement The capital thus recovered from the shock of political disorders and the sack by Tīmūr that had preceded his accession to the throne.

Khizr Khān held fast to the conviction that he owed his power and prestige to Tīmūr's patronage, and continued, therefore, his allegiance to the latter's son, Shāh Rukh, to whom he sent gifts and paid tribute throughout his reign.[6a] He did not adopt the popular title of Shāh (King) and preferred to be addressed as Rāyāt-i-A'lā (Sublime

Banners). For three years he had only Shāh Rukh's name recited in public prayers, and in 1417 obtained the latter's permission to have his own name also suffixed to that of Shāh Rukh.[6b] This acknowledgement of foreign supremacy was, as a matter of fact, quite formal, as it did not materially affect his position as an independent king.[7] Likewise, Khizr Khān did not strike coins in his own name but, in order to secure their ready acceptance, he used the types of coins that had become popular in the immediate past by altering their dates.[8] This was, no doubt, meant to avoid a financial breakdown, but it also revealed his inherent weakness. By invoking the prestige of his Indian predecessors and that of a contemporary foreign potentate, Khizr Khān wished to buttress his position against the hostility of Turkish and Afghān nobles and the majority of his non-Muslim subjects.

Politically, India was at that time split up into a number of independent States, and the Sultanate of Delhi had, long before the rise of the Sayyids, been considerably diminished in size and strength. Bengal and the Deccan were lost before the middle of the fourteenth century and this was followed by the emergence of independent kingdoms in Jaunpur, Mālwa, Gujarāt and Khāndesh during the troublous times that marked the closing of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. A number of smaller chieftains in the Doāb and adjacent areas also felt tempted to throw off their yoke of allegiance to Delhi. The Sultanate having thus been deprived of important and rich territories, Khizr Khān's precarious hold beyond Delhi extended over a portion of the Doāb and Mewāt. His limited resources did not allow him to undertake major campaigns for reconquering the territories that had previously seceded. He was able to recover only some fertile areas in the vicinity of Delhi and realize arrears of tribute from refractory chieftains. For this purpose his minister, Tāj-ul-Mulk, led a series of expeditions directed mainly against the Rājput states of Katehr[9] and Etāwa. Other places raided by him included Khor, Kampil, Pattiali, Jalesar, Gwalior and Bayāna.[10] Everywhere he gained temporary success and collected revenues, without, however, effecting permanent submission. Khizr Khān's own visits to some of these places produced no better results.

The Turkish elements were far from being reconciled to the rule of the new dynasty and, in spite of Khizr Khān's conciliatory policy, they organized risings and plots which caused him considerable embarrassment. In 1416, a group of Turkbachchās created trouble in Sirhind and assassinated Malik Sadhū Nādira, the deputy of Prince Mubārak who had been put in charge of its administration. Royal armies defeated them and drove them into the moun-

tains, but they rose again next year under their new leader, Tughān Raīs, who was also defeated and, on promising to behave, was appointed governor of Jullundur. Tughān, on recovering his strength, again attacked Sirhind but failing in the attempt, fled across the Sutlej, and effected a junction with the Khokhars whose incursions into the Punjāb in the succeeding reign assumed threatening proportions.

Another Turkish noble, Mahābat Khān, *amīr* of Badāūn, who had been apparently loyal, surprised Khizr Khān with his resistance in 1418 when the latter was returning from Katehr. The fort of Badāūn was besieged and operations continued for about six months, but when success was almost in sight, Khizr Khān had suddenly to raise the siege on account of the treachery of some Turkish slaves After arriving at Delhi he had the traitors, Qwām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān, executed. Shortly afterwards in 1419 came the news of the rising in the Bajwāra mountains of an impostor who posed as Sārang Khān, brother of Mallū Iqbāl Khān. Sārang had expelled Khizr Khān from Multān in 1395 but had later been captured and carried away by Tīmūr to Samarqand where he was executed [10a] The impostor was defeated by Khizr Khān's capable general, Sultān Shāh Lodī, and driven back into the mountains Next year he was captured by Tughān Raīs who killed him in order to appropriate his wealth

The only distant campaign which Khizr Khān undertook was the one towards Nagaur[11] in 1416, on an appeal from its Muslim ruler against the aggression of Ahmad Shāh of Gujarāt, who withdrew, however, on the approach of the Delhi army Nāgaur temporarily submitted to Khizr Khan but transferred its allegiance to Gujarāt two years later under the threat of an invasion from Mālwa [12] During his return from Nāgaur, Khizr Khān visited Gwalior and Bayāna and realised customary payments

In the last year of his reign Khizr Khān raided Mewāt and destroyed the fortress of Kotlā. He then ravaged Gwalior and, after exacting tribute, came to Etāwa where the new Rājā offered his submission and usual payments He fell ill during the campaign and after returning to Delhi, died on May 20, 1421

Khizr Khān possessed laudable traits of character which won him the affection of the people He was wise, just and benevolent, and was free from the vices common in those days His record as a ruler was not, however, impressive The conquest of Delhi, after numerous set-backs, was a creditable achievement, but he proved incapable of settling the problems of a country which had been plunged into virtual anarchy after Tīmūr's invasion During the

seven years that he ruled over Delhi, he tried to restore the prestige of the Sultanate in the Punjāb, the Doāb, Rohilkhand and parts of Rājputāna, but the kingdom which he founded was no better than many other independent ones which had sprung up all over the sub-continent after the decline of the Tughluq power. The odds against him proved to be too great to allow him to achieve anything substantial

II MUBĀRAK SHĀH (A.D. 1421-34)

Khizr Khān was succeeded by his son Mubārak[13] who, unlike the former, did not hesitate to adopt the title of Shāh and have the *khutba* read in his own name. He issued coins also,[14] although for the first eight years of his reign he followed his father's example of using coins that were current in the past by merely altering the dates on them.

The newly founded Sayyid kingdom was threatened under Mubārak Shāh with danger from all sides In the north and west the triple menace of the Khokhars, the Turkbachchās and the Mughuls created an alarming situation, while in the south and east, the kings of Mālwa and Jaunpur were anxiously awaiting their chance for aggressive expansion Mubārak rose equal to the occasion and, by fighting incessantly almost throughout his reign, he was able to preserve his kingdom intact without, however, adding any new territories to it.

The Khokhars lived in the Punjāb, mostly in the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenāb,[15] and constantly raided the surrounding territories During Khizr Khān's regin they had not been very active, but now their indomitable leader, Jasrath, made desperate attempts to overthrow the Sayyids He received some help from Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn of Kashmir[16] and, making good use of his alliance with Tughān Raīs Turkbachchā, raided Jullundur early in Mubārak's reign He advanced as far as Sirhind, but was checked by the stubborn opposition of Islām Khān Lodī Thereafter Sultān Mubārak Shāh personally marched from Delhi and, by vigorous counter-attacks, drove him back across the Chenāb into his hilly resort of Tekhar[17] In 1422, Jasrath twice raided Lahore and some other areas but withdrew each time on the approach of royal armies He remained apparently quiet for the next five years but is believed to have been secretly in touch with Shaikh 'Alī, the Mughul deputy governor of Kābul,[18] whom he wished to undertake an attack on Siwastān, Bhakkar and Tattah, so that a diversion of Mubārak Shāh's armies in that direction might facilitate his own movements towards Delhi. The plan did not, however, succeed and,

when Jasrath attacked Kalanaur and Jullundur in A.D. 1428, Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, by a heroic action, forced him back to Tekhar. Later in the year the Mughul invasion took place, and a contingent of Khokhars under 'Āīn-ud-dīn and Malik Abu-'l-Khair joined the invaders at Talwara to guide them onwards. Jasrath, availing himself of this chance, attacked Jullundur again and defeated Malik Tuhfa whom he carried away as a prisoner.[19] He then marched to Lahore but on the arrival of reinforcements from Delhi under Sarvar-ul-Mulk, he retreated to the hills. Another attempt on Lahore about six months later proved equally futile, and Jasrath was finally exhausted with a last heavy raid on Jullundur. Nothing further was reported during Mubārak's reign, but in 1436, his successor Muhammad Shāh sent an expedition against Jasrath and later asked Buhlūl Lodī, then governor of Sirhind, to suppress him. The wily Khokhar chief, realizing, however, that the rise of Lodī power in the Punjāb had made it impossible for him to conquer Delhi, hastened to make peace with Buhlūl urging the latter to oust the Sayyids and occupy Delhi.[19a] He did not, however, live see the fruition of his plan, for, in A.D. 1442, he was murdered by his queen to avenge the death of her father, Rāi Bhilam.[20]

Another insurrection, which appeared less significant at first but led to serious development afterwards, was headed by Pulād Turkbachchā. He was a slave of Shaikh Sālim who held under Khizr Khān the district of Sarsuti, Amrohā and several *parganās* in the Doāb in addition to the fort of Tabarhindah,[21] where he had collected a large treasure and a huge store of grain and provisions. After the Shaikh's death early in A.D. 1430, Mubārak Shāh bestowed all his lands on his two sons who did not, however, seem to be satisfied with their lot, and for ulterior motives incited Pulād to revolt.[22] Pulād, who was keen to advance his own interests, entered the fort of Tabarhindah about the middle of the year and, appropriating all of his late master's wealth, raised the standard of revolt. Mubārak Shāh, on discovering the complicity of the Shaikh's sons, ordered their arrest, and sent two of his officers, with some force, to treat with the rebel and recover the treasure. Pulād engaged them in negotiations and, after feigning friendliness, delivered a surprise attack at night and defeated them. They retreated hurriedly to Sarsuti leaving behind all their baggage and equipment which added to the rebel's strength. When the Sultān heard of their discomfiture, he set out immediately for Tabarhindah, but stopped at Sarsuti, from where he sent an army to besiege the fort. He also called 'Imād-ul-Mulk, governor of Multān, to join him. Pulād, who had taken precautions to defend himself, however, sent word that he would agree to surrender if 'Imād-ul-Mulk were sent

to assure him of his safety. This was arranged, but on learning secretly that he was being deceived, he reaffirmed his resolve to resist. Mubārak Shāh, instead of forcing the rebel to surrender by intensifying the pressure on him, acted unwisely in slackening the operations against him. He sent back 'Imād-ul-Mulk to Multān and himself returned to Delhi, leaving the other *amīrs,* Islām Khān, Kamāl Khān and Rāi Fīrūz, to continue the siege which dragged on for about six months.

The interval gave Pulād time to arrange for help from other quarters, and he sent his agents to Kābul invoking Shaikh 'Alī's help by promising a large sum of money in return. The latter responded favourably and, in February-March 1431, crossed into the Punjāb. Advancing towards Tabarhindah, he attacked on his way the fiefs of Rāi Fīrūz who was compelled to abandon the siege immediately without even informing his other colleagues. Islām Khān and Kamāl Khān behaved similarly, for, when Shaikh 'Alī was ten miles from Tabarhindah, the besiegers had all dispersed. Pulād came out to receive Shaikh 'Alī, presented him a sum of 200,000 *tankāhs* and entrusted his family to him for being carried to safety The latter then went away to plunder other districts, while Pulād, thus relieved of danger, freely ravaged the country around and killed Rāi Fīrūz. Mubārak Shāh marched out again at the close of the year, but he remained so much pre-occupied with the affairs of Lahore that he could not visit Tabarhindah. In September 1432, he despatched another force to besiege the fort, but it had to be again withdrawn to meet fresh Mughul attacks It was not until after the Mughul invader had been finally expelled that the siege of Tabarhindah was pressed on with vigour. By October 1433, the fort at last fell and Pulād was slain

Mughul incursions into Indian territory during the latter part of Mubārak's reign constituted perhaps the most vital danger to the kingdom of Delhi. The attacks which were led by Shaikh 'Alī, deputy governor of Kābul on behalf of Mas'ūd Mīrzā, grandson of Shāh Rukh, are held by Firishta to have been the outcome of unfriendly relations between Mubārak and Shāh Rukh, presumably because of Mubārak's inclination towards complete independence Since contemporary evidence suggests that the governor of Lahore continued making some sort of a payment, bribe or tribute, to Kābul up to the time of Shaikh 'Alī's invasion, and that Shāh Rukh favoured Mubārak as well as his successor Muhammad Shāh with robes of honour and umbrella etc. usually sent to a vassal, it is doubtful if Shaikh 'Alī's invasions had been authorized by Shāh Rukh himself [22a] The operations appear to have been independently

undertaken by Shaikh 'Alī with the sanction of Mas'ūd Mīrzā, governor of Kābul and Ghaznī.

The earliest reports of Shaikh 'Alī's movement towards Bhakkar and Sewistan were received in 1423, but no details are available of the actual raid which was presumably of no consequence. It was in 1431 that he actually launched an invasion which helped to raise the siege of Tabarhindah, described above. Thereafter he ravaged the areas of Jullundur, Fīrūzpur and Lahore where the governor, Sikandar Tuhfa, offered him the customary payment. Marching through Dīpālpur, without resistance, he came to Multān where the toughest battle was fought and the invader was signally defeated by the royal forces under 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The retreating Mughul army was pursued up to Seor,[23] but the royal army returned without dislodging Amīr Muzaffar, Shaikh 'Alī's nephew, from the fort. It was a mistake on Mubārak's part to have halted operations at this point. Perhaps a greater blunder was to remove 'Imād-ul-Mulk from Multān, a fact which induced Shaikh 'Alī to attack Multān again within four months. Mubārak was at the time seriously preoccupied with the Khokhars and the coincidence suggests that Shaikh 'Alī was in league with Jasrath. In November 1431, Shaikh 'Alī plundered Khospur and Tulamba, and committed terrible atrocities on the inhabitants. Mubārak was in a grave predicament on account of the simultaneous risings of Pulād and Jasrath, but when he marched towards Sāmāna, fortunately for him, his enemies began to disperse. Jasrath returned to Tekhar, Pulād withdrew into the fort, and Shaikh 'Alī retired to Bartot.[24] After a few months, however, the Mughul adventurer re-appeared at Lahore and mercilessly sacked the town When the situation had deteriorated considerably, Mubārak moved forward towards Dīpālpur with a big army reinforced by 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Islām Khān. Shaikh 'Alī, finding himself unable to oppose the combined force, ran away hurriedly, leaving behind all his baggage. His nephew, Amīr Muzaffar of Seor, also negotiated peace with Mubārak and gave his daughter in marriage to the Sultān's adopted son, Muhammad Shāh. Shaikh 'Alī did not come again, and Mubārak was able to save India from Mughul occupation for nearly a century.

The relations of Mubārak Shāh with Ibrāhīm, the Sharqī ruler of Jaunpur, remained unhappy throughout his reign. Their interests clashed over Bayāna, Kālpī and Mewāt, and the simmering hostility ultimately led to an open clash. Amīr Khān Auhadī, ruler of Bayāna, resisted Mubārak Shāh in 1423; he was, however, forced to surrender, but allowed to retain his fief. His successor, Muhammad Khān, revolted again, but was defeated and brought to Delhi, from where he escaped and re-occupied his fort. On Mubārak's

advance he ran away and joined Ibrāhīm Sharqī, who was marching forth to seize Kālpi. This small principality owed nominal allegiance to Delhi from which it was separated by Etāwa. Its ruler, Qadīr Khān, rightfully sought Mubārak's help, but Ibrāhīm, in order to interrupt communication between Delhi and Kālpī, sent his brother Mukhtass Khān to occupy Etāwa This attempt was frustrated by the timely arrival of Mubārak's general Mahmūd Hasan (later called 'Imād-ul-Mulk) who expelled Mukhtass immediately. Thereupon Ibrāhīm changed his plans and turned round to meet Mubārak The two armies were pitched against each other near Bayāna along the river Kanbhir where, after skirmishing for twenty-two days, a heavy but indecisive battle was fought on March 24, 1428, which led to Ibrāhīm's sudden retreat In the following May, Mubārak reconquered Bayāna and appointed Mahmūd Hasan to settle its affairs. There was quiet for some years, but towards the close of Mubārak's reign, Ibrāhīm set out again to capture Kālpī, where he found a stronger rival in Hūshang Shāh of Mālwa who was marching from the opposite direction Mubārak prepared to intervene, but was suddenly assassinated Meanwhile, Hūshang succeeded in annexing Kālpī, and Ibrāhīm Sharqī returned disappointed.

Mewāt or the country of the Meos, a spacious area to the south of Delhi including the districts of Mathurā, Gurgāon, and parts of former states of Alwār and Bharatpur, was a notorious abode of rebels and a source of constant trouble to the kings of Delhi It was ruled by the line of Khānzādahs, founded by Bahādur Nāhir, mentioned above, who wielded considerable power during the days of the later Tughluqs Almost throughout Mubārak's reign Mewāt remained unsettled and rebellious The first insurrection in 1425 was crushed with 'fire and sword', but only a year later the Mewātis rose again under their twin leaders Jalāl Khān and 'Abdul Qādir, nick-named Jallū and Qaddū, grandsons of Nahir. Severe punishment was inflicted again, and while Jallū disappeared, Qaddū was arrested and after some time put to death, for being secretly in touch with Ibrāhīm Sharqī This compelled Jallū to come out again. He carried on resistance for some time but ultimately surrendered to Mubārak's minister, Sarvar-ul-Mulk, on terms of paying tribute When the Sultān visited Mewāt in 1432, Jallū turned hostile again, but, finding the security afforded by his small fortress of little value against the pressure of royal troops, he submitted once more on the usual promise of paying tribute

There were a number of minor expeditions but they need not be dwelt upon at length Mahābat Khān, Amīr of Badāūn, who had resisted Khizr Khān, submitted to Mubārak voluntarily. Katehr

was raided twice in 1422 and 1424 and tribute was exacted. The Rājā of Etāwa, who had surrendered in 1422, later became scared and shut himself in the fort. The Sultān compelled him to yield again and, in addition to the payment of dues, also had his son sent to the court as a hostage. Gwalior was visited by royal forces a number of times. In 1423 Mubārak saved it from the aggressive attack of Hūshang Shāh of Mālwa who was driven off after a battle The Rājā was, however, irregular in paying his tribute to Mubārak and no less than three times, in 1427, 1429 and 1432, expeditions had to be organised to realize the arrears due from him.

In the fourteenth year of his reign Mubārak fell a victim to a treacherous conspiracy hatched by his chief minister Sarvar-ul-Mulk to avenge an alleged wrong Sarvar was a Hindu convert, originally named Malik Sarup, who was appointed governor of the city of Delhi by Khizr Khān. He retained this office after Mubārak's accession but when the chief minister, Sikandar Tuhfa, was sent to Lahore in 1422 to help Mahmūd Hasan in defeating Jasrath Khokhar, Sarvar managed to have himself appointed chief minister, while his son Yūsuf succeeded to the governorship of Delhi. Towards the close of his reign Mubārak found that Sarvar, apart from being haughty and arrogant, had not been very efficient in carrying out his duties. The Sultān did not think it expedient to dismiss him, but in 1433 divested him of the work pertaining to revenue which was entrusted to Kamāl-ul-Mulk, deputy-commander of royal forces, who had recently come into prominence Sarvar continued to hold the charge of political affairs, but he took the bifurcation of the offices of *dīwān* and *wazīr* as a personal insult, and decided to put a violent end to Mubārak's rule His chief accomplices were Kankū and Kajū Khatri who had enjoyed royal favour for long, Mirān Sadar, deputy to the chief secretary and Qāzī 'Abdul Samad, the royal chamberlain An opportunity soon presented itself when the Sultān, on his way to Kālpī, turned aside to visit his newly founded city of Mubārakābād There, on February 19, 1434, as he was entering for his Friday prayers, Sidh Pāl, grandson of Kajū, and Rānū the Black, basely murdered him in the precincts of the mosque

Mubārak Shāh proved to be the ablest king of the house of Khizr Khān He endeavoured his best to preserve his father's gains and exhibited qualities of a brave warrior in overcoming the dangers that threatened his kingdom both from within and without. He was wise and resourceful, and had always at his disposal a loyal army of his own and that of his feudal allies which kept a watch on the important border posts of Lahore, Dīpālpur and Multān in the north and west, and fought to maintain his position at strategic points in the south and east He did not, however, display similar shrewd

ness in the choice and treatment of his ministers and officers, and his mistrust of some of them, resulting in frequent transfers of holders of key-positions, produced disastrous consequences which contributed to his tragic end. He was just and kind towards all of his subjects, and even though a firm Muslim in belief and action, was free from the taint of bigotry He patronized the Khatris of Delhi although some of them joined the plot against his life. He saved the Hindu state of Gwalior from Hūshang's aggression as keenly as he protected Kālpī against Ibrāhīm Sharqī's designs Likewise, his treatment of Katehr and Etāwa was perhaps far from severe as compared with the merciless sack of Mewāt and the coercion of Bayāna. Mubārak's architectural activity is evidenced by the founding of the new city of Mubārakābād in 1433 on the banks of the Yamunā with a big mosque. He also extended patronage to the contemporary chronicler, Yahyā Sirhindī, whose well known work, the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, forms the most authoritative source of the history of the period.

III. MUHAMMAD SHĀH (A.D. 1434-45)

After Mubārak Shāh's death his brother's son, Muhammad Khān bin Farīd Khān, ascended the throne and styled himself Sultān Muhammad Shāh [25] For about six months all power was usurped by Sarvar-ul-Mulk who had received the title of Khān-i-Jahān He began to uproot the old nobles who organized a stiff resistance under the leadership of Kamāl-ul-Mulk. Bayāna was the first to revolt and its fief-holder, Yūsuf Khān Auhadī, killed the Khatri, Rānū the Black, whom Sarvar had sent to take over the fort. This was followed by a general revolt of the outlying fief-holders who pooled their strength. Kamāl-ul-Mulk cleverly concealed his hostility to Sarvar and feigned loyalty so that he was appointed the commander of royal forces, and sent to suppress the revolt. He proceeded quietly and halted at Ahar, where the rebel *amīrs*, on receiving a hint of Kamāl's real intentions, came and joined him in May 1434 Their united force marched towards Delhi to punish the regicides. The success of Kamāl's plan lay in depriving Sarvar of the support of the Delhi army, and the latter, finding himself thus outdone, made an attempt also on the new king's life, but was immediately killed by the body-guards who surrounded Muhammad Shāh. All of his companions met the same fate Thereafter the liberating army, which had besieged the city for about three months, was welcomed into Delhi, and all the nobles renewed their allegiance to Muhammad Shāh Kamāl-ul-Mulk was appointed the chief minister

Muhammad Shāh, freed from the control of Sarvar, became the sovereign *de facto* As the nobles were united in supporting him,

he had an excellent opportunity of reorganizing the affairs of the kingdom, but he soon disappointed everyone by his neglect of kingly duties and his desire for leisure and pleasure. The result was disorder all round, and as it grew worse, the Mewātī leader Jalāl Khān and his companions, together with the elite of Delhi, sent an invitation to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa who encamped within ten miles of Delhi at a place called Talpat. Muhammad Shāh, unable to defend himself, called in Buhlūl Lodī, the chief of Sirhind, to his aid. Buhlūl came with 20,000 mounted soldiers and fought in the vanguard of the imperial army as its virtual commander.[26] The battle at the end of the first day remained inconclusive, but Muhammad Shāh, without consulting any of his *amīrs*, sent emissaries for peace the very next morning. The Khaljī monarch who, during the intervening night, had been upset by a vision of disturbance at his own capital,[27] welcomed the proposal and withdrew immediately to Māndū. Buhlūl, to whom Muhammad Shāh's decision was distasteful, retrieved the prestige of his own soldiers and that of the Delhi army by treacherously attacking the rear of the Khaljī forces, killing some men and capturing baggage The imbecile Sultān joined the chrous of praise for Buhlūl by calling him a son and conferring on him the title of Khān-i-Khānān. He later on acquiesced in Buhlūl's occupation of the major part of the Punjāb and asked him to coerce the still unsubdued Khokhar rebel, Jasrath, who was, however, shrewd enough to accommodate matters with Buhlūl The Lodīs had, by now, immensely increased their power and Buhlūl launched an attack on Delhi in 1443 but did not suceed

The last few years of Muhammad Shāh's reign witnessed the rapid decline of his kingdom. Multān became an independent kingdom The Sharqīs annexed some *parganas* in the east; numerous fief-holders withheld payment of tribute, and even some *amīrs* within an area of twenty miles of Delhi began to assert independence. A short while before his death in 1445,[28] Muhammad Shāh called from Badāūn his son 'Alā-ud-dīn whom he nominated as his successor.

IV 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN 'ĀLAM SHĀH (A D. 1445-51)

'Alā-ud-dīn, who adopted the high-sounding title of 'Ālam Shāh,[29] was perhaps the most unworthy king of his line The only notable event of his reign was the transfer of power from the Sayyids to the Lodīs, an act which was more formal than real, for Buhlūl already held more extensive territories than his nominal suzerain could claim. The Sultanate of Delhi had practically ceased to exist, and its place had been taken by petty tribal kingdoms

whose boundaries verged on the borders of Delhi 'Ālam Shāh, who was morally perverse, realizing his inability to bring back into submission the rebellious *amīrs*, retired to Badāūn where he gave himself up to pleasure and enjoyment. This created a vacuum at Delhi which was soon to be filled. Buhlūl Lodī had, even before 'Ālam Shāh's departure, made a second unsuccessful attack on Delhi in 1447. His opportunity at last came when 'Ālam Shāh's minister, Hamīd Khān, apprehending the forcible occupation of Delhi by some powerful neighbouring monarch,[30] invited, of his own accord, Buhlūl Lodī and Qiyām Khān of Nāgaur[31] either of whom, he believed, would agree to play the puppet king while he retained all power as *wazīr*. Buhlūl, being nearer at Sirhind, rushed in at once, and Qiyām Khān, who was yet on his way to Delhi, returned disappointed. Buhlūl treacherously got rid of Hamīd Khān after some time[32] and informed 'Ālam Shāh of his assumption of power, allowing the latter, however, to retain Badāūn for the remainder of his life.[33]

1. He was the grandfather of the well-known divine, Sayyid Jalāl, popularly called Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān Jahan Gasht He came from Bukhara to Bhakkar and ultimately went to Uchh where he died See 'Abdul Haqq *Akhbār-al-Akhyār* (Delhi Ed p. 60)
2 Some of his virtues are thus enumerated in the *TM* (p 182) "He was generous, brave, gentle, kind, humble, true to his promise, temperate and God-fearing" Badāūnī (*Muntakhab*, I p 295), enlarging upon it, writes "The Sayyid is a man in whom are manifest the virtues of Muhammad (peace be upon him) and the grace of 'Alī, the accepted"
3 His original name was Khvāja Ziā-ud-dīn and he was a descendant of the famous saint, Khvaja 'Abdullah Harvi He migrated from Herat to India in A D 1353, and came to the court of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq who bestowed on him the title of Malik Mardan Daulat and the governorship of Multān to reward him for his services during the Bengal campaign *Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numa*, Cambridge MS f 141b.
3a See above, Ch VI, p 113
4. According to the *Zafar Nāma* by Yazdī and other original accounts of Tīmūr's invasion, Khizr Khān had sought asylum at Bavāna Yahyā Sirhindī however, states that he went to Mewat
5. Mughul historians omit any reference to this nomination which is however, confirmed by the contemporary writers Yahyā Sirhindī and Muhammad Bihāmad Khanī. See *TM* 166, and *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī* B M MS f 306b
6 According to Firishta, he occupied Lahore also Cf p 124 n 14
6a. See *Matla'us-Sa'daïn* Vol II, Part I p 342
6b He sent a special envoy to Shāh Rukh's court for this purpose See *Tārīkh-i-Hāfiz Abrū* B M MS f 291-2 and *Matla us-Sa'dain*, II (i) 342
7. Nur-ul-Haqq, the author of the "*Zubdat-al-Tawārīkh*", made it very clear "Although he did not assume royal titles yet he ruled and administered his territories like a king" See Lahore MS p 54
8 Edward Thomas has compared it to a system "which the East India Company imitated of their own free will, with much credit and simplicity, by striking their rupees in the name of Shāh 'Alam and other defunct monarchs of Delhi whose money had of old obtained good repute in the local Bazars" (*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 330)
9 Later known as Rohilkhand.
10 Khor and Kampil—both in the Farrukhābād district, U P, Pattiali in the Etah district
10a See *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī*, B M MS f 306b
11. In the former Jodhpur State

12. Sultān Hūshang Shāh of Mālwa, who was then preparing to invade Gujarāt, had called upon Fīrūz Khān Dandānī, ruler of Nāgaur, to join him and promised the territory of Naharwalla in return for the latter's aid. Fīrūz Khān, however, appeared unwilling to side with him and preferred to get in touch with Sultān Ahmad of Gujarāt

13 His full name was Mu'izz-ud-dīn and he styled himself as Sultān Mubārak Shāh

14 They bore the title, Nāib-i-Amīr al-Mu'minīn, which he probably assumed to strengthen his legal position as some previous Turkish Sultāns had done

15 Particularly the districts of Jhang, Shahpur and Jhelum. A smaller number of them was also scattered over the districts of Lahore and Sialkot

16 The story that he also waylaid Sultān 'Alī king of Kāshmir, on the latter's return from Tattah is incredible, as none of the kings of Kāshmir ever invaded lower Sind. Hodivala considers Tattah to be an error either for Tatta Kuti, a mountain pass in Kashmir or for Tibet (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 402-3)

17 Possibly a village called Thakkar in the Gujarāt district, West Pakistan, about 13 miles from the Chenāb to the western side

18 His contact with the Mughuls is confirmed by a casual reference in the *TM* (p 201) to the fact that during Jasrath's second raid on Lahore in 1422, when he ravaged Dīpālpur also, there was a small contingent of Mughuls united to the Khokhar force

19 He managed to escape after some time and joined Mubārak Shāh when the latter was marching in pursuit of Shaikh 'Ali

19a See *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī*, Vol I, B M MS f. 144b

20 Rāi Bhilam had assisted royal troops sent against Jasrath in 1422 After a short time however Jasrath engaged the Rai in battle and killed him *TM* 201

21 Probably modern Bhatinda [The identification has been discussed in Vol V, p 115, n 2, Ed]

22 The contemporary writer Yahyā Sirhindī is silent as to the real motive of the two brothers or that of Pulād Haig (*CHI*, III 216) writes that the Shaikh's sons were anxious to get back their father's wealth, which, according to Firishta however they had already been allowed to inherit They were confident, adds Firishta, that they would be deputed by the king to supress Pulād and might then get a chance of leading a general rebellion for their personal aggrandizement

22a See *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī*, B M MS f. 311-12, *Majāmi'ul-Ākhbār*, I O MS, f 333b, *TM* 218

23 Modern Shorkot

24 Identified as Marwat in the Bannu district (Hodivala *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 409)

25 Some writers have wrongly described him as Mubārak's son

26 The nominal command had been entrusted to Prince 'Alā-ud dīn as Muhammad Shāh did not take the field himself Mahamūd Khaljī also sent forth his two sons to lead the troops and held back himself

27 See *Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī* Bodleian MS f 113B He is also believed to have feared an attack on Mālwa from Gujarāt See *Tarīkh-i-Haqqi*, Cambridge MS, p 67, *TA*, III, 322, *Muntakhab* (Hasan Khākī) Eton MS fol 140a

28 There is some controversy about the date of Muhammad Shāh death which the TA (Calcutta Text, Vol I p 292) states as 847 A H (A D 1443-4) while the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (Bombay Text, Vol I, p 313) gives 849 A H (A D 1445-6) The numismatic evidence, is, however, conclusively in favour of 849 A H (H N Wright *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* pp 236 241) Ishwari Prasad considers 849-50 A H as the correct date (*History of Mediaeval India*, 1948 ed, p 483, f n 14) Both Wright and Prasad have, however, made an error in quoting the *TM* to support the date which is otherwise correct They have overlooked the fact that this contemporary work on the Sayyids covers only one year of Muhammad Shāh's reign and concludes its account on 8 Rajab, 838 A H (February 7, 1435) Probably they have relied upon Dowson's translation of *TM* in Volume IV of *HIED* (p 86), where after 838 A H, the extracts to complete the narrative of the Sayyid Dynasty have been borrowed from the *TA* The MS of the *TA* used by Dowson, unfortunately had 844 A H as the date of Muhammad Shāh's death and Dowson, considering it obviously wrong, changed it into 849 A H remarking in the foot-note that he borrowed the latter date from Firishta Prasad has in addition, ascribed to Muhammad Shāh a reign of 13 years, 3 months and 16 days which is, in fact, the period of Mubārak Shāh's region For this also he has quoted the *TM*, in support, remarking further that it thus corroborated Firishta's statement As noticed above the *TM* ends with the year 838 A H, while according to Firishta, Muhammad Shāh reigned

for 12 years and some months Hodivala supports 849 A H as the date of Muhammad Shāh's death, but has made a mistake, probably through oversight, in the last sentence of his note which reads: "Mubārak Shāh really reigned for twelve years" (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 410). It should be Muhammad Shāh and not Mubārak Shāh

29. Literally meaning 'Lord of the World', although the ridiculous extent of his territories was commonly expressed in the following epigram: *Pādshāhi-yi-Shāh-i-ālam az Dehli tā Pālam*, *Tārikh-i-Dā'ūdī*, Lahore, P.U MS f 7b "The Kingdom of the Lord of the World extends from Delhi to Pālam." Pālam is a village about twelve miles south of Delhi, near the site of the present civil aerodrome which is named after it [In *CHI.* III (p 205), this epigram is taken to refer to the last Tughluq Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Ed].
30. The likeliest aggressors would have been the kings of Jaunpur and Mālwa
31. The name of the ruling chief of Nāgaur, as stated in the *TA*, is Mujāhid Khān Qiyām Khān, whose name has been mentioned in the *Wāqi'āt-i-Mustāqī* and Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī, was either another member of the same family or, probably, there has been an error in reproducing his name
32. During a friendly visit to his house, Buhlūl suddenly had him arrested after dining with him, *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī*, B M. MS pp 6-7
33. 'Ālam Shāh died at Badāūn in 1478

N B—(*TA* in this chapter refers to the B I edition of the text)

CHAPTER IX

THE LODIS

I. BUHLŪL LODĪ (A.D. 1451-89)

Buhlūl belonged to the Shāhū Khel clan of the Lodīs who form an important branch of the Afghāns.[1] In India the Lodīs appear to have founded some settlements around Lamghān and Multān in c. A.D. 970. The colony could not, however, prosper on account of the subsequent rise of heresy. During the Turkish rule some of the Lodīs served under Balban, and later, in A.D. 1341, Malik Shāhū, the progenitor of the Lodī rulers of India, raided Multān and killed its governor, but failed to achieve a permanent foothold on account of the swift action taken by Muhammad Tughluq Shāhū's successors carried on trade with India, and one of his grandsons, Malik Bahrām, settled in Multān early in Fīrūz Shāh's reign, and accepted service under the governor, Malik Mardān Daulat. Bahrām's eldest son, Malik Sultān Shāh Lodī, afterwards served under Khizr Khān, and distinguished himself by killing in battle the latter's worst enemy, Mallū Iqbāl Khān. He was rewarded with the title of Islām Khān and was afterwards appointed the governor of Sirhind, which formed the nucleus of the future Lodī kingdom. Islām Khān performed heroic feats under Mubārak Shāh in resisting the Khokhars and the Mughuls, and died during the reign of Muhammad Shāh[2] after nominating his nephew and son-in-law, Buhlūl, to succeed him in his fief of Sirhind.[3]

Buhlūl as a youth had been carrying on trade in horses, but the turning point in his career came when once he sold his finely bred horses to Sultān Muhammad Shāh. The payment order was drawn on a rebellious *pargana* which Buhlūl raided with the king's permission and acquired immense spoils. Muhammad Shāh was so pleased that he granted the *pargana* to Buhlūl and raised him to the status of an *amīr* After Islām Khān's death, Buhlūl established himself at Sirhind and rapidly extended his influence and possessions until he held sway over the major part of the Punjāb.[3a] Muhammad Shāh, being too weak to subdue Buhlūl, confirmed him in the territories that the latter had acquired by force of arms. That the Lodī chief excelled his master in strength and resources became apparent when Muhammad Shāh invoked his help against invasion from Mālwa.[4] Thereafter Buhlūl made two abortive attempts to capture Delhi until at last the march of events made it

possible for him to enter the capital of the Sultanate without fighting. He ascended the throne on April 19, 1451, and adopted the title of Buhlūl Shāh Ghāzī.[4a]

The occupation of Delhi did not add considerably to Buhlūl's territorial possessions, but it increased his responsibilities manifold He had to recreate the Sultanate and consolidate it by recovering neighbouring territories and bringing back to submission the rebellious fief-holders He had to wage a long war with Jaunpur on the outcome of which depended the survival of his dynasty Lastly, he had to improve and remodel the administration with due regard to the interests of the Afghān nobility

The most outstanding achievement of Buhlūl's reign was the conquest and annexation of Jaunpur, which not only strengthened the foundations of his dynasty but also won back for the Sultanate an important territory which had been lost as early as 1394.[5] The Sharqīs regarded themselves as the legitimate successors of the Sayyids by virtue of their matrimonial relations with the latter[6] and the proximity of their kingdom to the boundaries of the Sultanate. The emergence of Lodī power, therefore, caused deep frustration in Jaunpur, and the reigning monarch, Mahmūd, was anxious to oust Buhlūl before the latter had time to establish himself He, therefore, attacked Delhi in the very first year of Buhlūl's reign, and besieged the fort, which would have fallen, but for the defection of Mahmūd's general, Daryā Khān Lodī, who was secretly won over by the Afghāns [7] Buhlūl had left for Multān but, on hearing of the Sharqī attack, returned immediately and defeated Mahmūd's army at Narela, about 17 miles from Delhi. Mahmūd returned disappointed and was anxious for revenge He fought with the Lodī again over Etāwa and Shamsābād, but the engagements remained inconclusive as he died suddenly in 1457 His son, Muhammad Shāh offered to make peace, but Buhlūl was not satisfied until his brother-in-law, Qutb Khān, who had been captured during a nocturnal action against Mahmūd, had been released Fighting was renewed and the Lodīs captured Muhammad Shāh's brother, Jalāl Khān. In the meantime a fratricidal conflict at home compelled Muhammad Shāh to withdraw He was defeated and killed by the forces of his brother, Husain, who was destined to be the last Sharqī king of Jaunpur. Husain enjoyed decided superiority over Buhlūl in men and resources He was brave but uncalculating and reckless. He waged ceaseless wars to destroy Buhlūl, but was defeated every time until he was expelled from Jaunpur and forced to seek shelter in Bihār, which he had to abandon under Buhlūl's successor and retire to Bengal Buhlūl's victory over Husain was a great military feat In the earlier stages of the conflict Buhlūl was so weak

that twice he sent emissaries to Mālwa imploring aid, but unfortunately its ruler Mahmūd Khaljī died before fulfilling the promise of help.[7a] Buhlūl's ultimate success is mainly due to his courageous generalship and excellent military strategy.

The pacification of the Doāb, Mewāt, and the neighbouring area needed urgent attention as the numerous chieftains in that region were likely to ransfer their loyalty to the Sharqis and could cause embarrassment to the Sultān during his campaign against Jaunpur. Their allegiance, moreover, would bring in handsome revenues to replenish the treasury. Buhlūl, therefore, led a number of expeditions against Mewāt, Sambhal, Kol, Sākīt, Etāwa, Rapri, Bhongāon and Gwalior.[8] The rulers and chiefs of all these places submitted to Buhlūl at the beginning of his reign, but wavered in their loyalty during the succeeding years However, when the sharqī power was liquidated, they unreservedly acknowledged Buhlūl's authority. In Multān, Buhlūl could not succeed in suppressing the chief of the Lankāhs.[9] He was prevented fro proceeding to Multān personally by the Sharqī attack on Delhi, and an army sent later under his son Bābak was defeated by the Lankāh ruler, Shāh Husain[9a] Likewise, Buhlūl's raid on Alhanpur,[9b] a *pargana* under the jurisdiction of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Khaljī of Mālwa, also failed and he had to return hurriedly when pursued by Sher Khān' governor of Chanderi.

Before his death Buhlūl distributed his territories among his relatives and *amīrs* He placed his son Bārbak on the throne of Jaunpur, gave Mānikpur to Prince 'Ālam Khān, Bharaich to his sister's son Kālā Pahār, Lucknow and Kālpī to his grandson A'zam Humāyūn, and Badāūn to Khān Jahān Lodī His son Nizām Khān (later Sultān Sikandar), whom he had nominated heir-apparent, held the Punjab, Delhi and most of the territory in the Doāb. Having thus created a sort of an Afghān confederacy, Buhlūl died about the middle of July 1489, at a place known as Malāwalī[9c] near the township of Jalālī in the *pargana* of Sakīt

Buhlūl deserves the credit of having revived the Sultanate, axtended its boundaries, and rehabilitated its prestige after years of persistent decline His military pre-occupations did not allow him much time for administrative reorganization, although he was keen about the welfare of the people and heard their petitions personally to dispense justice He was a man of lofty personal character and, although scrupulous in adhering to the tenets of Islām, was not intolerant of other creeds[9d] He won the devotion and esteem of his non-Muslim friends and feudatories and relied on them on critical occasions He possessed a charitable dis-

position and never turned away a suppliant from his door. He behaved generously even towards his bitterest foe, Husain Sharqī, whom he allowed to use the revenues of a part of the kingdom after expulsion from Jaunpur. The Sharqī queen, Bibi Khonza,[9e] whose influence over Husain was primarily responsible for his recklessness, was twice taken prisoner by the Lodīs, but was honourably restored to her husband each time.

As a king, Buhlūl was not ostentatious. He treated his fellow Afghāns and nobles as his equals, mixed with them on social occasions, and even shared his carpet with them.[9f] Compared with the attitude of previous Turkish kings of India, his behaviour towards the nobles might be open to criticism, but with the grim spectacle of a life and death struggle with the Sharqīs which started at the very commencement of his reign, he could depend only on the support of his Afghān followers some of whom had specially come from Roh[10] in response to his call.[10a] It was no time to reform or discipline the uncouth Afghāns, but by respecting their clannish feeling and their instinctive sense of freedom, he managed to win and retain their allegiance, and ultimately succeeded in laying the foundations of the dynasty on a firm basis.

II. SIKANDAR SHĀH (A.D. 1489-1517).

Buhlūl had nominated his son Nizām Khān as his successor but on the eve of his death, a group of nobles tried to prevail on him to change the will in favour of his other son, Bārbak, or his grandson, A'zam Humāyūn They did not succeed, but two days after the death of Buhlūl there was a heated discussion among them in which Nizām Khān's mother bodly intervened on behalf of her son. The successful faction carried Buhlūl's coffin to Jalālī where Nizām Khān arrived on July 15, 1489, and the very next day was crowned king with the title of Sikandar Shāh He was the ablest among the surviving sons of Buhlūl and proved worthy of the choice as king by carrying out successfully the task begun by his father

Sikandar lost no time in suppressing the opponents who might still dispute his succession. He won over to his side his brother 'Ālam Khān, and overcame by force his nephew, A'zam Humāyūn, and his uncle, 'Īsā Khān As for Bārbak, Sikandar did not want to remove him from Jaunpur provided he agreed to remain peaceful and loyal. Bārbak, however, refused to acknowledge his brother's authority Thereupon Sikandar defeated him in a battle near Kanauj but, with fraternal affection, reinstated him at Jaunpur, taking care, at the same time, to nominate his own men to all

important offices at the court and outside. Shortly afterwards there was a rising as Jaunpur organized by powerful *zamindārs* and men of the Bachgoti tribe,[10b] headed by their leader Juga.[10c] Bārbak fled in panic and Sikandar rushed from his playground to coerce the rebels before they had mustered strength. The *zamindārs* were defeated and Juga was forced to take refuge with the exiled Husain Sharqī at the fort of Jaund.[10d] Bārbak was restored once more, but he again proved incapable of dealing with another rebellion of the *zamindārs*. Sikandar at last ordered him to be arrested and took over the administration of Jaunpur

Husain Sharqī, who was biding his time in exile, entertained secret hopes of recovering his kingdom after Buhlūl's death. He tried to exploit the differences between Bārbak and Sikandar, but the latter's firmness and success disappointed him. He appeared to be in league with the rebel *zamindārs* at Jaunpur and harboured the Bachgoti leader Juga. Sikandar, who pursued Juga up to the fort of Jaund, politely asked Husain to surrender the rebel and retain the fort as well as the lands which the latter was in possession of Husain returned a haughty answer and prepared to give battle He was severely defeated and put to flight, but a few years later, in 1494, he marched out again on learning that a large number of the Sultān's horses had died. He was again defeated by Sikandar near Banaras and hotly pursued until he crossed into Bengal where he spent the rest of his life at Colgong as a pensioner of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh. Sikandar's authority was thenceforth fully established in Bihār The Rāi of Tirhut also submitted peacefully.

Husain's flight to Bengal led to an expedition against that country in 1495 As neither side was serious about fighting, Sultān Husain Shāh behaved wisely in sending his son, Dāniyāl, to negotiate He settled with Sikandar's agents the terms of a peace treaty according to which both the monarchs agreed to respect each other's frontiers. The king of Bengal further promised not to harbour Sikandar's enemies It was wise on Sikandar's part to have realized the limitation of his own resources and striven to maintain peaceful relations with other independent Muslim kingdoms His policy towards Mālwa was guided by the same considerations and, although internal strife in that State provided him with a favourable chance of interfering with its affairs, he appears to have restrained his ambition and held himself aside as far as he possibly could. In 1510, Shihāb-ud-dīn, son of Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn of Mālwa, having rebelled against his father, sought Sikandar's protection. Nasīr-ud-dīn, however, advanced quickly to Chanderi and punished Shihāb-ud-dīn by nominating as heir-apparent his younger son, Mahmūd II, whose

claim was thenceforth severely contested by another son Sāhib Khān. In March 1513, Sāhib Khān came to Chanderi and appealed to Sikandar for help. A detachment was sent from Delhi, but it remained stationed at a short distance from Chanderi, and returned without taking part in any engagement. Soon after, however, Sāhib Khān became suspicious of his own partisans,[11] and arrived as a fugitive at Sikandar's court. The Sultān promptly sent him back with a large force to Chanderi where he was kept in virtual internment while the administration was carried on by Sikandar's *amīrs*.

Sikandar was keen on reducing the Rājput States but his efforts in that direction met with only partial success. The Rājā of Gwalior, who had submitted to Buhlūl just before the latter's death, continued his allegiance to Sikandar for some time However, the asylum which he provided for the Rājā of Dholpur, coupled with his envoy's discourtesy, annoyed the Sultān who attacked the State in 1502 The Rājā submitted immediately, but three years later, he attacked Sikandar's army returning to Dholpur. He was defeated again, but Sikandar continued the march to Agra on account of the approaching rains, without completing the conquest of Gwalior which remained unsubdued for the rest of his reign. The conquest of Dholpur did not present much difficulty and Rājā Bināyak, although reinstated after his defeat in 1502, was again removed in 1505 to prevent him from allying himself with Gwalior against Delhi Mandrail was conquered the same year and, two years later, Utgir also fell Thereafter Sikandar laid siege to Narwar and, after conquering it, strengthened its defences by building an auxiliary fort

Rāī Bhaidchandra, the Vāghelā Rājā of Rewa, who was an ally of Husain Sharqī, submitted to Sikandar in 1942 when the latter entered Kantit.[12] He was, however, frightened by the Sultān's movement towards Arail,[13] and suddenly went away from the royal camp leaving his baggage which was returned to him intact. The Rājā having failed to renew his pledge of loyalty. Sikandar marched against him in 1495 but he fled towards Sarkaj[13a] and died on the way. The Sultān returned to Jaunpur but a large number of his horses died on account of the strain of the long journey. Hearing of this, Bhaid's younger son, Lakshmīchandra, incited Husain Sharqī to fight again. Sikandar was, however, able to conciliate Bhaid's eldest son and successor Sālīvāhana, who helped him in defeating the exiled Sharqī king. Their relations improved to such an extent that the Sultān ventured to ask the hand of his daughter in marriage. On his refusal Sikandar raided his country in 1498, but when he

advanced as far as Bāndūgarh, he found the fort to be too strong and returned to Jaunpur.

In Nāgaur, Sikandar's supremacy was acknowledged by its ruler Muhammad Khān who wished to prevent his two brothers, 'Alī Khān and Abū Bakr, from receiving help against him. Sikandar gladly patronized Muhammad Khān and compensated 'Alī Khān with the grant of the small fief of Sui near Ranthambhor. After some time 'Alī Khān was replaced by his brother Abū Bakr when it was discovered that the former had been guilty of duplicity in secretly dissuading Daulat Khān, governor of Ranthambhor, from transferring his allegiance from Mālwa to Delhi.

The old and almost ruined capital of Delhi had lost its charm for Sikandar, and political and strategic considerations induced him to choose another place. In 1499 he moved his residence to Sambhal where he spent about four years. His partial success in the campaigns against the Rājput States raised in his eyes the importance of Agra where, in 1504, he founded a new town and transferred his capital to it. This provided him with a base from which he could exercise better control over turbulent areas. Agra was formerly a dependency of Bayāna which was held by the Auhadīs. At the outset of Sikandar's reign, the then Amīr of Bayāna, Sultān Sharaf, agreed, at the king's suggestion, to exchange his possessions with Jalesar, Chandwar, Marehra and Sakīt. At the last moment, however, he went back on his word and consequently both he and his vassal, Haibat Khān Jilwānī, who held Agra, had to be forcibly expelled in 1491.

Sikandar improved upon his father's system of government by slowly centralizing the administration and persuading the Afghān chiefs to learn obedience to authority. He re-united the kingdom by annexing Jaunpur and extended his control gradually over provincial affairs. The nobles were required to behave respectfully in the Sultān's presence,[14] and to show due regard to his orders in distant places.[15] They were also told to submit their accounts to the Ministry of Finance, and serious notice was taken of defaults and embezzlements[16] The Sultān, however, took care not to rouse open hostility He treated the elderly Afghān chiefs with consideration and appreciated the sentiments and prejudices of his Afghān followers He had also arranged to keep himself informed of the affairs of the nobles and the people by a cleverly organized intelligence system. Every morning he received reports of the important occurrences of the previous day as well as of the prices of various commodities, and took prompt action if anything went wrong. He did not show any partiality to rank or status in the

administration of justice, which was even-handed for both the high and the low. For this purpose the Sultān's special representative remained at the seat of justice the whole day long, while the *qāzīs* and the *'ulamā'* were present inside the palace Special messengers conveyed reports of all judicial discussions to the king who frequently intervened personally to avert the miscarriage of justice.[16a]

Sikandar's regard for the well-being of his subjects, his benevolence, and love for justice ushered in an era of peace and prosperity in which trade and agriculture flourished. Grains and other goods were available in such abundance that men of moderate means could also live in comfort. The cultivation of the arts of peace by happy and contented minds brought about a cultural renaissance which transcended communal barriers. The literary outburst of the period was unrivalled for centuries past and included translations of Sanskrit works into Persian,[17] the collection of old manuscripts on different subjects, and the composition of new literary works The Sultān was a poet himself,[18] and his bounteous appreciation of learning attracted scholars from distant lands to his court where they received every encouragement. He was also keenly interested in music and the enthusiasm which he showed in its promotion is testified to by the rare contemporary work *Lahjāt-i-Sikandar Shāhī.*[18a] A happy result of the cultural activity of the period was the mutual interest it aroused among Hindus and Muslims for each other's learning, thus conducing to a *rapprochement* which was in consonance with the progressive spirit of the time

Endowed with virtues of piety and decency, the Sultān held aloof from frivolous pursuits, engaging himself generally with the affairs of the State on which he worked strenuously till midnight He disliked the company of unworthy people, so much so that, even in the matter of State appointments, his chief criteria were character and heredity Some writers have referred to his drinking in secret, but according to the contemporary chronicler, Mushtāqī, no one ever saw him either taking wine or in a state of drunkenness. He was exceedingly generous and had made elaborate arrangements throughout the kingdom for the distribution of charities, comprising food, clothing and other necessities of life, to the poor and the needy Half-yearly lists were submitted to him of deserving persons who were awarded regular stipends The nobles also emulated the king as far as possible.

Unfortunately, Sikandar, deeply devoted to Islām, was intolerant of other faiths. Born of a Hindu mother,[19] and anxious to marry a Hindu princess, his attitude towards this religion of a vast majority of his subjects appears to be rather baffling and inexpli-

cable, for, it was bound to prejudice the realization of his political aims[19a] Even as a prince he had been dissuaded from raiding the Hindu tanks at Thāneswar by a verdict of the famous divine, Miān 'Abdullāh of Ajudhan, who had also ruled against the demolition of non-Muslim places of worship. Sikandar, as a king, however, frequently razed temples to the ground and erected mosques and public utility buildings in their place, as illustrated by his behaviour at Mandrail, Utgir and Narwar At Mathurā he prevented the Hindus from bathing at their sacred *ghāts* or having themselves shaved. The stones of broken images of Hindu idols brought from Nagarkot were given away to butchers to be used as weights.[19b] On the top of all, a Brāhmaṇa named Bodhan,[20] who had endorsed the truth of Islām as well as of his own faith, was put to death after the question had been discussed at length by the *'ulamā'* Such an irrational policy is indefensible in modern times, even though it be granted, that in the age in which Sikandar lived, tolerance was not the order of the day It may, however, be stated that Sikandar, in conformity with his opposition to idolatry, stopped some of the semi-idolatrous practices that had grown up among the Muslims also, such as the annual procession of Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī's lance,[21] the visits to the tombs of saints by Muslim women, and the carrying of *ta'ziyas*[22] during Muharram That he was ready at one stage to destroy even the beautiful mosques built by the Sharqī kings in order to obliterate the memory of his foes, but was held back by the *'ulamā'*, shows that the occasional fury of his temper did contribute to his intolerance which was apparently not confined to a particular section of the people It may also be noted that in the matter of general administration and in his economic and judicial improvements, he made no kind of discrimination among his subjects

Sikandar was personally brave and dauntless and it is said that Buhlūl's choice of him as a successor was prompted by the heroic manner in which, as a prince, he had suppressed Tātār Khān's revolt in the Punjāb[22a] As a king, he led most of the campaigns in person, but whenever he stayed behind, he regularly sent orders twice a day to be delivered to the commanders at each halt even if the distance involved was 500 to 1,000 miles This was achieved by means of a system of carrier-horses that existed for sending messages to provincial governors The Sultān possessed a fine physique and handsome appearance, and it was perhaps on account of his care for the latter that he did not wish to grow a beard, in spite of the remonstrances of Hājī Abdul Wahhāb.[22b] He died on November 21, 1517 on account of a disease of the throat[22c]

III. IBRĀHĪM LODĪ (A.D. 1517-26)

After Sikandar's death, his son Ibrāhīm was elevated to the throne without opposition. The experiment of a dual monarchy was revived when, at the very commencement of the reign, Ibrāhīm agreed to have his brother Jalāl Khān installed as independent ruler of Jaunpur.[22d] However, before the latter had established himself there, Ibrāhīm, on the advice of some wiser *amīrs*, repented of his folly and deputed an agent to persuade Jalāl to come to Delhi.[22e] On Jalāl's refusal to yield, the King sent secret instructions to the chief nobles and governors not to recognize his brother's authority, thereby compelling Jalāl to leave Jaunpur and return to his old fief of Kālpī. Jalāl succeeded, however, in winning over to his side an important *amīr*, A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī, with whose help he quickly recovered Awadh. Their friendship did not last long, for, when Ibrāhīm marched to oppose them, A'zam Humāyūn again came over to the Sultān and Jalāl was forced to retreat. Leaving behind his family at Kālpī, the prince, in desperation, proceeded towards Agra where Ibrāhīm's general, Malik Ādam, persuaded him to accept the permanent assignment of Kālpī by surrendering his claims to sovereign power. The negotiations were helpful in putting off the prince for some time, as Ibrāhīm later on disapproved of this arrangement and decided to get rid of his brother. Jalāl ran away to Gwalior, and thence to Mālwa, but being unwelcome there fled to the country of the Gonds who betrayed him to the King. Ibrāhīm sent him to Hānsī where his other brothers were imprisoned, but he was killed on his way to that place.[22f]

The temporary asylum which Jalāl had secured at Gwalior provided Ibrāhīm with the pretext for completing his father's project of conquering this important Rājput State.

He sent a strong force comprising 30,000 horsemen and 300 elephants under A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī, governor of Karā, to besiege the fortress. In the meantime Rājā Mān, who had defied Sikandar's authority, died His son Vikramjit, unable to withstand the pressure of the Sultān's army which had been reinforced by a fresh force under nine *amīrs*, surrendered at last.[23] This outstanding military achievement was somewhat neutralized by the defeat of Ibrāhīm's forces which were sent against Rāṇā Sāngā of Mewār.[23a]

Jalāl Khān's rebellion left a deep impression on Ibrāhīm's mind. It made him suspicious of his nobles and strengthened his resolve to centralize all power by the outright suppression of Afghān nobility. Unlike his father who had slowly asserted

royal authority without outraging the sentiments of his Afghān followers, Ibrāhīm required the nobles to observe proper court ceremonial and purge their minds of any thoughts of equality based on clannish affinity with the king. Even though the past history of Muslim rule in India supported such a view of kingship, Ibrāhīm failed to understand the difference between Turkish ascendency and Afghān hegemony. The transformation might have been slowly effected, but could not be abruptly imposed. Without realizing, therefore, that his success as a ruler depended on the military support of his nobles, he decided to destroy the very men whose help he needed most. A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī who, by his timely reunion, had contributed to the Sultān's victory over Jalāl, was recalled from the siege of Gwalior and put in chains. Likewise, Miān Bhuwah, who had distinguished himself as the *wazīr* since Sikandar's days, was also imprisoned.

The manifestation of capricious tyranny led to the revolt at Karā by A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī's son, Islām Khān, who was supported by two important Lodī chiefs, Sa'īd Khān and A'zam Humāyūn[24] who had suddenly returned from Gwalior. When an army sent against the insurgents suffered a reverse, Ibrāhīm upbraided the commanding nobles and called upon them to crush the revolt on pain of being considered otherwise as traitors. The rebels, who had mustered 40,000 men, demanded A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī's release, but Ibrāhīm refused it in spite of a Muslim saint's[24a] intercession The Sultān would not compromise on any terms and ordered Daryā Khān Lohānī, governor of Bihār, Nasīr Khān Lohānī of Ghāzipur, and Shaikh Muhammad Farmūlī to join the royal army with all their strength After a sanguinary battle in which 10,000 Afghāns fell, the rebels were defeated and Islām Khān Sarwānī was killed

Rather than learn any useful lesson from the revolt, Ibrāhīm regarded the victory as a success of his policy and became even more ruthless Miān Bhuwah was put to death and A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī, who also died in captivity, is believed by some writers to have been killed by the King's orders.[24b] Another grandee, Miān Husain Farmūlī, was set upon by the Sultān's hirelings and done to death at Chanderi [24c] This sent a wave of indignation and alarm among the other nobles who began to contemplate drastic measures for their own safety. In the eastern part of the kingdom important Lodī and Farmūlī *amīrs* began to organize themselves, while Daryā Khān Lohānī, whom Ibrāhīm had next decided to degrade, resolved to cast off his allegiance. After his sudden death, his son Bahar Khān, assuming leadership of the disaffected nobles, declared independence and styled himself Sultān

Muhammad. He occupied the country from Bihār to Sambhal and, for a little over two years, had the *khutba* read in his name. He was joined by Nasīr Khān Lohānī, governor of Ghāzipur, Fath Khān, another son of A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī, and Sher Khān Sūr (later Sultān Sher Shāh).

While Ibrāhīm's armies fought a series of engagements with the rebellious *amīrs* in the eastern provinces, Daulat Khān Lodī, governor of the Punjāb, opened negotiations with Bābur. Daulat Khān had evaded Ibrāhīm's summons and his son, whom he sent to call upon the King, soon after ran back to Lahore to escape arrest The shocking account of Ibrāhīm's cruelty, which Daulat Khān heard from his son,[25] convinced him that it was impossible for him to continue his allegiance to the Sultān. As he was not able to organize the kind of revolt that the Afghān nobles in Bihār had done, he preferred to turn to Bābur for help, and sent his son[25a] to Kābul for this purpose. Almost simultaneously, Ibrāhīm's uncle 'Ālam Khān, who had been biding his time in Gujarāt and was sought out by the dissatisfied *amīrs* to replace Ibrāhīm[25b] also arrived at Kābul to seek Bābur's support Bābur, who was anxious to annex the Punjāb to his kingdom, welcomed this opportunity of extending his possessions, and led an expedition in 1524 to Lahore,[26] where he defeated Ibrāhīm's army under Bahar Khān Lodī. Daulat Khān had already fled towards Multān from where he came to meet Bābur at Dīpālpur

Bābur, however, instead of reinstating Daulat Khān, appointed his own officials at Lahore and assigned to the latter some minor districts.[27] This infuriated Daulat Khān who turned hostile after Bābur's return to Kābul, whereupon the latter entered into an arrangement with 'Ālam Khān to help him in capturing Delhi on condition that he (Bābur) was to retain the Punjāb in full sovereignty. 'Ālam Khān was later gained over by Daulat Khān and, with a combined Afghān force of thirty to forty thousand strong, he attacked Delhi in 1525, but was easily defeated by Ibrāhīm [27a] In the meantime Bābur, realizing that neither Daulat Khān nor 'Ālam Khān could be relied upon, set out on his own account for a final and decisive invasion of India After spending a few months in conquering the Punjāb and disposing of his Afghān opponents, he advanced towards Delhi Ibrāhīm marched forward and the two armies clashed with each other at Pānipat on April 20, 1526 In spite of overwhelming superiority in numbers[28] Ibrāhīm was defeated and slain Bābur's historic victory was chiefly due to his superior fighting technique, skilful employment of trained cavalry, and an enviable store of artillery.

Endowed with courage and bravery, Ibrāhīm possessed the qualities of a soldier, but was unfortunately rash and impolitic in his actions. His attempt at absolutism, though necessary, was premature and his policy of mere repression, unaccompanied by measures to strengthen the administration and augment his military resources, was bound to fail. That he should have chosen to alienate his powerful nobles at a time when the danger of an external invasion loomed large in the north-west, betrayed a lack of foresight which proved disastrous both to himself and to his dynasty. In private life, Ibrāhīm's conduct was unblemished He was kindly disposed towards his subjects and friendly with the saints and divines.[28a] He took keen interest in the promotion of agriculture and both he and his nobles received their share of the produce in kind. There was always an abundance of crops and the people in general lived happily in the midst of cheapness and plenty.

1 The origin of the Afghāns is obscure and the traditional theory tracing their descent from the Jewish king Tālūt (Saul) lacks historical support It is, however, generally held that the Khaljīs who belonged to the Turkish stock and a number of whom had migrated to the Afghān lands of Ghaznin, Balkh, Tukharistān, Bust and Guzganin were gradually transformed into Ghilzaīs They are believed to have been the progenitors of important Afghān clans including that of the Lodīs See *Hudūd-ul-'Ālam* Tr pp 111 348, *Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī* Bodleian MS fol 12, *Tarikh-i-Haqqī* Cambridge MS p 106

2 According to the *TA*, he was killed in 1431 while fighting against Shaikh 'Ali the Mughul This is incorrect, for he was alive during a part of Muhammad Shāh's reign and introduced his nephew to the Sultan Nizām-ud-dīn has probably, confused him with one Sulaimān Lodī who was killed in 1431 See *Tārīkh-i-Sadr-i-Jahān* Paris MS fol 172a, *T M* 219, *Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī* B M.MS fol 5a, *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdi*, S O A S MS p 5

3 He preferred Buhlūl to his own son, Qutb Khān, firstly because Buhlūl appeared to be more capable and, secondly, as the *Afsana-i-Shāhān* has pointed out Qutb Khān was born of a Rajput mother,while his daughter, Firdausī, whom Islām Khān had given in marriage to Buhlūl, was from an Afghān lady Buhlūl was a full-blooded Afghān as his father, Kala Lodī, had married an uncle's daughter The story goes that Kala having died in an encounter with the Niāzī Afghāns, Buhlūl was born posthumously in extraordinary circumstances His mother, while close on confinement, died suddenly on account of the falling of the house, and he was taken out by the 'Caesarean operation' Thus orphaned completely, he was taken as a month-old baby to his uncle who brought him up as a son The chances were, therefore, all for Buhlūl, and the clannish sentiment being very strong among the Afghāns, Qutb Khān might not have been acceptable to the majority of them

3a The entire area covering Dīpālpur, Lahore, Pānipat and Sirhind was under the control of Buhlūl The statement of the *TA* with regard to the disunity among the Afghāns and the campaigns undertaken by Muhammad Shāh's minister, Sikandar Tuhfa, against Buhlūl is not confirmed by the earlier authorities such as the *Tārīkh-i-mushtāqī* and the *Majāmi'-ul-Akhbār*

4. See above, p 135

4a See *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī*, B M MS p 7, *Mihr wa Māh*, Lahore MS fol 117

5 See above, p 113

6 The last Sayyid Sultān"s daughter was married to the last Sharqī king She always urged her husband to recover her parental heritage.

7 The Afghān envoy, Shams-ud-dīn, who came to deliver the keys of the fort of Daryā Khān Lodī, reminded the latter of his affiliations with the Afghāns and appealed to him to save the honour of the Afghān ladies besieged in the fort See *Wāqi'at-i-Mushtāqī* B M MS p 8

7a See *Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*, Bodleian MS fol 310b

8. Kol—modern Aligarh; Sakīt—in the Etāh district; Rapri—44 miles south-west of Mainpuri, Bhongaon—in the Mainpuri district

A minor raid which, according to Mushtāqī, the Afghān soldiers carried out early in Buhlūl's reign on a turbulent village near Nimkhar, a dependency of Kanauj, has been described in the *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* as a major expedition of Buhlūl who is reported to have acquired thereby immense booty and plunder Elliot has given the name of the place as Munkhar which is not, however, supported by the printed text of the *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* nor by the account of the *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* which is almost similar to that of Mushtāqī See *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* B.M MS p 186, *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* S O.A S. MS. p. 21; *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, p 20; *HIED* V, p 5 n 1.

Abu-'l Fazl has described Nimkhar as a *Mahal* in the *Sarkār* of Khairābād (Oudh) with a brick fort and a shrine of great resort. (*Āīn*, Text I, pp. 434, 438)

9 His original name was Budhan Khān Sindhī who hailed from Uchh and occupied Multān after expelling the Sayyid governor, Khān-i-Khānān (See *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*, Cambridge MS pp 128-29). The statement of some of the authorities including 'Abbās Sarwānī, Mīr Ma'sūm and Nizām-ud-dīn that a Lankāh chief named Rāi Sahra drove out Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī whom the people of Multān had raised to power, is to be discounted.

9a. He became the ruler of Multān in 1469-70 after the death of his father, Qutb-ud-dīn, who had succeeded Mahmūd Shāh in 1454

The reference in the *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* to Ahmad Khān Bhatti's rebellion in Sind and the appeal for help made by the ruler of Multān to Buhlūl, is not confirmed by any earlier authority The Lankāh rulers were never reconciled to Buhlūl and they could not possibly have asked his help to suppress a rebel of Sind when they were strong enough to defeat the army of Delhi and also to repulse an attack from Mālwa

9b It was situated in close proximity to the fort of Ranthambhor, the capture of which was, in fact, Buhlūl's real object The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* has substituted for the Alhanpur raid an account of Buhlūl's expedition against the Rājput State of Mewār which is not, however, mentioned by any other authority. He has, probably confused Mālwa with Mewār, and Alhanpur with Udaipur which was founded much later His reference to Ajmer as the place where Buhlūl pitched his camp, is also wrong as Ajmer at that time lay within the jurisdiction of Mālwa.

Similarly Ahmad Yādgār's reference to Ujjain as a Hindu territory, where Buhlūl, during another expedition, subjugated a large number of Hindus, is wrong, because Ujjain also formed a part of the kingdom of Mālwa. (See *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* Cambridge MS p 109, *Tārīkh-i-Nāsir Shāhī* I.O. MS fol 24b)

9c Now called Milauli, situated at a distance of about 15 miles to the north of Sakīt in the Etāh district (See Neave *Etah*, map of the district.)

None of the authorities has given the exact date of Buhlūl's death which probably occurred about a week earlier than Sikandar's accession (July 16, 1489) See *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* B M MS fol. 496b. *Khulāsat-ut-Twārikh*, Cambridge MS. fol. 153a

9d For his association with holy men and his punctuality in saying prayers, see *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn* I O MS fols 235-6, *Gulzār-i-Abrār* Landesiana MS fol. 132a A S B Calcutta MS fol 67b *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, I. 438

According to *Majami'-ul-Akhbār*, (I O MS fol. 349a), the people of India regarded Buhlūl as a saint and attributed to him even miraculous deeds This, however, appears to be an exaggeration

9e She was the daughter of 'Ālam Shāh, the Sayyid (vide note 6, above See *Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī*, B M MS fol. 7a

The *Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numā* (I O MS fol 295b) gives her name as Bībī Khūbān. In *CHI* III (231, 255) it is, however mentioned as Jalīla which has probably been obtained by changing the Arabic adjective, *Halīla*, (meaning, "a lawful wife") into proper noun by the addition of a dot

9f. See '*Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* B M MS. p. 9.

10. An area roughly extending from Swāt and Bajaur to Sewi (Bhakkar) and from Hasan Abdal to Kābul and Qandahār See Firishta Text I, p 30

10a *Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shāhī* B M MS. fol. 3b

10b They were Rājputs and were descended from Mainpuri Chauhāns According to Abu-'l Fazl, they were found mainly in the Aldimau, Chandah and Gadwarah

mahals of the Jaunpur *Sarkār* and also in the Jalālpur, Balkhar and Kathot *mahals* of the Manikpur *Sarkār*. See *Āīn*, I, Text pp 426-29.

10c *Waqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* B M MS p 20 and *Tārikh-i-Dā'ūdī* S.O A S MS. p 38 The *TA*, *Tārikh-i-Khān-Jahānī* and some other authorities have omitted Juga's name and have mentioned only the Bachgotis. This has led Hodivala, who has not consulted Mushtāqī, to accuse 'Abdullāh of misreading Bajkoti in the *TA* and changing it into Jaggu or Jugga. Hodivala is wrong in remarking that Jugga's name has not been mentioned by any earlier authority, nor is it possible to agree with him that 'Abdullāh has borrowed the account of this episode from the *TA*. The writer has, on the other hand, found that 'Abdullāh has drawn upon Mushtāqī more frequently than on any other source

10d Abu-'l Fazl has located it in the Rohtas *Sarkār* of the province of Bihar (*Āīn* I, 423). In the *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* (MS p 21) it is written as Chaund which helps in identifying it further as modern Chainpur in the Shāhābād district After the fall of Jaund (see below) Juga presumably fled to an unknown destination, for, no more was heard of him

11 He lost confidence in Bahjat Khān the governor of Chanderī, who had originally invited him See Hasan Khākī· *Muntakhab-ut-Twarīkh*, Eton College MS fol. 142b and *Majami'-ul-Akhbār* I O MS fol 342b

12 In the Mirzapur district U P

13 Opposite Allahābād on the southern bank of the Gangā.

13a It was situated close to the eastern frontiers of Bhatgorha, but lay actually inside the territory of Mālwa (See *Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*, Tubingen MS fol 85a)

14 Sikandar ordered an offending noble to be severely kicked when some of them indulged in open fight before him in the polo (*Chaugān*) field at Jaunpur See *Tārikh-i-Khān-Jahānī*, Cambridge MS. fol 96a and *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* S O A S MS p 49

15 The King's *farmāns* were respectfully received by the governors who met the royal messengers at a distance of about three miles from the city, and placing the *farmāns* on their heads carried them to the mosque to be read out from the pulpit, if they were meant for public announcement See *Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī* B M MS fol 19a, *TA*, I 338, *Mir'at-ul-'Ālam* I.O MS fol 260a.

16 Mubārak Khān Lodī, governor of Jaunpur, who was found guilty of defalcation, was ordered to refund all the amount due to him Even though he sought the intervention of powerful nobles yet it proved of no avail See *TA*, I, 321

16a See *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* B M MS p 24, *Tārikh-i-Mushtāqī* B M MS fols 14a, 30b; *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* S O A S MS p 37

17 Such as the *Ma'dan ash-shifa-yi-Sikandar Shāhī* which was prepared by the minister Miān Bhūwah

18 He composed verses in Persian under the pen name of Gul Rukh See *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn*, Lahore MS fol 83 Badāūnī *Muntakhab*, I. p 323

18a The only extant MS is to be found in Tagore library, University of Lucknow

19 Her name was Zībā and she was the daughter of a Hindu goldsmith of Sirhind

19a It might be due to his early training and constant association with theologians and also partly to the *bhakti* movement

19b It is related by the authorities that the stones of idols brought from Nagarkot were given away to butchers to be used as weights Hodivala, however, considers it to be "a wandering tale of iconoclastic zeal, which appears in varying forms under Mahmūd of Ghazna Fīrūz Tughluq and Ghiās-ud-dīn Khaljī of Mālwa" (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p 468 9)

20 The name is also written as Yodhan and Lodhan due no doubt to the fact that in Persian MSS it is merely a question of dropping or adding a dot

21 Salar Mas'ūd Ghazī believed to be a sister's son of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, is represented in popular legends as a saint and martyr and a number or miraculous exploits are attributed to him *Mir'āt-i-Mas'ūdī* B M MS fols 17, 86, *Safīnat-al-Auliya* p 160, *Khazīnat-al Asfiyā* p 869

22 Miniature sepulchres carried in procession annually to commemorate the martyrdom of Husain, grandson of Prophet Muhammad, who fell in the field of Karbalā' on 10 Muharram 61 A H (October 10, 680)

22a Tātār Khān Yūsuf Khail was governor of the Punjāb who revolted during the latter part of Buhlūl's reign Since Buhlūl was pre-occupied with the affairs of the eastern part of his kingdom he wrote to his son, Nizām Khān at Panipat to display princely courage by subduing that rebel (Set *Tārīkh i-Mushtāqī*, BM MS fols 9-11)

22b. He was a descendant of the famous saint, Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī (1308-1384) and had settled in Delhi where he died in 1526-27. (See *Āīn*, Text, II, 222 and *Khazīnat-ul-Asfiyā* p 752)

22c. The disease was superstitiously believed to have been inflicted on him in consequence of some disrespectful remarks which he made in relation to Hājī 'Abdul Wahhāb (See *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* B M MS p 53 and *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* S O A S MS pp 65-6

22d The arrangement was carried out at the behest of some self-seeking nobles It is not possible to accept the view of some authorities that Sikandar himself divided the kingdom between his two sons, for, no one knew better than he, the dangerous consequences of it See *Majāmi'-al-Akhbār* I O MS fol 344b Hasan Khākī. *Muntakhab*, Eton MS fol 79a *Mujmal-i-Mufassal* A S B (Calcutta) MS fol 180b Bodleian MS fol 144b

22e See *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*, Cambridge MS p 74, *Tārīkh-i-Khan Jahānī*, Cambridge MS fol 115a, *Wāqi'at-i-Mushtāqī* MS p 81

22f See *Zubdat-at-Twārīkh* (Nur-ul-Haq) Cambridge MS fol 60a

23 He was given Shamsābād in exchange This chivalrous prince died fighting for Ibrāhīm at Panipat in A D 1526 *Bābur-nāma* 477

23a According to the contemporary writer, Mushtāqī, the Lodī army suffered a defeat because one of the powerful Afghān nobles Miān Husain Farmūlī, who accompanied it and whom Ibrāhīm had ordered to be arrested, went over to Rānā Sāngā Later, however, when Husain Farmūlī rejoined the Sultān's army, Rānā Sāngā hastily withdrew towards his own capital See *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* B M MS p 124

24 A different person from A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī who was in prison

24a. The name of the saint given by Nizām-ud-dīn, Firishta and a number of other writers is Shaikh Rajū Bukhārī whom Hidāyat Husain (*Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, p 77 n 1) has identified as Sayyid Sadr-ud-dīn Rājā Qattāl Bukhārī, brother of Sayyid Jalāl-ud-dīn Makhdūm-i-Jahāniān This cannot, however, be correct as Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn died in 827 A H/A D 1423, about a century earlier than Ibrāhīm's accession Most probably the name of the saint who tried to avert a suicidal clash among the Afghāns was Shaikh Yūsuf Qattāl who died at Delhi in 933 A H/A D 1527 and whom Nizām-ud-dīn and other writers have confused with Shaikh Rajū Bukhārī on account of the common suffix Qattāl (See *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p 219)

24b See *Afsāna-yi-Shāhān* B M MS fol 47a *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, tr p 76

24c Chanderi was situated at the southern border of the Lodī kingdom After Husain Farmūlī's murder, it was easily captured by Rānā Sāngā (See *Bābur-nāma*, p 593, *Wāqi'at-i-Mushtāqī* MS, p 128)

25 Ibrāhīm is said to have threatened Daulat Khān with arrest and shown his son some horrible exhibits of dead bodies pointing to the fate of those who dared disobey the Sultan *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, p 87

25a He was the same son whom Daulat Khān had earlier sent to Ibrāhīm's court His name was Dilāvar Khān and he remained steadfastly attached to Bābur who later on conferred on him the title of Khān-i-Khānān He continued to serve also under Humāyūn and died as a prisoner of Sher Shāh Sūr (See *Bābur-nāma* 457, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Text, p 42)

25b See *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, tr 277 *Zafar-ul-Walih*, Arabic text, p 120

26 This was his fourth expedition He had made incursions into the Punjāb thrice earlier He affirms in his *Memoirs* that, ever since his occupation of Kābul in 1504, his eyes had been set on the recovery of that part of India which his ancestor Tīmūr had conquered *Bābur-nāma*, 377-82

27 Sultānpur and Jullundur

27a See *Bābur-nāma* 456, *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī* I O M S fol 34

28 Ibrāhīm's army was calculated at 100 000 whereas Bābur's army did not exceed one-tenth of it. See *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* Cambridge MS fol 221a *Nafāis-ul-Ma'āsir* B M M S fol 26b *Ma'dan-i-Akhbarī-Ahmadī* I O M S fol 37 *Bābur-nāma*, 456

28a. See *An Arabic work on General History* B M MS fol 289b

N.B.—(*TA* in this chapter refers to the *BI* edition of the text)

CHAPTER X

THE SUCCESSION STATES OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

A. GUJARĀT

1. *MUZAFFAR SHĀH I (A D 1392-1410)*

During the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, as mentioned above, Malik Mufarrah, also known as Farhat-ul-Mulk and Rāstī Khān, was appointed governor of Gujarāt in A.D. 1377, and held that post for ten years In 1387, Sikandar Khān was sent to replace Farhat-ul-Mulk which provoked the latter to take up arms Rāstī Khān defeated and killed Sikandar Khān, but the central administration had become so lax that no action was taken against him and he was allowed to continue as governor [1]

According to Firishta, Farhat-ul-Mulk aimed at establishing an independent dynasty at Gujarāt and, "in order to gain popularity for the furtherance of that object, he encouraged the Hindu religion and thus promoted rather than suppressed, the worship of idols" In 1391, therefore, the orthodox Muslims of Gujarāt sent a petition to the Sultān at Delhi for the removal of the tolerant governor In response to this appeal Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn Muhammad appointed Zafar Khān, the son of Wajīh-ul-Mulk, as governor of Gujarāt and conferred on him the title of Muzaffar Khān and presented him with a red canopy which was then exclusively used by the kings

Farhat adopted a hostile attitude and Muzaffar tried in vain to induce him to come to terms A battle was fought at Kamboi, situated about 20 miles west of Anahilwāra Patan, in which Muzaffar inflicted a crushing defeat on Farhat who was killed (A D 1392). Muzaffar then occupied Anahilwāra, and Sultān Muhammad sent him a congratulatory letter addressing him as A'zam Humāyūn

In 1394, after the death of Sultān Muhammad, many Hindu chiefs in Gujarāt broke out into rebellion, of which the most serious was led by the Rājā of Īdar Muzaffar, after a protracted siege of Īdar, during which he ravaged the surrounding territory, forced the Rājā to submit He then advanced towards Somanātha, but had to return on receipt of the news that, Nasīr, the king of Khāndesh, had been raiding Nandurbār. Nasīr fled at the approach of Muzaffar.

Next year (1395) Muzaffar invaded Somanātha, burnt the temple and broke the idol. He killed many Hindus and left the place after arranging for the erection of a mosque. In 1401, however, news reached him that the Hindus were trying to restore the temple of Somanātha and revive their customary worship. Muzaffar immediately proceeded thither with an army, and the Hindus, defeated after a sharp encounter, retired to the fort of Dip. This fort also fell after a few days, and Muzaffar killed the garrison and had the chief men of the place trampled under the feet of elephants. He also demolished the temples and laid the foundation of a mosque.

While Muzaffar was appointed governor of Gujarāt in 1391, his son Tātār Khān, was retained by Sultān Muhammad in Delhi as his *wazīr*. Tātār Khān, as noted above, took a prominent part in the intrigues and civil war that followed after the death of Sultān Muhammad (1394) for succession to the throne, but, being outmanoeuvred by Mallū Iqbāl, retired to Gujarāt, with a view to collect troops and make another attempt on Delhi. But Tīmūr's invasion intervened, and Tātār's ambitious project had to be given up for the time being.

During Tīmūr's invasion, the fugitive Sultān Mahmūd sought shelter in Gujarāt where Muzaffar received him warmly but "did not accord the treatment and respect that was due to him", so that the Sultān "becoming hopeless and heart-broken" left for Mālwa, as mentioned above.

In A.D. 1403, Tātār urged his father to march on Delhi which, he promised, would be easy to capture But Muzaffar declined to risk the reality of power which he was enjoying in Gujarāt for the doubtful success his son hoped for at Delhi According to most of the available accounts, Tātār thereupon imprisoned his father and proclaimed himself king under the title Muhammad Shāh in A D 1403 According to Nizām-ud-dīn, however, Muzaffar voluntarily relinquished his power to his son, when he found the latter bent on the invasion of Delhi Firishta, who records both the versions, writes. "Other historians state, with more probability, that Tātār Khan, taking advantage of the age and infirmities of his father, seized and imprisoned him in the town of Yessavul, since called Ahmudabad." As Muzaffar had not till then declared himself as king Tātār is regarded as the first king of the dynasty.

Soon after his accession, Tātār proceeded towards Delhi. According to most of the authorities, on the way his uncle Shams Khān, brother of Muzaffar, poisoned him at Sinor in 1404. But again Nizām-ud-dīn gives a different account, according to which Tātār died of excessive drinking, but at the end of the section he

adds cryptically: "It has, however, come to (my) notice in various histories that Shams Khān Dandānī gave poison to Muhammad Shāh in his wine".[2] The weight of evidence, therefore, supports the view that Tātār imprisoned his father to gain the throne and was later poisoned by the latter's brother, Shams Khān.

After the death of Tātār, Shams Khān released Muzaffar from the prison, and he took over the control of the administration without any difficulty. At last in A.D. 1407, at the request of the nobles, Muzaffar declared himself as Sultān Muzaffar Shāh, took the insignia of royalty and issued coins in his own name.[3]

Soon after his accession, Muzaffar invaded Mālwa, entered the capital city Dhār, and imprisoned Sultān Hūshang of Mālwa. In this Muzaffar was prompted by a desire to avenge the death of his old friend Dilāvar Khān, who was said to have been murdered by his son Hūshang. Later, Muzaffar restored Hūshang to the throne of Mālwa, as will be related below

According to the Muslim historians, Muzaffar subdued the Hindu state of Īdar. According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription of A D. 1400, Rāṇā Kshetrasiṁha of Chitor defeated Raṇamalla, the king of Gūrjaramaṇḍala (i e. Īdar), victor of Dafara Khān, the lord of Pattana.[4] This Dafara Khāna has been identified with Zafar Khān, that is Muzaffar Khān who is called by his old name Zafar Khān in some histories

Muzaffar died in 813 A H (A D. 1410-1411) and was succeeded by his grandson Ahmad, the son of Tātār Khān. According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, "it was commonly reported and believed" that Ahmad had poisoned his grandfather. According to other historians such as Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta, Muzaffar, after a severe illness, abdicated in favour of his grandson and died peacefully a few months later.

2. *AHMAD SHĀH (A.D. 1411-1443)*

Sultān Ahmad enjoyed a prosperous reign of thirty-two-years, the greater part of which was spent in warfare against the Hindu Rājās of Gujarāt and Rājputāna and the Muslim rulers of Mālwa and the Deccan Soon after his accession Ahmad was faced with a rebellion of his uncles, the eldest of whom, Fīrūz Khān, had declared himself king. Ahmad took energetic steps to crush the rebellion, and soon the rebel troops began to desert in large numbers and join the royal standard. Ultimately Fīrūz and his brothers had to surrender to Ahmad, who not only pardoned them but restored them to their former status

During this rebellion Sultān Hūshang of Mālwa invaded Gujarāt in the hope of reaping advantage from the distracted condition of the country. According to some authorities Ahmad had summoned Hūshang to his aid, while others relate that the rebels had invited Hūshang However, after the rebellion was put down Hūshang promptly retired to Mālwa, but again invaded Gujarāt while Ahmad was away from his capital in a campaign against the Rājā of Jhālāwar Hūshang, however, was again forced to retreat. These, as well as the next invasion of Hūshang, will be described in the chapter on Mālwa.

During the confusion created by the second invasion of Hūshang, a Gujarāti noble named Sher Malik rebelled and, being defeated, took shelter with the Hindu king of Girnār. Saurāshṭra, it may be noted, was under the rule of petty Hindu chieftains who had not yet submitted to the Muslim rule Ahmad, therefore, took this as an opportunity to invade Girnār The king of Girnār was defeated in the field, but the hill-fort of Girnār held out against a siege, and ultimately Ahmad had to be satisfied by the promise of a tribute, for at this time trouble arose elsewhere According to the *Maṇḍalika-nṛipa-charita*[5] Ahmad had to retire with a serious loss of war equipments and materials He seems to have renewed his attack later and succeeded to the extent of forcing the Rājā to pay him tribute (A D 1414-1415)

The ruler of Khāndesh had died in 1399, dividing his territory between his two sons Nasīr and Iftikhār or Hasan In 1417, Nasīr with the help of Hūshang of Mālwa, occupied his brother's territory and imprisoned him before the latter could obtain any help from Ahmad to whom he had appealed Nasīr and the Mālwa army then attacked Sultānpur in Gujarāt but retired before a relieving force sent by Ahmad The Gujarāt army then besieged Nasīr in his fort of Asīr, and after some time peace was concluded on Nasīr's swearing fealty to Ahmad, and promising to abstain in future from aggression Ahmad, in return recognized Nasīr's claim over the whole of Khāndesh, and Iftikhār retired to Gujarāt

Ahmad, like his grandfather, was a bigot and seized every opportunity to demolish Hindu temples In 1414, he appointed one Tāj-ul-Mulk to destroy all temples and to establish Muslim authority throughout Gujarāt. According to Firishta, the task was "executed with such diligence that the names of Mawass and Girass (i e. Hindu *zamindārs*) were hereafter unheard of in the whole kingdom" Next year Ahmad attacked the celebrated city of Sidhpur in north Gujarāt where he broke the images in the famous Rudramahālaya temple and converted it into a mosque. These fanatic measures led the

chiefs of Chāmpāner, Maḍal or Manḍalgrah, Nāndod and Īdar to form a league against Ahmad in 1416, and they obtained support from Sultān Hūshang of Mālwa who was extremely jealous of Gujarāt Sultanate. Hūshang advanced with an army as far as Madasa, but ultimately retired without engaging Ahmad, who arrived there by forced marches.

Nasīr of Khāndesh, who had attacked Nandurbār, was also forced to retire. Ahmad pardoned him on discovering that Nasīr was prompted to attack Gujarāt by Hūshang's son who had also supplied him with troops. The Hindu Rājās were also dispersed Ahmad then invaded Mālwa to punish Hūshang and led three expeditions in A.D. 1419, 1420 and 1422. But save that the Gujarāt army devastated parts of Mālwa, nothing worthy of note was accomplished.

Ahmad led another expedition into Mālwa at the end of his reign in A.D 1438, when he attempted to place on the throne of Mālwa prince Mas'ūd, son of Sultān Ghaznī Khān of Mālwa, who had been murdered by Mahmūd Khaljī But after many months of fruitless campaigning he was obliged to retire owing to an outbreak of pestilence in his army

In 1429, Kānhā (Kṛishna) Rājā of Jhālāwar, on account of the policy of Ahmad towards the Hindus, sought help from Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī who dispatched a force against Gujarāt The Rājā of Jhālāwar, with the help of the Bahmanī army, ravaged Nandurbār, whereupon Ahmad sent a strong force against them In the ensuing battle the Deccan army was completely defeated and fled to Daulatābād Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī sent strong reinforcements and was joined by Nasīr Khān of Khāndesh, but again the Deccan army was defeated Thus began the conflict between Gujarāt and the Bahmanī empire, lasting for about two years, the ultimate result of which was that Gujarāt annexed Thānā and Māhim

Of all the Hindu States which were subdued by Ahmad, Īdar put up the greatest resistance. In 1426, Ahmad drove the Rājā, Rāo Pūnjā, out of his capital into the hills Pūnjā died two years later during a skirmish in the hills, but his sons carried on the struggle. Ultimately, however, they were forced to submit and promised to pay tribute

In 1432, Ahmad undertook his last great campaign against the Hindu powers He is said by the Muslim historians to have defeated the ruler of Pānāgarh, destroyed the town of Nandod, and exacted tributes from the rulers of Dungārpur, Kotāh and Būndī The ruler of Dungārpur at this time was Mahārāwal Gopīnātha or Gajapāl But in an inscription, dated V S 1525 (A.D 1468), it is

claimed that Gopīnātha defeated the haughty (*madamatta*) Sultān of Gujarāt and seized his treasure.[6]

The Kumbhalgarh inscription of A.D. 1460 states that Rāṇa Mokalendra defeated Piroja and Mahammada who have been identified with Fīrūz Khān of Nāgaur and Ahmad Shāh of Gujarāt, respectively.[7] The Shringi-Rishi inscription of Mokala of A.D. 1428 states: "(It was he, Mokala) from whose presence Piroja Khāna (Fīrūz Khān) himself had resorted to fleeing, (and) Pātasāha Ahmada, although irresistible in battle........ abandoning (his) ..... has at present, with face dried up, with hair dishevelled, with speech obstructed ... taken refuge in the habitation of a mountain cave in order to save[8] ...." The Chitorgarh inscription of Mokala issued in the same year also refers to his victory over Piroja.[9]

According to the Muslim historians, Fīrūz and Ahmad defeated Mokala in A.D. 1433, whereas Mokala's inscriptions recording his victories are dated A.D. 1428. Either, therefore, the Muslim historians gave wrong dates, or Ahmad led two expeditions against Mewār, in the first of which he was defeated but won the second.

Sultān Ahmad died in A.D. 1443 and was succeeded by his eldest son Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh. Sultān Ahmad is chiefly remembered today as the founder of the city of Ahmadābād where he transferred the capital from Anahilwāra at the beginning of his reign.

3. *MUHAMMAD SHĀH II (A.D. 1443-51)*

Muhammad II took up the unfinished task of Ahmad of subduing the Hindu chieftains of Gujarāt He first led a campaign against Īdar and forced its ruler to submit to his authority. The Rājā of Īdar, Hari Rāi or Bir Rāi, is said to have purchased peace by marrying his daughter to Muhammad. Muhammad is then said to have gone and exacted tribute from the Rājā of Dungārpur. According to Sir E. Dennison Ross "Muhammad next attacked, at Bāgor, Rānā Kūmbha of Mewār, who fled and took refuge with the Rāwal of Dūngarpur, the chief of his house, but afterwards appeared before the invader and purchased peace with a heavy indemnity". This statement has no evidence in its support, and on the available material it is apparent that Muhammad defeated not Kumbha but Gaṇeśa of Dungārpur.[10]

In A.D. 1449, Muhammad marched against Chāmpāner, but the Rājā, Kanak Dās, having obtained help from Mālwa, forced him to retreat. On his return journey Muhammad fell seriously ill and died in February 1451. According to some historians he was poisoned by his wife.

4. *QUTB-UD-DĪN AHMAD SHĀH OR AHMAD SHĀH II (A.D. 1451-58)*

After the death of Muhammad II his son ascended the throne under the title of Qutb-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa, who had advanced up to the frontiers of Gujarāt at the invitation of Rājā Kanak Dās, now invaded the country and advanced up to Broach.[11] Unable to capture this fortress, Mahmūd marched towards the capital, but on his way was severely defeated by Qutb-ud-dīn and fled, leaving eighty-one elephants and all his baggage.

In 1453, taking advantage of a dispute for succession among the kinsmen of Qutb-ud-dīn who held Nāgaur, Mahārāṇā Kumbha occupied the territory. Shams Khān, the ruler of Nāgaur, sought the protection of Qutb-ud-dīn, who dispatched an army against the Mahārāṇā, but the latter defeated and almost destroyed the Gujarāt army. In 1456, therefore, Qutb-ud-dīn marched against Kumbhalgarh to avenge his defeat, and though he could not capture the famous fort, it is claimed by the Muslim historians that the Mahārāṇā was obliged to purchase peace by the payment of a huge tribute. The same authorities then state, that on his return from Kumbhalgarh, Qutb-ud-dīn learnt that during his absence Ghiyās-ud-dīn, the son of Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa, had raided Gujarāt as far as Surat, but had retired on learning of his return. Later in the same year, however, Mahmūd sent a mission to Gujarāt proposing a treaty of alliance between the two kingdoms against Chitor. It was decided that the Gujarāt army should plunder and ravage such parts of the territories of the Mahārāṇā as were contiguous to Gujarāt while Mahmūd should seize the country of Mewār and Ajmer Accordingly next year (1457) Qutb-ud-dīn again advanced against Kumbhalgarh

Mahārāṇā Kumbha, on learning the approach of the Gujarāt army, left Kumbhalgarh and took up a strong position between that place and Chitor. Here a battle was fought for two days at the end of which the Mahārāṇā, according to the Muslim historians, fled to jungle and ultimately concluded peace by paying a huge ransom. Qutb-ud-dīn then returned to Gujarāt. Within three months Mahārāṇā Kumbha attacked Nāgaur, but retired on the approach of Qutb-ud-dīn with his main army.

Some time later Qutb-ud-dīn attacked Sirohī which was ruled by a relation of the Mahārāṇā. After burning Sirohī and ravaging other towns on his way Qutb-ud-dīn besieged the famous fort of Kumbhalgarh, while his ally, Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa advanced towards Chitor. Soon Qutb-ud-dīn found that it was beyond

his power to reduce the Kumbhalgarh fort, and advanced towards Chitor but returned to his capital after plundering a few towns around it. Nizām-ud-dīn states that "Rāṇā Kumbha sent ambassadors after the Sultān and in great humility and distress prayed to be excused for his offences and the Sultān again drew the pen of forgiveness across his guilt; and sent back the ambassadors pleased and happy."

Thus, according to the Muslim historians, Qutb-ud-dīn always defeated the Mahārāṇā. On the other hand the Rājputs claim that Mahārāṇā Kumbha defeated Qutb-ud-dīn.[12] The Chitor Kīrtistambha inscription (part II, verses 16-23) states that the Mahārāṇā destroyed the town of Nāgapura (Nāgaur) and the lofty *masīti* (mosque) built by Piroja (Fīrūz Khān), captured many Muslim women, and took possession of the treasures of Shams Khān while fighting in the country of Jāngala, and harassed the king of Gujarāt. Verse 172 of the same inscription states: "Kumbha, the lord of the earth, (who is like) the sage Agastya (one born in a pitcher) to the multitude of the forest of all the elephants (which were) arrayed or not arrayed (but were) submerged in the ocean in the form of the proud Sultāns of Gujarāt and Mālwa; (that Kumbha) is shining, this king who deserves to be praised as a preceptor initiating the kings in the commencement of battle".[13]

It is apparent that the verses 16-23 relate the first invasion of Qutb-ud-dīn, and verse 172 refers to the joint expedition sent by Gujarāt and Mālwa. The Rājput version seems nearer the truth, as otherwise it is difficult to explain as to why after his first victorious campaign against the Mahārāṇā, Qutb-ud-dīn should have concluded a treaty with the Sultān of Mālwa, his hereditary enemy, particularly when the latter had raided his kingdom during his absence.

5. *DĀŪD KHĀN AND MAHMUD BEGARHA (A.D. 1458-1511)*

Qutb-ud-dīn died in 1458, and after his death the nobles raised his uncle Dāūd Khān to the throne. However, within the short period of seven or twenty-seven days, Dāūd proved himself to be such an imbecile that the nobles deposed him and set on the throne Fath Khān, son of Muhammad II (1458). Fath Khān, on his accession, adopted the title of Abu-'l Fath Mahmūd and is famous in history as Mahmūd Begarha.

Soon after his accession Mahmūd was faced with a conspiracy which aimed at removing him and placing his younger brother on the throne. With great presence of mind he cleverly frustrated the conspiracy.

In A.D. 1461, Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa invaded the dominions of the infant Bahmanī king, Nizām Shāh, and an appeal was sent to Mahmūd Begarha for help. Mahmūd Begarha marched into Khāndesh and cut off the retreat of the Mālwa army, which was compelled to retire through Berar and suffered terribly. Next year Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa again invaded the Deccan, but retreated on hearing that Mahmūd Begarha was marching against him. Mahmūd Begarha then wrote to Mahmūd Khaljī that it was unfair to molest a child, that is Nizām Shāh, and that if he ever attacked the latter's dominion, Mālwa would be overrun by the Gujarāt army. The threat was effective in preventing further hostilities between Mālwa and the Bahmanī kingdom.

In 1466 Mahmūd invaded the territory of king Maṇḍalika, usually known as the Chuḍāsama king of Girnār. But from the recently discovered *Maṇḍalika-nṛpa-charita* it is learnt that Maṇḍalika belonged to the Yādava race. The same work informs us that Maṇḍalika tried his best to be on good terms with Mahmūd, and once at Mahmūd's behest attacked and killed one king Duda whose adopted daughter he (Maṇḍalika) had married.[14] Still in 1467, Mahmūd invaded Maṇḍalika's territory, defeated his army and sacked a city. Maṇḍalika then sued for peace which he obtained by agreeing to pay tribute. In the following year Mahmūd forbade Maṇḍalika the use of royal insignias which the unfortunate prince immediately obeyed. Yet in 1469 Mahmūd again attacked Junāgarh. Maṇḍalika appealed to Mahmūd, pointing out that he had remitted tribute regularly and had been an obedient vassal. Mahmūd replied that he had not come for money but for the propagation of Islām in Saurāshṭra, and offered Maṇḍalika the choice between death and Islām. Maṇḍalika at first resisted, but after the fall of his last retreat, the fort of Girnār, he surrendered and accepted Islām. Maṇḍalika's kingdom was incorporated in the dominions of Gujarāt. Mahmūd stayed at Junāgarh for some time, improved the defences of the city and renamed it Mustāfābād, which henceforth became one of his capitals, specially intended for the propagation of Islām in this region.

News now reached Mahmūd that while he had been besieging Girnār, Jayasiṁha, the son of the Rājā of Chāmpāner, had been ravaging the territory between Chāmpāner, and Ahmadābād. Mahmūd immediately sent an officer to protect the region and intended to follow with a view to conquer Chāmpāner But complaints came from southern Sind that the Muslims were being persecuted by the Hindus. Mahmūd therefore crossed the Rann of Cutch and, entering the region now known as the Thar and Parkar districts,

was confronted with an army of 24,000 horse which was composed of Sumras, Sodas and Kalhoras. The leader of this army informed Mahmūd that "they were Muslims but knew little of their faith or its rules, and were wont to intermarry with and live as Hindus. He invited those, who would, to enter his service and to return with him to Gujarāt, and many accepted his invitation and received grants of land in Sorath, where teachers were appointed to instruct them in the faith of Islām."

In A.D. 1472, Mahmūd again marched into Sind to aid his maternal grandfather Jām Nanda against rebels. This campaign, in which he was entirely successful, will be described later in the chapter on Sind.

About this time a learned poet and merchant named Mahmūd Samarqandī had been driven ashore to Dvārakā, the holy city of the Hindus associated with Śrī Kṛishṇa. The Hindus of Dvārakā robbed Samarqandī of all his goods whereupon he appealed in person to Mahmūd for redress. So Mahmūd marched to Dvārakā which was evacuated by its king, Bhīma, who took refuge in the island fortress of Bet Shankhodhar. Mahmūd, after destroying the temple at Dvārakā and plundering the city, proceeded towards Bet Shankhodhar through a dense forest where his army was put to great difficulties by the lions and poisonous snakes. However, Mahmūd won a sea-fight and the Hindus had to surrender the fortress for lack of provisions. The place was thoroughly pillaged, and Bhīma was sent to Ahmadābād where he was impaled.

In 1480, the officers, tired of Mahmūd's ceaseless energy, conspired to dethrone him and put his son on the throne. Mahmūd learnt of this conspiracy at Mustāfābād, where he spent a part of each year, and decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca However, the courtiers, ashamed of their conduct, then begged Mahmūd to change his decision and, after some parleys, it was decided that Mahmūd should conquer Chāmpāner which he had raided in 1474 and collect enough money to defray his expenses for the voyage to Mecca. But Chāmpāner was not attacked till A D. 1482, when Malik Sūdha, a Gujarātī officer, plundered and laid it waste nearly to the walls of the fortress, slaying the inhabitants. As he was returning, Jayasiṁha,[15] the king of Chāmpāner, attacked and slew him, recovered all his plundered booty, took two elephants, and sacked and destroyed Rasulābād where Malik Sūdha had been the governor. Mahmūd, on hearing of this defeat decided to attack Chāmpāner and started towards it with his army on December 4, 1482.

After defeating the Chāmpāner army Mahmūd captured the town and besieged Pāvāgarh, the famous hill-fortress above Chāmpāner, where the king had taken refuge. Mahmūd plundered the whole country and, refusing repeated offers of submission by Rāja Jayasiṁha, captured Pāvāgarh after a siege of twenty months (November, 1484). The women committed *jauhar* and most of the men fell fighting, but the unfortunate king of Chāmpāner and his minister were wounded and captured. According to Firishta, Mahmūd asked the wounded Rājā as to "what could induce him to hold out so long, before so large a force. The Rājā replied with undaunted firmness: 'I hold this territory by hereditary right, and being descended from a line of noble ancestors, have been taught to respect that name which they handed down to me I determined, therefore, not to act in a way so as to disgrace my family' Mahmūd, admiring this spirited and manly conduct, ordered every attention to be paid to the Rājā's wants and comforts." After the Rājā's wounds had healed, Mahmūd tried to persuade him and his minister to embrace Islām. But the noble warriors were steadfast in their refusal, preferring death to abjuring their faith. At the end of five months Mahmūd ordered them to be put to death Jayasimha's son accepted Islām, and in the next reign became the Amīr of Īdar receiving the title of Nīzām-ul-Mulk.

With the conquest of Chāmpāner, which Mahmūd renamed Muhammadābād, the kingdom of Gujarāt reached its extreme limits till the conquest of Mālwa It seems that after the conquest of Chāmpāner, Mahmūd received the sobriquet of *Begarha*, that is the conqueror of two forts, Girnār and Chāmpāner, on the opposite sides of his kingdom.

During the remaining twenty-five years of his reign (A.D 1485-1511), Mahmūd was engaged in several military operations. Of these one of the most important was directed against Bahādur Gīlānī, a noble of the Bahmanī empire, who seized the whole of Konkan and not only committed various acts of piracy off the Gujarāt coast for several years (1491-1494), but actually carried on depredations as far as Cambay and seized the island of Māhim Mahmūd first attempted to send an army against Gīlānī, which had to return without fulfilling its task, as it was found that in order to attack Gīlānī the Gujarāt army would have to invade the Deccan. Mahmūd, therefore, wrote to the Bahmanī king reminding him of the claims which Gujarāt had on the gratitude of his house and requesting Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī to suppress the rebel. The Bahmanī king in response to this sent an army against Gīlānī, but it was not till 1494

that Gīlānī was defeated and slain and full reparations were made to Gujarāt.

But very soon Gujarāt had to face a strong naval power namely, the Portuguese. By the discovery of the direct sea route they had been able to strike a blow against the lucrative trade which passed through Egypt and Red Sea to India. The port of Cambay was seriously affected, as the Portuguese were diverting the trade to Cochin where they had erected a fort in 1506. Thus the Portuguese incurred the hostility of all the Muslim powers on the Arabian Sea who now determined to oust them. So, after a protracted negotiation, an Egyptian fleet was equipped at Suez and sent to India under the command of Amīr Husain to join the Gujarāt navy under the Turkish admiral, Malik Ayāz.

The Portuguese admiral at this time in India was Francesco d' Almeida. He sent his gallant son, Don Lorenzo, in 1508 to explore the coast as far north as Gujarāt While Lorenzo was lying with a small squadron in the shelter of the harbour of Chaul near Bombay, news reached him that the Egyptian fleet had reached Diu and had been joined by Malik Ayāz. The combined fleet encountered Lorenzo in the harbour off Chaul in January 1508 After a fierce engagement the Portuguese were defeated and Lorenzo lost his life.

To avenge this defeat and his son's death, d' Almeida appeared the following year with a stronger force, and a decisive action was fought near the island of Diu in which the combined Muslim navy suffered a disastrous defeat. Mahmūd then attempted to restore peaceful relations with the Portuguese and sent an envoy for this purpose in September 1510. But presumably the Portuguese demanded some proof of Mahmūd's peaceful intentions, so when on November 25, 1510, the Portuguese captured Goa from the 'Ādil Shāhī Sultāns of Bījapur, Mahmūd forthwith ended his alliance with Egypt and granted permission to the commander of the Egyptian fleet to return He also released all the Portuguese prisoners captured at Chaul.

In 1510, an embassy arrived from Ibrāhīm Lodī to congratulate him on his success at Khāndesh, where Mahmūd had firmly established his suzerainty by a series of wars from 1500, as will be related later In 1511, a mission from Shāh Ismā'īl I Safavi of Persia came, but it is said that Mahmūd, who was a bigoted Sunnī, refused to receive the Persian ambassador He was, however, ill when the Persian mission arrived, and died shortly after on November 23, 1511.

Mahmūd is usually regarded as the greatest Sultān of Gujarāt. Ascending the throne at a very early age, he distinguished himself as much by his astute statesmanship as by his military skill. He was, however, a bigot like his predecessors and persecuted the Hindus. Though he gained great successes against unimportant and scattered Hindu chiefs, he signally failed against the Portuguese and did not realize the menace the latter were to be to his descendants.

Mahmūd presented a striking appearance with a flowing beard that reached his waist, and his moustache was so long that he tied it over his head, which, according to some authorities gave rise to the sobriquet *Begarha* To satisfy his proverbially voracious appetite, he used to eat daily between ten to fifteen *seers* of food and, at night, placed another two pounds of rice on either side of his bed so that he might find something to eat on whichever side he awoke from sleep. For breakfast he took a cup of honey, a cup of butter, and from 100 to 150 plantains.

6. *MUZAFFAR SHĀH II (A.D. 1511-26)*

Mahmūd was succeeded by his son Khalīl Khān who adopted the title of Muzaffar Shāh II. Soon after his accession, Muzaffar promised to interfere in the affairs of Mālwa to install on the throne the fugitive prince Sāhib Khān, the elder brother of the reigning Mālwa king Mahmūd II But soon Sāhib left Gujarāt as he was implicated in a scandal in which the Persian ambassador was involved, and his brother Mahmūd II appealed to Muzaffar for help against his domineering Hindu officers.

While Muzaffar was marching towards Mālwa, news reached him that Bhīmasiṁha of Īdar had raided the whole country east of the Sabarmatī river and had defeated a Gujarāt contingent. Muzaffar therefore marched against Īdar, defeated and drove Bhīmasiṁha to the hills and reached his capital. Later Bhīma purchased peace by paying a heavy indemnity. In A.D. 1515 Bhīmasiṁha died and was succeeded by his son Bharmal.[16] Bhīmasiṁha had usurped the throne of his nephew Raimal who now went to Rāṇā Sāṅgā of Mewār and appealed for help. Sāṅgā thereupon sent his army to Īdar and set up Raimal on the throne. Muzaffar then sent an army under Nizām-ul-Mulk which expelled Raimal and restored Bharmal but, while pursuing the defeated army in the hills, the Gujarāt army suffered a disastrous defeat. Soon after Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā attacked Īdar and restored Raimal.[17]

According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, next year Muzaffar sent an expedition against Rāwal Udayasiṁha of Vāgaḍa to chastise him for having helped Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā. The Gujarāt army, according to the same authority, won splendid victories in Dungārpur and Bānswara.

During this time the Hindus under Medinī Rāi had firmly taken the administration of Mālwa under their control, and Sultān Mahmūd II, unable to free himself from their dominance, secretly left Mālwa and arrived at Gujarāt. Muzaffar received him cordially and promised him help. Medinī Rāi went to Chitor to bring aid from Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā, but during his absence, the Gujarāt army under Muzaffar captured Māndū and restored Mahmūd on the throne.

According to the Muslim sources, Mahārāṇā Sāngā and Medinī Rāi, terror-struck at the news of the fall of Māndū, turned and fled. But according to the Rājput sources the Mahārāṇā, who had promised to march to the frontier of Mālwa and to see that no harm was done to Medinī Rāi, decided after the fall of Māndū that nothing further could be done and returned to Chitor with Medinī Rāi He, however, bestowed on Medinī Rāi, who later fought against Bābur, several *parganās* including Gāgron and Chanderī [18]

In A D. 1519, Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā inflicted a crushing defeat upon Mahmūd II of Mālwa and a Gujarāt contingent of 10,000 horse and took the former captive. On hearing this, Muzaffar sent reinforcements to Mālwa, but their service was not required, for the great Mahārāṇā had generously restored Mahmūd to the throne of Mālwa.

Mubāriz-ul-Mulk, who was sent by Muzaffar to relieve the Gujarāt army at Īdar, had once spoken very disparagingly of the Mahārānā which was reported to the latter It is said that to avenge this insult the Mahārāṇā marched on Īdar and occupied it, the Muslim army having fled to Ahmadnagar. The Rājput army then advanced upon Ahmadnagar, captured the city after a stiff fight, sacked it, and carried away its inhabitants as prisoners [19] The Mahārāṇā then proceeded further and captured Vadnagar, but the citizens being mostly Brahmins, that city was spared From there the Mahārāṇā led his army on to Visālnagar, defeated the garrison, and plundered the town, after which he returned to Mewār

To avenge this defeat, Muzaffar next year raised a huge army and sent it under Malik Ayāz to invade Mewār. Malik Ayāz, joined by the ungrateful Mahmūd II of Mālwa, besieged Mandasor. As this place was included within the domains of the Mahārāṇā, he also arrived with his army. Some time later the siege was raised and the Muslim armies retired to their respective capitals.

It has been held on the basis of Muslim sources that Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā "would not venture within twenty miles of the Muslim camp, and sent agents to Malik Ayāz offering to pay tribute to Muzaffar II if he would raise the siege, but his prayers were unheeded." Ultimately, according to the same authority, due to the apprehension on the part of Malik Ayāz, lest one of his lieutenants should gain the credit for victory, "he made peace with the Mahārāṇā on his promising to pay tribute, to place a son at Muzaffar's court as a hostage, to wait in person on the king, and to be obedient to his orders." But "Muzaffar was so deeply disappointed by this termination of a promising campaign that he would not see Malik Ayāz, and sent him straight back to Sorath."[20] The Rājput sources, on the other hand, claim that the joint Muslim army retreated out of fear.[21] As Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā was strong enough to face Bābur within about five years of this incident, the version of the Muslim historians seems to be fanciful. Moreover, the Rājput version explains adequately the disgrace of Malik Ayāz. It may also be noted, that Bahādur, the son of Muzaffar, took refuge in Chitor when he fled from Gujarāt

The rest of Muzaffar's reign was uneventful. In 1524 his second son Bahādur demanded equal allowance with his eldest brother Sikandar, the heir-designate. As this was not conceded Bahādur fled from Gujarāt and sought refuge at Chitor where he was hospitably received. Later he went to Delhi and was most probably present at the battle of Pānipat (A.D 1526).

Muzaffar died on April 5, 1526, and was succeeded by his eldest son Sikandar.

B KHĀNDESH

The principality of Khāndesh was established by one Malik Raja, the son of Khān Jahān Fārūqī, a nobleman who flourished in the time of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and Muhammad Tughluq. As Malik Raja claimed descent from Caliph 'Umar Fārūq, the dynasty is known as Fārūqī Malik Raja had in his youth attracted the notice of Fīrūz Tughluq during a chase where he was able to supply the hungry Sultān with some food. As a reward the grateful monarch conferred on Malik Raja the districts of Thālner and Kuronde situated on the borders of the Deccan [1]

Malik Raja took possession of Thālner in A.D. 1370 and soon after forced the Hindu king of Baglāna to pay an annual tribute to the Sultān of Delhi. Fīrūz Tughluq was so pleased with the young officer that he honoured him with the title of Sipah Sālār of Khāndesh and raised him to the rank of a commander of three

thousand horse. Within a few years the enterprising Sipah Sālār was able to muster twelve thousand horse and raise contributions from neighbouring Hindu kings.

After the death of Fīrūz Tughluq, Malik Raja seems to have declared his independence, and in order to strengthen his position, entered into a matrimonial alliance with Mālwa, his son Nasīr Khān being married to the daughter of Sultān Dilāvar Shāh of Mālwa. Soon after, Malik Raja, relying on the support of Dilāvar, invaded Gujarāt, but was forced to retreat and seek refuge in the fort of Thālner where he was closely besieged by Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt. Later, however, he was able to conclude peace with Muzaffar.

The rest of his life Malik Raja spent in developing his kingdom. He became a disciple of saint Zain-ud-dīn of Daulatābād from whom he received the "garb of desire and assent", which became an insignia of the chiefs of Khāndesh. Shortly before his death which took place in A D. 1399 he nominated his elder son Nasīr Khān as his successor and gave him the robe, but bestowed on his younger son, Iftikhār,[2] the fort and district of Thālner.

Nasīr Khān began his reign by treacherously capturing the strong fortress of Asīr from its Hindu chieftain, for which he was warmly congratulated by the saint Zain-ud-dīn who came up to the eastern bank of the Tāpti to see Nasīr. As the saint refused to cross the river, a city was built there called Zainābād, while on the western bank, where Nasīr was camped, was constructed the more famous city of Burhānpur, named after another saint, Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn.

In 1417, Nasīr was able to secure help from his brother-in-law, Sultān Hūshang of Mālwa, for an attack upon Thālner, his brother's domain Iftikhār remonstrated with his brother and then sought in vain the help of Ahmad Shāh of Gujarāt. Soon the fort of Thālner fell, and Nasīr imprisoned Iftikhār The combined Mālwa and Khāndesh army then invaded Gujarāt and invested the fort of Sultānpur This forced Sultān Ahmad of Gujarāt to take prompt action. He collected a considerable army and marched south, which forced the Mālwa general to flee with his contingent, and Nasīr to retire to the fort of Thālner. Soon Nasīr was reduced to such a state that he had to conclude peace, which was granted to him on his acknowledging the suzerainty of the Sultān of Gujarāt, who bestowed on him the title of Khān, the white canopy and scarlet pavillion. As the descendants of Nasīr always called themselves Khān, the country came to be known as Khāndesh (country of the Khāns).

A few years later Nasir formed a matrimonial alliance with Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī by marrying his daughter to latter's son 'Alā-ud-dīn. Thus when, in 1429, Kānhā (Kṛishṇa), the king of Jhālāwar, fled from Gujarāt, as mentioned above, and arrived at Asīr seeking help, Nasīr, afraid of Gujarāt's power, sent Kānhā with a letter to the Bahmanī king. Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī immediately took up Kānhā's cause and helped him with a small force which ravaged Nandurbār, but soon after was severely defeated by the Gujarāt army. To retrieve his honour, Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī sent a larger force under the command of his son 'Alā-ud-dīn who was joined by his father-in-law, Nasīr. The allied army then marched on to Gujarāt, but again suffered a defeat. The war between the Bahmanīs and Gujarāt continued for some time after this, but Nasīr took no further part in their quarrel.

In 1436, Nasīr received complaints from his daughter that she was being ill treated by her husband 'Alā-ud-dīn, now the Bahmanī king. Nasīr thereupon suspended all friendly relations with the Deccan kingdom, and next year attacked it at the instance of the king of Gujarāt. He first entered Berar, and exploiting the differences that existed amongst the Deccanī nobles, gained some notable successes and had the *khutba* read in his own name. But soon after he had to retire precipitately in face of a large Bahmanī army under Malik-ut-Tujjār. Nasīr was pursued to Burhānpur, which was sacked by the Deccan army, and ultimately had to take refuge in his frontier fortress, Laling, and appealed to Gujarāt and Mālwa for help. But Malik-ut-Tujjār, determined to attack him before any outside help could arrive, pushed on by forced marches and reached Laling with only about three thousand men. Nasīr, who had only about two thousand men with him, immediately attacked Malik-ut-Tujjār, but after a severe action was forced to retreat He died a few days later (A D 1437). In spite of this reverse, Nasīr Khān had been able to secure the position of his house and kingdom. He had wisely acknowledged the supremacy of Gujarāt which saved his successors on several occasions.

Nasīr was succeeded by his son Mīrān 'Ādil Khān who sought the aid of Gujarāt and Mālwa. Shortly after a Gujarāt army, arriving at Sultānpur, compelled Malik-ut-Tujjār to raise the siege of Laling and retire to Deccan After this, Mīrān 'Ādil Khān reigned for about three years and was most probably assassinated in A.D. 1441. He was succeeded by his son Mīrān Mubārak who reigned peacefully for sixteen years except for two campaigns against Baglāna mentioned below (p. 178) After his death in A D. 1457, his eldest son 'Ādil Khān II came to the throne, and under him Khāndesh attained greater prosperity than ever before.

to Mālwa an army under his grandson Ahmad Khān to restore Hūshang.

Ahmad easily overcame all opposition, and after occupying Dhār, then the capital of Mālwa, restored Hūshang on his throne and left for Gujarāt. Some rebels, however, still held out at Māndū under their leader Mūsā Khān. But the rebellion seems to have served its purpose with the return of Hūshang, and soon his cousin Malik Mughīs Khaljī came out of Māndū and joined him. This disheartened Mūsā Khān who shortly after surrendered. Hūshang then transferred the capital to Māndū and appointed Malik Mughīs as his prime minister.

In A.D. 1410-11 Sultān Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt died and was succeeded by his grandson Ahmad Shāh, who was faced with a rebellion of his uncle. Hūshang, as related above, sided with the rebels, but before he could join them, Ahmad had overawed his uncle with a show of force, and Hūshang returned to Mālwa without having accomplished anything.

As Nizām-ud-dīn says, "the sweats of shame and repentance had not yet dried up on the forehead of Hūshang, when he again attempted the same kind of nefarious deed," that is, invaded Gujarāt. Ahmad was away in an expedition against the Hindu king of Jhālāwar, but the news of Hūshang's invasion forced him to return immediately and Hūshang, receiving no help from the king of Jhālāwar, returned to his kingdom.

But soon after his return he was invited by a confederacy of Hindu kings of Chāmpāner, Nāndod, and Īdar to invade Gujarāt. The Hindu chieftains of Gujarāt, oppressed by the bigoted Ahmad, also promised help, particularly to lead him into Gujarāt secretly by an unfrequented road. The plan, however, miscarried; Ahmad came to learn of the invasion and took energetic measures to oppose Hūshang, who once more returned disappointed to Mālwa He again raided Gujarāt unsuccessfully in 1417 in alliance with his brother-in-law, Nasīr Khān of Khāndesh.

Hūshang appointed Mahmūd Khān, the son of Malik Mughīs Khaljī, as the partner of the latter in the administration of the government. This Mahmūd Khān, as we shall see later, supplanted Hūshang's dynasty.

In A D. 1421, Hūshang is said to have gone to Orissa, disguised as a horse-dealer with only a retinue of one thousand men. He actually brought some fine horses of a type which the king of Orissa, Bhānudeva IV, prized very highly. As Bhānudeva came to inspect the horses, Hūshang captured him and forced him to give him

seventy-five elephants. As a measure of further precaution, Hūshang held captive the king of Orissa till he reached the border of his country.

It was possibly during the return from this raid, that Hūshang was severely beaten by Allāḍa, the Reḍḍi king of Rajahmundry Allāḍa's court-poet Kommana declares in the *Śivavilāsam* that he (Allāḍa) defeated the Sultān of Dhārā in battle and caused his horses to be plundered.[3]

Taking advantage of Hūshang's absence, Ahmad Shāh of Gujarāt invaded Mālwa (A.D. 1422) and besieged Māndū. The rains, however, forced Ahmad to retire to Ujjain so that on his return Hūshang was able to slip into his capital. Ahmad reopened his siege, but finding that success was not possible, returned to Sārangpur. Hūshang also marched there, and for a period of about two and a half months the two armies faced each other without engaging in a general action. The advantage was with the Mālwa army, and at last Ahmad began his retreat on March 17, 1422, and reached Ahmadābād on the following May 15.

The same year Hūshang captured the town of Gāgraun[3a] whence he proceeded to Gwalior and besieged the fort On receipt of this news, Mubārak Shāh, the Sayyid king of Delhi, marched on Gwalior to relieve its Hindu chieftain, which forced Hūshang to raise the siege. According to Yahyā bin Ahmad, he was worsted in some desultory fighting near the Chambal and ultimately extricated himself out of a difficult situation by paying a tribute to Mubārak Shāh.[4]

In 1428, Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī attacked the Hindu king of Kherla,[4a] who appealed to Hūshang for help. Hūshang responded with alacrity, and Ahmad Shāh left Kherla on learning of the approach of Hūshang's army. But Hūshang, at the instance of the king of Kherla, pursued the retreating army for three days after which period the Bahmanī army turned round on him. In the action that followed, Hūshang suffered a disastrous defeat and barely managed to escape. His wife was taken prisoner, but later returned to him by Ahmad Shāh.

In 1431, Hūshang advanced to conquer Kālpī. But when he arrived near the place, news was brought to him that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī was also coming with large army to conquer Kālpī. Soon the two armies faced each other and a battle seemed imminent, when Ibrāhīm Shāh retired to Jaunpur on receipt of the news that Mubārak Shāh was marching on Jaunpur. Hūshang thereupon captured Kālpī without any opposition, and returned to his capital after appointing Qādir Khān as governor of the place.

On his way he came to learn from his officials that the Hindus who lived near the Jātba hill had raveged some towns and villages and had taken shelter near the reservoir of Bhīm. From the description left by Nizām-ud-dīn, it appears that this was the celebrated Bhojasāgara built by the Paramāra Emperor.[5] Hūshang broke the dam of this huge lake which flooded the whole locality, and this probably forced the people to surrender to him, though the king of Jātba managed to escape.

Shortly after Hūshang died (July 6, 1435) and was succeeded by his son Ghaznī Khān under the name of Muhammad Shāh. Though Ghaznī had been nominated as the heir-apparent by his father, a number of nobles espoused the cause of his younger brother 'Usmān Khān and Ghaznī owed his throne to the powerful support of Malik Mughīs, and the latter's son, Mahmūd Khān, into whose hands he left the administration. He, however, put to death his three brothers and blinded his nephew and son-in-law, Nizām Khān, and his three young sons. This barbarity alienated the nobles, and Muhammad Shāh made matters worse by his slothful habits aggravated by continuous drinking. As a result, Mahmūd Khān became very powerful and began to scheme for usurping the throne. This was disclosed to the Sultān by some of his friends, but he merely called Mahmūd to his harem, and there, in the presence of his wife, Mahmūd's sister, appealed to him to be faithful. Mahmūd swore fidelity, but shortly afterwards contrived to murder the Sultān by putting poison in his wine.

A faction of the nobles now raised the late king's son Mas'ūd Khān, a boy of thirteen, to the throne, but Mahmūd easily overcame them, and Mas'ūd with his brother fled to Gujarāt . Mahmūd then offered the throne to his father, Malik Mughīs, but as he declined the honour, Mahmūd proclaimed himself king on May 16, 1436[6] Thus the royal line of the Ghūrīs was replaced by that of the Khaljīs.

II. THE KHALJĪ DYNASTY

1. *MAHMŪD SHĀH (1436-69)*

Some time after Mahmūd's accession, an attempt was made on his life by some nobles instigated by Ahmad Khān, a son of Hūshang. Mahmūd pardoned the offenders and, on the advice of his father, granted them suitable fiefs. But they rebelled again, when Ahmad Khān was poisoned and other rebels defeated and punished In the meantime Sultān Ahmad of Gujarāt invaded Mālwa in order to restore to its throne the fugitive Mas'ūd. The campaign at first opened favourably for Sultān Ahmad, but gradually Mahmūd, aided

by his father, gained some success. Ultimately a pestilence broke out in the Gujarāt army, and Sultān Ahmad retired to his kingdom.

Mahmūd then turned to Chanderī where a rebel *amīr* was holding out. After a siege of eight months Chanderī was reduced, when news came that Dungar Sen, the chieftain of Gwalior, had besieged the city of Narwar [7] Mahmūd retaliated by invading and ravaging the territory of Gwalior and besieging that fortress. Dungar Sen was therefore, obliged to raise the siege of Narwar and return to his territory, while Mahmūd, his task accomplished, returned to Mālwa.

In 1440, Mahmūd was invited by several nobles of Delhi to come and supplant the weak Sayyid king Muhammad Shāh, and he advanced towards Delhi with a large army His precipitate retreat, after an indecisive engagement, has been mentioned above [7a] Several reasons have been advanced for this pusillanimous conduct of Mahmūd, but as Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta say, the retreat was most probably due to a rumour that Ahmad, the king of Gujarāt, was about to invade Mālwa

Shortly after this expedition, Mahmūd led an army against Chitor to chastise Mahārāṇā Kumbha for the support which he had extended to 'Umar Khān, the son of Muhammad Shāh Ghūrī Now, in the Ranapura temple inscription of Mahārāṇā Kumbha, dated V S 1496 (A D. 1440), it is claimed that he defeated the Mlechchha kings, and conquered, amongst others, the fort of Sārangapura, and that "his title as the Hindu Sultān was made known by the umbrella of royalty given (him) by the Sultān (s) protecting Gurjara and the territory of Dhilli" [8] The Muslim historians state that after advancing into Chitor and defeating the Mahārnā's troops in several engagements, Mahmūd sent an army under his father to reduce the territory in possession of the Rājputs near Mandasor which (Maṇḍora), according to the inscription cited above, along with Sarangapura, Nāgapura (Nāgaur), Gāgaraṇara (Gāgraun) etc. were conquered by the Mahārāṇā. It seems probable, therefore, that Kumbha, after entering into friendly relations with the Sultāns of Delhi and Gujarāt, invaded Mālwa and advanced up to Mandasor, possibly taking advantage of Mahmūd's absence in his Delhi expedition. On his return, Mahmūd adopted the same tactics that he had used against Dungar Sen, namely, advancing into the aggressor's territory to force him to retire from Mālwa. From the account left by the Muslim historians it appears that Mahmūd broke and desecrated Hindu temples, and erected mosques in their places He also took more heinous measures to outrage their sentiment.[9] It is, how-

ever, apparent that Mahmūd was obliged to return to Mālwa without gaining any success.

While Mahmūd was busy with the expedition against Mahārāṇā Kumbha, Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī of Jaunpur invaded Kālpī. The causes of this invasion and its results have been narrated in connection with the history of Jaunpur.

Shortly afterwards (A.D. 1444), Mahmūd again invaded the Mahārāṇā's dominion, this time with the object of capturing the fort of Mandalgarh. He was again unsuccessful and, after fighting an indecisive battle, had to retire

In 1450, Gangādās, the Rājā of Chāmpāner, sought Mahmūd's help, in exchange of a monetary present, against Sultān Muhammad of Gujarāt who was besieging Chāmpāner. Mahmūd came to Gaṅgādās's help, but had to retire without gaining success Next year he again invaded Gujarāt and, after reaching Broach, was marching towards the capital, when he suffered a crushing defeat and had to fall back, leaving his baggage and eighty-one elephants behind him. Later, he sent his son Ghiyās-ud-dīn to raid Surat.

Three years later (A.D. 1453), Mahmūd again resolved to conquer Rājputāna. Before setting on the expedition, however, he entered into a treaty with Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn of Gujarāt It was settled that the Gujarāt army should plunder and ravage such part of Kumbha's dominions as were contiguous to Gujarāt, and Mahmūd Shāh should take possession of the country of Mewār and Ajmer and all the neighbouring countries; and whenever necessary, either of the parties should not refuse to aid and help the other [10]

Mahmūd first invaded Hārāvatī, modern Būndī, which at this time was a part of Kumbha's kingdom [11] After subjugating Hārāvatī, Mahmūd was incited to attack the Bahmanī king by some disgruntled Deccanī nobles, but as he laid siege to the fort of Māhūr, he found himself opposed by a superior army and beat a hasty retreat.

Soon after his return from the Deccan campaign Mahmūd was approached by his vassal Rājā of Baglāna for help against Mubārak of Khāndesh, who had invaded Baglāna Mahmūd sent an army to help the Rājā, and Mubārak fled away after suffering a heavy defeat Mubārak attacked Baglāna again next year, but again a Mālwa army came to the rescue of the Rājā, and Mubārak went back to his country without risking a battle

After this Mahmūd advanced against Chitor. According to the Muslim historians, Mahārāṇā Kumbha attempted to propitiate him by an indemnity, but as the coins bore the effigy of the Mahā-

rāṇā, Mahmūd refused to accept it, set about to ravage the country, and sent an army to waste the district of Mandasor. The course of this campaign is described in great detail by the Muslim historians, but it is apparent from their accounts that Mahmūd failed to conquer any part of the Mahārāṇā's territory except Ajmer. As noted elsewhere, (p. 162) a verse from the Chitor Kīrtistambha inscription claims that Mahārāṇā Kumbha defeated the kings of Gujarāt and Mālwa. On this Sir Wolseley Haig remarks: "The more famous column of victory at Chitor is said to commemorate victories over Mahmūd of Gujarāt and Mahmūd of Mālwa. If this is so it, 'like some tall bully lifts its head and lies'."[12] It is therefore necessary to quote Nizām-ud-dīn's version of the battle that took place as Mahmūd, after conquering Ajmer, turned towards Mandalgarh: "Konbha also sent out his army from the fort dividing it into three detachments The division, which confronted Tāj Khān, and that which was opposed to 'Alī Khan, fought with arrows and lances and there was a great battle; and a large number of Mahmūd Shāh's troops were slain, while an innumerable host of Rājputs became food for the sword .. (At sunset) the two parties took up their quarters in their respective stations. In the morning the *amīrs* and *vazīrs* collected in the royal pavilion, and submitted that as during that year the troops had been fighting repeated campaigns and the rainy season was near, it would be fitting and proper, if he would rest and repose for a few days in the capital city of Shādiābād, in order to repair the damage and injury to the army, and make after the rains, with a fully equipped army, a king-like attempt to capture the fort Sultān Mahmūd returned and rested for some days."[13]

This undoubtedly shows that Mahmūd was worsted in the fight and was glad to retire on any pretext, and this was probably the occasion, as Col. Briggs pointed out, of the erection of the Kīrtistambha Mahmūd again invaded Mahārāṇā Kumbha's territory, in 1456 and 1458, but though he was able to break a number of temples, he failed to gain any success.

In September 1461 Mahmūd invaded the Bahmanī kingdom at the instigation of Malik Nizām-ul-mulk Ghūrī[14] On his way he made an attempt to conquer the fort of Asīr but ultimately finding the task to be impossible, accepted the token submission of 'Ādil Khān of Khāndesh He then proceeded further and was soon confronted by the Bahmanī army under the nominal command of the boy king Nizām Shāh In the battle that followed, the Bahmanī army broke through the left wing of Mahmūd's army and started to plunder the Mālwa camp Suddenly Mahmūd, who was waiting with twelve thousand horsemen for such an opportunity, attacked the Bahmanī soldiers

from their rear, and completely defeated them. The boy king Nizām Shāh was removed in haste to join his mother Malika-i-Jahān at Bīdar, from where they shifted to Fīrūzābād, while Mahmūd besieged the former city. In this predicament Malika-i-Jahān appealled to Mahmūd Begarha of Gujarāt for help. Mahmūd Begarha soon arrived with an army of 80,000 horse, and Mahmūd Gāvān, the famous Bahmanī minister, marched out by way of Bir and received reinforcement from Mahmūd Begarha Mahmūd (of Mālwa) found his line of retreat entirely cut off and was forced to flee through eastern Berar, followed by Mahmūd Gāvān Soon Mahmūd's flight became a rout and abandoning all his heavy baggage and elephants, which he blinded, he entered the Gond territory where many of his soldiers died of thirst and many were killed by marauders.

A year after this disastrous defeat, Mahmūd again set out to invade the Bahmanī kingdom, which was during this period repeatedly attacked by the king of Orissa. Mahmūd seems to have entered into an alliance with the latter, for on his way to the Deccan he received 530 elephants from the Orissa king. As he had lost his elephants in the previous campaign, this present must have been very welcome to him He also received at this time from Mustanjad Billāh Yūsuf, the Caliph, a robe of honour and a mandate conferring on him imperial dignity The Caliphs during this period were nonentities, still the Muslim potentates of India attached great value to these recognitions.

When Mahmūd reached near Daulatābād, he heard that Mahmūd Begarha was advancing against him Mahmūd therefore returned to Mālwa after ravaging a few places on his way.

Four years later (A D 1466) Mahmūd sent a marauding expedition under an officer to ravage Ellichpur This expedition was successful and next year the Bahmanī king concluded a treaty of peace, ceding Berar, as far as Ellichpur to Mālwa while, Mahmūd on his part promised to respect the new frontier The disputed territory of Kherla (Mahmūdābād) was left to Mālwa [15] Later, the governor of Kherla and the local Hindu chief rebelled but were crushed by Mahmūd. Another rebellion broke out in A.D 1468-9 (A.H. 873) in Kachwārah (Khajuraho?), but was put down, after which Mahmūd built a fortress in the country

Later in the same year (A.H 873) Buhlūl Lodī sent Shaikhzāda Muhammad Farmalī and Kapūr Chānd, the son of the Rājā of Gwalior, as ambassadors to Mahmūd [16] Soon after, Mahmūd started from Fathābād, where he had received the Delhi embassy, for his capital. He died on the way in May, 1469.[17]

Mahmūd was the most powerful Sultān of Mālwa, and though many of his campaigns ended in failure, he was able to increase his kingdom, which reached its greatest extent during his reign In spite, however, of his almost continuous campaigns, he seems to have left behind a stable government which withstood even the vagaries of his successor. He was a great builder and erected a column to commemorate his victory over Mahārāṇā Kumbha. Mahmūd was a pious Musulmān, and introduced the lunar calendar in Mālwa. But he was a bigot and not only loved to destroy the images and temples of the Hindus, but also outraged their religious sentiments in all possible ways

2 *GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN (A.D 1469-1500)*

Mahmūd was succeeded by his eldest son Ghiyās-ud-dīn, who on his accession declared it to be his firm policy to remain at peace with his neighbours and enjoy the pleasures of life. So faithfully did he adhere to this policy that when Buhlūl Lodī raided Pālampur, he was with great difficulty recalled to a sense of duty by his ministers, and even then sent an army under some officers instead of taking the field himself. He was a bigot like his father, but in some respects even surpassed him. Chāmpāner, attacked by Mahmūd Begarha, turned to Mālwa for help, but he refused on the ground that it was unlawful for a Musulmān to help an infidel against Musulmāns Thus he changed the traditional policy of the Sultāns of Mālwa and allowed the strong fort of Chāmpāner to be annexed to Gujarāt

In spite, however, of his declared policy of peace there are reasons to believe that he attacked Chitor twice and was twice defeated, as has been related in connection with the history of Mewār.[16]

Ghiyās-ud-dīn, at the beginning of his reign, entrusted the management of the State to his son Nasīr-ud-dīn, and devoted all his time to the management of his harem, where he had collected more than 16,000 women He was however of a deeply religious temperament, and, being gullible, fell a prey to tricksters A man, who brought him the hoof of an ass and claimed that Jesus Christ rode the same animal when he entered Jerusalem, received 50,000 *tankas* for the hoof Three other persons sold for the same amount three more hoofs of a similar kind with the same story Then a fifth man came to him with another hoof and the same story, and the Sultān paid him 50,000 *tankas* for it Thereupon one of the royal attendants remarked that perhaps the ass of Jesus had five legs, to which the Sultān replied that perhaps the

last vendor of the hoof was telling the truth, while one of the others may have been wrong.

As may be expected, the last days of Ghiyās-ud-dīn was embittered by a struggle for the throne between his two sons, Nasīr-ud-dīn and 'Alā-ud-dīn, in which his favourite queen Khurshīd espoused the cause of the latter. Nasīr-ud-dīn, however, emerged victorious, and ascended the throne on October 22, 1500. 'Alā-ud-dīn was executed and Khurshīd committed to prison, but Ghiyās-ud-dīn, then sinking to his grave, was left unmolested Soon after Ghiyās-ud-dīn died (February 28, 1501) which gave rise to a rumour that he had been poisoned by his son

3 *NASĪR-UD-DĪN (A.D 1500-1511)*

The beginning of Nasīr's reign was troubled by the rebellion of some of his nobles, who refused to acknowledge him as king. Nasīr, however, was able to suppress the rebellions and, in A D. 1503, headed a marauding expedition against Chitor According to the Muslim historians he was bought off by Mahārānā Raimal, but according to the Rājput chronicles, the Mālwa army, which came to aid two Rājput traitors, suffered a disastrous defeat

Nasīr-ud-dīn was a cruel man by nature, and this trait was aggravated by his intemperate habits This disgusted his nobles, some of whom instigated his son Shihāb-ud-dīn to rebel Nasīr-ud-dīn, however, crushed the rebel forces and Shihāb-ud-dīn fled to Chanderī. Though Nasīr--ud-dīn forebore from taking extreme steps against his son who disregarded his call to sumbit to him, he nominated his younger son, A'zam Humāyūn, as his heir, and bestowed on him the title of Mahmūd Shāh A few days later Nasīr-ud-dīn died and immediately Mahmūd Shāh II ascended the throne (May, 2, 1511). On hearing of his father's death, Shihāb-ud-dīn made a bid for the throne, but was defeated and took shelter in the fortress of Asīr.

4. *MAHMŪD SHĀH II (A.D 1511-1531)*

The main interest in the history of Mālwa during the reign of Mahmūd II, is the clash between the Hindu and the Muslim nobles As we shall see, the Hindus had become very powerful in Mālwa, and Mahmūd ultimately lost his throne by antagonizing them

It appears that the Hindus had been occupying high offices, at least in the revenue department, since the reign of Ghiyās-ud-dīn During the reign of Nasīr-ud-dīn one Basanta Rāi became the *wazīr*, and was confirmed in his post by Mahmūd According to

Firishta, the Muslim *amīrs* became hostile to him lest he should become too powerful, while Nizām-ud-dīn relates that he failed to maintain cordial relations with the army, and by his bad manner and haughty temperament alienated the *amīrs* and the *sardārs*. Therefore they one day murdered Basanta Rāi and the Naqd-ul-Mulk, who also was a Hindu, fled into the Sultān's harem for protection. The *amīrs* then wrote to Mahmūd justifying their conduct and demanded that the Naqd-ul-Mulk be surrenderd to them. Mahmūd acceded to this request, and the *amīrs* expelled the Naqd-ul-Mulk.

Mahmūd then placed the government in the hands of Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtass Khān, who were the leaders of the conspiracy to murder Basanta Rāi Soon, however, another noble, named Muhāfiz Khān, poisoned the Sultān's mind against Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtass Khān, and matters came to such a pass that they fled and sent for Shihāb-ud-dīn. He eagerly started from Asīr to contest the throne once more, but died on the way (July 29, 1511).

Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtass Khān then sent the body of Shihāb-ud-dīn to Mahmūd for burial, and raised the former's son (or adopted son) as a pretender under the title of Hūshang Shāh.

Mahmūd performed dutifully the last rites of his brother, but sent an army against Hūshang which forced him to flee. In the meantime, Muhāfiz Khān, whom Mahmūd had appointed *wazīr*, had grown too powerful, and the rebels Iqbāl Khān and Mukhtass Khān appealed to Mahmūd repenting for their past misdeeds and complaining against Muhāfiz Khān One day Muhāfiz insolently proposed that Mahmūd's eldest brother Sāhib Khān should be put to death, and Mahmūd, in anger, struck the *wazīr* with the scabbard of his sword The latter, making good his escape, raised a force and, releasing Sāhib Khān from his prison, proclaimed him king. Showing great personal bravery Mahmūd escaped from his capital to Ujjain to find that most of his nobles had deserted him. He, therefore, turned for help to a Hindu officer, Medinī Rāi, who was apparently a man of outstanding ability with a large following. In the battle that ultimately took place, Medinī Rāi and his Rājputs routed Sāhib Khān's army and the latter escaped first to Gujarāt, and then to Kāwīl, in the Deccan

Medinī Rāi now became the most powerful man in Mālwa and induced the king to execute Afzal Khān and Iqbāl Khān This led some Muslim officers to rebel, and recalling Sāhib Khān to contest the throne once more, they appealed to Sikandar Lodī for help against a Sultān who had placed the government in the hands of the Hindus Sikandar Lodī sent a contingent to help the rebellion, which at one time showed good prospects of success. The situation

for Mahmūd was worsened by an invasion of Mālwa by Muzaffar II of Gujarāt, who was, however recalled to his own country by domestic disturbances. The details of these difficult times are given both by Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta from which it becomes apparent that it was the steadfast support which Mahmūd received from Medinī Rāi and his Hindu followers that enabled him to retain his throne and eventually recover his kingdom.

Later, however, at the instance of Medinī Rāi he punished many nobles, and as Nizām-ud-dīn puts it, "gradually things came to such a pass, that the disposition of Mahmūd Shāh turned from all the *amīrs*, and in fact from all Musalmāns " This alienated the Muslims from Mahmūd, and the Muslim nobles began to leave Mālwa. Medinī Rāi on his part filled most of the offices with his nominees, who were all Hindus, and some of them adopted Muslim mistresses, which gave the Muslims great offence.

Mahmūd felt restive under the power of Medinī Rāi, and one day politely dismissed him Medinī Rāi's followers first sent a message to the Sultān asking what fault they had committed They then met and proposed that Medinī Rāi's son should be raised to the throne of Mālwa. To this Medinī Rāi objected and said. "At the present moment, the Sultanate of Mālwa is in reality in our possession. If, however, Mahmūd Shāh does not remain as a buffer, Sultān Muzaffar Gujarātī will come galloping along and seize the kingdom Therefore, we should, in every way that may be possible, endeavour to please our master".

Medinī Rāi went to the Sultān, and begged to be forgiven, and the Sultān directed that the former should reinstate the Muslim officials, forbid his men to interfere in state affairs, and ask them to return the Musulmān women Medinī Rāi agreed to all the conditions, but Sālivāhana, the *wazīr* refused to obey the orders of the Sultān in respect of his mistress Mahmūd, therefore, conspired with his personal attendants, who were all Muslims, and the next day as Medinī Rāi and Sālivāhana stepped out of the palace they were attacked by the royal guards Sālivāhana was killed on the spot, but Medinī Rāi, though wounded, managed to reach home The infuriated followers of Medinī Rāi now attacked the Sultān who resisted them with great bravery and repulsed them

As soon as Medinī Rāi came to learn of this he stopped his followers, and sent dutiful submission to the king, to which the latter also sent a gracious reply So when Medinī Rāi's wounds healed up, he began to attend the court regularly as before and pay his respects to the Sultān daily But it appears that Mahmūd had not been able to check the hegemony of the Hindus, and finding his posi-

tion unbearable, he one day escaped to Gujarāt, accompanied by his favourite queen and a single servant (A.D. 1517).

Mahmūd was cordially received by Muzaffar and soon a Gujarāt army, led by the two kings, invaded Mālwa and besieged Māndū. Medinī Rāi and his broher, Sīlhādi, went to Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā to gain his help, leaving the affairs of Mālwa in the hands of Medinī Rāi's son, Rāi Pithorā, that is Pṛithvīrāja Pṛithvīrāja defended the fort of Māndū as long as possible, but ultimately it fell to the invaders before Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā could arrive, and a large number of Hindus were massacred. Muzaffar then restored Mahmūd to his throne and returned to Gujarāt, leaving a contingent of Gujarāt cavalry to help Mahmūd.

Though Mahmūd had thus recovered his capital, most of the strong points and forts such as Chanderī, Kawun, Bhīlsa, Raisen and Sārangpur were in the hands of Medinī Rāi's followers Mahmūd therefore besieged the fort of Gāgraun which was held by one Hemakarana, on behalf of Medinī Rāi

While this siege was in progress, Medinī Rāi advanced into Mālwa with the army led by Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā, and Mahmūd, on hearing the news, hastily raised the siege and advanced towards the Rājput army As Mahmūd's army was resting after a day's march, the Mahārāṇā, without giving his troops any rest, suddenly attacked and routed the Mālwa army. Mahmūd fell wounded and was taken a prisoner

According to Rājput chronicles, Mahmūd was taken to Chitor, and was kept in honourable captivity for a period of several months Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta, however, relate that Mahmūd was released after he regained his health, and then the Mahārāṇā returned to Chitor But all the historians have praised highly this generous conduct of the great Mahārāṇā Nizām-ud-dīn says: "No act similar to this wonderful one is known up to the present day."

Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā has been adversely criticized for what has been called his misplaced generosity But it should be remembered that he annexed a part of Mālwa, and Silhādī, a Hindu chief, became the independent ruler of the territory extending from Sārangpur to Bhīlsa and Raisen A Muslim noble, called Sikandar Khān, took possession of the territory near Satwās. Thus Mahmūd was left practically powerless with a very small territory.

However, Mahmūd tried to regain his lost position and managed to conquer Sārangpur from Silhādī. He sent a marauding expedition to Chitor, and in retaliation Mahārāṇā Ratansiṁha advanced up to Ujjain. Fortunately for Mahmūd, Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt

had come near the Mālwa frontier with his army to put down some local disturbance, and he induced the Mahārāṇā to return.

Mahmūd offended Bahādur Shāh, the successor of Muzaffar II of Gujarāt, by granting asylum to Bahādur's rival to the throne, Chānd Khān, whose agents approached Bābur to invade Gujarāt. Sultān Bahādur therefore determined to chastise Mahmūd. Alarmed at this invasion Mahmūd called Silhādī and Mu'īn Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, to his aid, and bestowed several *parganas* on the former and the title of Masnad 'Alī and other honours on the latter But they deserted Mahmūd and joined Bahādur

Mahmūd then sent ambassadors to win over Bahādur, who wanted Mahmūd to come and meet him This, however, Mahmūd steadfastly refused to do under various pretexts Bahādur therefore continued his advance and Mahmūd shut himself up in the fort of Māndū, determined, with a pathetic eagerness, to enjoy the last days of his life.

The fort fell to Bahādur on May 25, 1531,[10] and Mahmūd was induced by his nobles to submit to Bahādur Bahādur received him affably, but took serious offence at the harsh language used by Mahmūd. Three days later, on a Friday, public prayers in Māndū were read in Bahādur's name and next day Mahmūd and his sons were put in chains and sent under an escort to be confined in Chāmpāner. On the way the escort was attacked one night by some Bhīls and Kolis, and Mahmūd, roused by the tumult, broke his chains, but was overpowered by his guards who killed him lest he should escape.

Bahādur's main act after annexing Mālwa was to crush Silhādī, who had refused to part away with his Muslim mistress Silhādī's fort, Raisen, fell after a gallant fight, and his son and followers took shelter at Chitor. Bahādur then appointed Muslim nobles to various offices and returned to Gujarāt For the duration of Bahādur's reign Mālwa remained a province of Gujarāt.

D JAUNPUR

The modern city of Jaunpur on the river Gumti, thirty-four miles north-west of Banāras, was founded by Fīrūz Shāh and remained the headquarters of the provincial government till 1394 According to Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, the contemporary historian, Fīrūz Shāh halted at Zafarābād in 1359 on his way to Bengal and impressed by the site of the present city where the road crossed the river, decided to build a town there to be called Jaunpur, after the name of his cousin Sultān Muhmmad whose real name was Jauna [1]

Cunningham was of the opinion that there was an older Hindu city called Jamanpur on the Gumti, and Fīrūz Shāh utilized the materials from the buildings of this older town to lay the foundation of his new city. The Hindus of Jaunpur still call their city 'Jamanpur', and believe that the name is derived from the Sage Jamadagni.

The founder of the Sultanate of Jaunpur was Malik Sarvar who is said to have begun his career as a slave of Sultān Muhammad (son of Fīrūz Tughluq). But he rose steadily till he became the *wazīr* in A.D. 1389 with the title of Khvāja Jahān Sultān Mahmūd, the last Tughluq king, conferred on him the title of Malik-ush-Sharq (chief of the east) and appointed him governor of the eastern provinces of the empire

The object in appointing the *wazīr* as a governor was to suppress the Hindu rebellions which had thrown the government of this part of the country into confusion. Malik Sarvar left Delhi for Jaunpur in A D 1394 and suppressed the rebels at Etāwa, Koīl and Kanauj He then recovered from the rebels Awadh, Kanauj, Sandila, Dalmau, Bahraich, and Bihār, and repaired the forts which they had destroyed Thus he consolidated his position, establishing his hold over a vast territory comprising Awadh, and the Gangetic valley from Koīl in the west to Bihār in the east. The ruler of Bengal is said to have sent him tributes, which had been withheld from the weak government of Delhi

Malik Sarvar was for all practical purposes an independent king, though he abstained from assuming the parapharnelia of sovereignty. During the invasion of Tīmūr he did not send any help to Delhi He died in A D 1399 in the plentitude of his power, leaving behind a kingdom which stretched from Koīl in the west to Tirhut and Bihār in the east

Malik Sarvar, a eunuch, probably of Negro blood, was succeeded by his adopted son who assumed the title of Sultān Mubārak Shāh. His original name Qaranfūl (clove) seems to indicate that he was an African slave Mubārak issued coins and had the *khutba* read in his name This provoked an attack on Jaunpur by Mallū Iqbāl Khān, the powerful minister of Sultān Mahmūd Tughluq (A D. 1400) The two armies encamped on the two banks of the Gangā, but after a period of inactivity, the scarcity of provisions forced them to come to an understanding and the two armies returned to their respective capitals Shortly after, Mubārak Shāh died (A.D. 1402), and the *amīrs* raised his brother Ibrāhīm to the throne, under the title of Shams-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm

Soon after his accession Ibrāhīm Shāh was faced with an invasion by Mallū Iqbāl and Mahmūd Tughluq. The two belligerents stood confronting each other on the opposite banks of the Gangā. Then, as has been related above,[2] Sultān Mahmūd, unable to bear the tutelage of Iqbāl, escaped to Ibrāhīm Shāh's camp, and being coldly received there, fled to Kanauj which he occupied. Iqbāl left for Delhi without fighting with Ibrāhīm Shāh, who returned to Jaunpur.

However, when after the death of Iqbāl, Sultān Mahmūd returned to Delhi (A.D 1405), Ibrāhīm Shāh, after an initial failure re-annexed Kanauj after a siege of four months (A.D. 1407). He was then joined by several other nobles and made a bid for the conquest of Delhi Capturing Sambhal on his way, Ibrāhīm arrived near Delhi when news reached him that Sultān Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt was sending an army to relieve Sultān Mahmūd. Ibrāhīm thereupon returned to Jaunpur and spent the next fourteen years there patronizing art and literature During this period, he once resolved to invade Bengal from where complaints of the persecution of the Muslims by the Hindu Rājā Gaṇeśa reached him. According to some accounts Gaṇeśa had his son converted to Islām and Ibrāhīm was pacified, while according to other accounts Ibrāhīm was defeated[3]

In A D. 1427, Ibrāhīm attacked Bayāna in an attempt to restore it to Muhammad Khān Auladī He was opposed by Mubārak Shāh, the Sayyid king of Delhi, but after an indecisive battle the two armies retired in good order (A.D. 1428) In A.D 1431, Ibrāhīm attempted to conquer Kālpī but was opposed by Sultān Hūshang Ghūrī of Mālwa who also had the same objective.[4] Before any action took place, news came that Mubārak Shāh, the Sayyid king of Delhi, was advancing towards Jaunpur. Thereupon Ibrāhīm returned, and Kālpī fell into the hands of Hūshang Ghūrī. Nine years later Ibrāhīm died (A.D 1440)[5]

During Ibrāhīm Shāh's long reign of about forty years Jaunpur attained to the height of fame and prosperity It also became a notable centre of learning, and books like the the *Hāshiah-i-Hindī*, the *Bahr-ul-Mawwāj*, the *Fatwā-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī*, and the *Irshād* were written by renowned scholars including Qāzī Shihāb-ud-dīn, the great favourite of Sultān Ibrāhīm His reign was also memorable for the architectural splendour of Jaunpur to which reference will be made later

Ibrāhīm Shāh was succeeded by his eldest son Mahmūd Shāh. It is related that Mahmūd Shāh set about invading Bengal where-

upon the king of Bengal appealed to Shāh Rukh the king of Irān, through the Rājā of Siālkot. Shāh Rukh ordered Mahmūd Shāh to desist Mahmūd Shāh obeyed the order of Shāh Rukh, and instead of proceeding towards Bengal advanced towards Kālpī.

Sultān Hūshang of Mālwa who, as noted above, had captured the district of Kālpī, appointed one Qādir Khān as its governor. After Hūshang's death, Qādir became more or less independent of Mālwa. He was succeeded by his son Nasīr, and Sultān Mahmūd complained about Nasīr's outrageous conduct to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa. The charge against Nasīr was "that he had destroyed the town of Shāhpur which was larger and more populous than Kālpī, had banished Musalmāns from their homes and had made over Musalmān women to *Kāfirs*". The basis for the last charge seems to be that the Muslim girls were handed over to the Hindus in order that they might be taught dancing Nasīr probably adopted harsh measures against the Muslims of Shāhpur as a punishment for some misdeeds, such as rebellion. The charges, however, were so grave, that Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī, who was then occupied elsewhere, gave Sultān Mahmūd permission to chastise Nasīr, and the Sultān of Jaunpur thereupon invaded Kālpī. Later, however, Nasīr obtained the protection of Mahmūd Khaljī, who proposed to the Sultān of Jaunpur that as Nasīr had expressed his contrition he should be left in possession of Rath in the Kālpī district As Mahmūd of Jaunpur rejected this proposal, Mahmūd Khaljī marched against him (November, 1444) and fought an indecisive action near Irij. Eventually, through the mediation of a Muslim saint, peace was restored between Janupur and Mālwa by the immediate cession of Rath or Rohut to Nasīr and a promise to restore Kālpī after four months within which period Mahmūd Khaljī was to retire to Māndū By the end of the year the two Mahmūds returned to their respective capitals and Kālpī was restored to Nasīr

After this Mahmūd suppressed a rebellion in Chunār and is said to have led a successful raid into Orissa [6] In 1452, he advanced against Delhi, in response to an invitation by some recalcitrant nobles, to remove Buhlūl Lodī, the Afghān, from the throne. The course of this war in which the Jaunpur army suffered defeat has already been narrated [7] Hostilities with Delhi again broke out when Buhlūl Lodī forced the Rājā of Etāwa to submission. As Mahmūd claimed the allegiance of Etāwa, he invaded the district to contest Buhlūl's claim After some desultory fighting, however, they came to terms, and a peace was concluded according to which the boundary between the two states was to remain as it had been during the reign of Mubārak Shāh, and Buhlūl was to be permitted to conquer

Shamsābād from its governor who owed nominal allegiance to Jaunpur.

But after Buhlūl conquered Shamsābād and conferred it upon one Rājā Karan, Mahmūd marched against Buhlūl. As the Jaunpur army approached Shamsābad, it was attacked by an advance guard of Buhlūl under Qutb Khān Lodī. The attack failed and Qutb Khān was taken prisoner and sent to Jaunpur But before any decisive action could take place, Mahmūd died in A D 1457 and was succeeded by his son Bhīkan, who assumed the title of Muhammad Shāh.

Muhammad Shāh acknowledged Buhlūl's right to retain Shamsābād and peace was restored. But as Buhlūl was returning to Delhi he was reproached by his wife for leaving Qutb Khān, her brother, a prisoner of Jaunpur. Buhlūl thereupon turned back, and Muhammad also marched on Shamsābād, expelled Buhlūl's nominee Rājā Karan, and restored the fief to its former Sharqī governor. His success attracted to his standard some powerful adherents, and Muhammad reached the river Saraswatī where some desultory fighting took place But before any decisive action took place, dissensions broke out in the Jaunpur camp.

Muhmmad Shāh was apprehensive lest one of his four brothers—Hasan, Husain, Jalāl and Ibrāhīm—should be raised to the throne by the nobles The prisoner Qutb Khān Lodī was also a source of danger, as his sister was prompting her husband Buhlūl Lodī to attack Jaunpur and rescue her brother. Muhammad Shāh therefore sent an order to one of his officers at Jaunpur to execute his brother Hasan and Qutb Khān Lodī. This order could not be carried out as Muhammad's mother was keeping a strict watch on her son and Qutb Khān Lodī.

Muhammad, therefore, requested his mother to join him in his camp on a specious plea and as soon as the dowager Queen left Jaunpur, Prince Hasan was executed On hearing this, Muhammad's two other brothers, Husain Khān and Jalāl Khān, who were in the camp, decided to revolt. Husain, seceding from the main army with 30,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants, joined his mother at Kanauj, and was there proclaimed king under the title of Husain Shāh

There were further defections in Muhammad's army which forced him to retire, pursued by Buhlūl up to Kanauj. From Kanauj Buhlūl returned to Delhi, and Muhammad now found himself opposed by his brother Husain's army Most of his officers deserted him and he was killed in the action that followed

A four years' truce was concluded in A D. 1458 between Buhlūl and Husain, and Qutb was freed from captivity in exchange of Husain's brother, Jalāl Khān, who had been taken prisoner by Buhlūl's soliders in a skirmish shortly after Husain's departure.

Husain then collected a large army and proceeded towards Orissa by way of Tirhut. He overran Tirhut and it is stated by the Muslim historians that the Rāi of Orissa, frightened at his approach, hastened to secure peace by presenting thirty elephants and one hundred horses, besides other valuable materials Husain accepted the presents and returned to Jaunpur

The king of Orissa during this raid was either Kapilendra (A.D. 1435-1467) or his son Purushottama (A D 1467-1497) Kapilendra was a very powerful king and it seems unlikely tha Husain could induce him to submit But the early part of Purushottama's reign was troubled, as has been related elsewhere, and it is not unlikely that he should have purchased peace by surrendering some of his elephants and horses [8]

Husain then repaired the fort of Banāras and in the following year sent an army to besiege the fort of Gwalior He failed to capture the fort and had to return satisfied with a tribute

According to the Muslim chronicles, Jaunpur at this time possessed probably the biggest army in India, in any case it was far superior, at least in number, to the army of Buhlūl Lodi The four years' truce with Delhi, concluded in A.D 1458, had long ago expired, and Husain was constantly urged by his wife Malika-i-Jahān, daughter of 'Alam Shāh, the last Sayyid King of Delhi; to conquer it from Buhlūl Husain therefore began to make preparations for the invasion of Delhi.

When Buhlūl realized that he might not be able to withstand a powerful Sharqī attack led by Husain, he turned for help to Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa and sent him two successive deputations in 1469. Mushtāqī, Nizām-ud-dīn, Firishta and some other writers refer only to one deputation, but the contemporary biographer of the Sultān of Mālwa has given a detailed account of two separate missions sent by Buhlūl The first, consisting of Shaikhzāda Muhammad Farmalī and Rāizāda Kapūr Chānd, son of Rāi Kirāt Singh of Gwalior, waited on Mahmūd on February 21, 1469, and solicited his help against Husain's aggression Mahmūd was willing to accede to their request but he expected a price for this help In the meantime, Buhlūl appears to have received alarming reports of Husain's designs as he soon after sent another deputation which included Qutb Khān Lodī and Rāi Kirāt Singh which met Mahmūd

on April 3, 1469. They were authorized to offer the cession of Bayāna and a yearly levy of 6,000 men if Mahmūd came personally with his armies to help Buhlūl. The Khaljī Sultān accepted the arrangement but he could not act up to it as he died only a month later on May 3, 1469.[9]

The Jaunpur army made triumphant progress and reached the suburbs of Delhi. Buhlūl, despairing of success, offered terms agreeing to cede the whole of his territory, retaining for himself only the city of Delhi and the tract of the country lying thirty-six miles around it, which he would govern as Husain's vassal. But Husain rejected the terms and Buhlūl left the city with a small army and encamped on the banks of the Yamunā opposite his enemy's army Some time passed without any action, then one day, noticing that the Jaunpur army was off its guard, Buhlūl suddenly attacked it. The Jaunpur army fled practically without offering any resistance, and though Husain managed to escape, his family was captured Buhlūl, however, treated them with marked respect, and later sent them to Jaunpur

Husain thus lost the best chance he ever had of capturing Delhi. Next year he again attacked Delhi at the instigation of his wife, but was again defeated. Shortly after, Husain invaded Delhi for the third time, but was defeated by Buhlūl at Sikhera, about twenty-five miles east of Delhi

Shortly after this, on the death of Husain's father-in-law, 'Ālam Shāh, the last Sayyid king, who had retired to Badāūn, Husain seized the district dispossessing his brother-in-law. He also captured Sambhal from Buhlūl's governor Tātār Khān Lodī, and took him prisoner He then again marched on Delhi in March 1479. This time Husain suffered a total defeat and Buhlūl Lodī conquered practically the whole of his kingdom Husain retired to Bihār where he seems to have been left in occupation of a small territory yielding a revenue of five *lakhs* of rupees. According to Nizām-ud-dīn, Buhlūl, "acting in a spirit of generosity, did not interfere with him". But after Buhlūl's death, when Sikandar ascended the throne of Delhi, Husain induced Sikandar's brother Bārbak, the governor of Jaunpur, to rebel, as has been narrated above After Sikandar had conquered Jaunpur from Bārbak, he proceeded against Husain as the latter was the instigator of troubles. The course of this campaign has been narrated above. Husain was unable to make any stand against Sikandar, who annexed his territory. Husain then fled to Bengal where he was granted asylum by Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh There he passed his last days in obscurity.

E. BENGAL

1 THE INDEPENDENT SULTANS

The administration of Bengal had always been a serious problem of the Delhi Sultanate. Taking advantage of its remoteness from the capital and facilities for naval warfare, with which the Turks of upper India were unfamiliar, the governors of Bengal frequently behaved as independent rulers, and not seldom openly defied the authority of Delhi The last serious rebellion, that of Tughril, was sternly repressed by Balban,[1] but the events following the death of that Sultān once more made Bengal an independent kingdom under his son Bughrā Khān, who ruled at Lakhnāwatī (Muslim capital, Māldah district) under the style of Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn. After the historic interview of Nasīr-ud-dīn and his son, Sultān Kaiqubād, mentioned above,[2] the independence of Bengal was tacitly recognized by the Delhi Sultanate But the news of the tragic end of the House of Balban at Delhi gave a rude shock to the ease-loving Nasīr-ud-dīn who abdicated in favour of his son Rukn-ud-dīn Kaikāūs in A D 1291.[3] The boy-king Kaikāūs ruled over Bengal and Bihār and issued coins and inscriptions till at least A D. 1298 He was succeeded, probably about A.D 1301, by Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh who had wielded great power and authority during the reign of the ease-loving Bughrā Khān, and after his death became the governor of Bihār According to Ibn Batūtah, Fīrūz Shāh belonged to the House of Balban, and was the son of Nasīr-ud-dīn, but the absence of the usual phrase '*Sultān bin* (son of) *Sultān*' on the coins of Fīrūz throws grave doubts on this claim Nor is it known whether he peacefully occupied the throne after the death of Kaikāūs, or secured it by violent means [4]

During the reign of Rukn-ud-dīn Kaikāūs and Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz, Muslim rule was extended to South and East Bengal, and important centres were established at Sātgāon (Hughli district) and Sonārgāon (Dacca district). Fīrūz extended his conquests across the Brahmaputra into the Sylhet district of Assam (now in Eastern Pakistan) and probably founded the city of Fīrūzābād-Pānduā, the future capital of Bengal.[4a] The reign of Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz was disturbed by the rebellion of his sons, Shihāb-ud-dīn Bughdah and Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur, who supplanted respectively the authority of their father at Lakhnāwatī and Sonārgāon during the period 710-714 A H (A.D. 1310-14) Fīrūz recovered Lakhnāwatī in A.D 1315 but Shihāb-ud-dīn was ruling there in A.D. 1317-18 while Ghiyās-ud-dīn disputed its sovereignty with his father during A D. 1320-22. On the death of the latter in or shortly after A.D. 1322, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh probably murdered all his brothers

save Nasir-ud-din Ibrāhīm and Shihāb-ud-din, and ruled both in Lakhnāwatī and Sonārgāon.

According to Ibn Batūtah, some of the *amirs* who rebelled against Prince Jauna (Muhammad bin Tughluq) during the siege of Warangal took shelter with Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh. After his death his son Shihāb-ud-dīn succeeded him but his youngest brother Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur Bura (black) defeated him, seized the throne and killed most of his brothers. Two of these, Shihāb-ud-dīn and Nasīr-ud-dīn, fled to the Emperor Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq who marched with them against the usurper Ghiyās-ud-dīn.[5] How far this account is true, cannot be determined, as it is not corroborated by any other source. According to Baranī, "certain noblemen came from Lakhnāwatī complaining of the oppressive laws under which they were suffering, and informed the Sultān of the distress and tyranny under which they and other Musulmāns laboured." So Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq resolved to march against Lakhnāwatī[6]

In any event, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq now decided to re-assert his authority over Bengal. He left Delhi at the beginning of A D. 1324 and was joined at Tirhut by Nasīr-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm, son of Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh. Ibrāhīm is referred to as the "ruler of Lakhnāwatī", both by Baranī and 'Isāmī, but whether he was ever actually in possession of the capital city or was a mere rival claimant to the throne, it is not easy to determine In any case Lakhnāwatī was not under his control at the time The Sultān sent Nasīr-ud-dīn with his adopted son and best general Bahrām Khān, *alias* Tātār Khān, at the head of a select body of troops When the imperial troops reached the neighbourhood of Lakhnāwatī, Bahādur came out of the town and a severe fight ensued Bahādur, being defeated, fled away, but was taken prisoner. Tughluq Shāh confirmed Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn in the government of North Bengal with its capital at Lakhnāwatī Eastern Bengal and Southern Bengal, with capitals respectively at Sonārgāon and Sātgāon, were annexed to the empire and Bahrām Khān was appointed to govern them Bahādur was taken captive to Delhi.

The tragic death of Emperor Ghiyās-ud-dīn at the end of his return journey from Bengal and the accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq have been mentioned above Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm, as a loyal vassal of Delhi, issued coins in the names of himself and the Emperor of Delhi till 726 A H. (A.D. 1325-26), when Muhammad Tughluq appointed Qadr Khān feudatory of Lakhnāwatī[7] Though nominally subordinate to Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn, Qadr was the *de facto* ruler, directly responsible to the Emperor. This policy of "checks and balances" was also adopted in Eastern Bengal by

Muhammad bin Tughluq. He released Bahādur and sent him back to Sonārgāon as its vassal king, to rule the country in co-operation with Bahrām Khān as the Emperor's own representative. Sātgāon was placed under 'Izz-ud-dīn Yahyā who was created Azam-ul-Mulk.

Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm is known to have accompanied Muhammad bin Tughluq when the latter proceeded against the rebel Kishlū Khān. But Nasīr-ud-dīn's name was omitted from the coins after A.H. 726 (A D 1325-26) This was virtually a deposition, but Nasīr-ud-dīn was allowed to retain his title of Sultān.

The other nominal Sultān, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh of Sonārgāon, played a more important role. For about three years, until 728 A.H. (A.D. 1327-28), he issued coins in the joint names of himself and Muhammad bin Tughluq and pulled on well with the imperial general Bahrām Khān. It was during this period that the Muslim empire was extended beyond the Meghnā river and the territory represented by modern Tripurā state (Tipperā) and Chittagong district was conquered and annexed to the Delhi Sultanate

But Sultān Ghiyās-ud-din Bahādur Shāh was evidently made of sterner stuff than his brother Nasīr-ud-dīn, and was unwilling to play the second fiddle like him The virtual deposition of the latter probably also urged him to make a bold bid for independence According to 'Isāmī, he rebelled, but was defeated by Bahrām Khān and fell a captive in his hands Bahrām killed him, flayed his skin and sent it to the Emperor, Muhammad bin Tughluq, who received it shortly after the suppression of the revolt of Kishlū Khan According to Ibn Batūtah, Ghiyās-ud-dīn was released by Muhammad bin Tughluq on certain conditions, one of which was that Ghiyās-ud-dīn's son should be sent as hostage to the Emperor. As this promise was not fulfilled, the Emperor sent troops against him This took place, according to Ibn Batūtah, before Kishlū's rebellion [8]

For ten years after the death of Bahādur, Bengal remained a quiet province under the Delhi Sultanate, its three well-defined regions of Lakhnāwatī, Sonārgāon and Sātgāon being ruled respectively by Qadr Khān, Bahrām Khān, alias Tātār Khān, and 'Izz-ud-dīn Yahyā.

2. *FAKHR-UD-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH*

On the death of Bahrām Khān, the governor of Sonārgāon, in 738 A H. (A D. 1337-8) his *silāh-dār* (armour-bearer) and right-hand fan, Fakhr-ud-dīn. assumed the government. But before any new governor was appointed by the Sultān, he rebelled and declared

himself king under the title of Sultān Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh (738 A.H.)[9] He signified his independence by assuming royal titles and such boastful epithets as "Yamīn-Khalīfā-i-Allāh" (Right hand of the Vicegerent of God) and "Nasir-i-Amīr-ul-Mu'minīn" (Assistant of the Commander of the Faithful). This bold assumption of independence could not be ignored by Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq who directed the governors of Karā, Lakhnāwatī and Sātgāon to undertake a joint campaign against the rebel Fakhr-ud-dīn. The combined army marched to Sonārgāon and expelled Fakhr-ud-dīn Shortly after, the governors of Karā and Sātgāon went to their headquarters, leaving Qadr Khān, the governor of Lakhnāwatī in possession of the capital city of Sonārgāon Qadr Khān's refusal to share the captured booty with his soldiers by giving them their legitimate share created great disaffection among them The fugitive Fakhr-ud-dīn had in the meantime gathered round him a large number of soldiers. He carried on secret negotiations with the discontented soldiers of Qadr Khān who openly rebelled and murdered him Thereupon Fakhr-ud-dīn recovered Sonārgāon without any difficulty.

Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq was now fully occupied with the numerous rebellions that had broken out in various parts of the empire Fakhr-ud-dīn took full advantage of this opportunity and sent an army under a *ghulām* of his, Mukhlis, to occupy Lakhnāwatī But 'Alī Mubārak, the paymaster of Qadr Khān's army, killed Mukhlis and established his authority at Lakhnāwatī. Although he was not formally appointed governor by the Sultān, he kept up for some time the pretence of vassalage to the court of Delhi by making humble representations But as soon as he felt secure of his position, he threw away the mask and asserted his independence He ascended the throne about A D. 1340 under the title of 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Alī Shāh and ruled till A D 1345 when he was overthrown by Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh.

Fakhr-ud-dīn carried on intermittent fights with the ruler of Lakhnāwatī but could not achieve any success But this failure did not in any way affect his position in Eastern Bengal Here he ruled in peace and set up a stable administration, to which reference is made by Ibn Batūtah who visited his kingdom in A D 1346 and has left a glowing account of its prosperity

Fakhr-ud-dīn died in 750 A.H (A D 1349-50) and was succeeded most probably by his son Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Ghāzī Shāh He reigned for three years when East Bengal was conquered by Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh.[10]

3. *ILYĀS SHĀH* (A D 1339-1359)

While Fakhr-ud-dīn and 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ali Shāh were ruling respectively at Sonārgāon and Lakhnāwatī, a new figure appeared on the political stage. This was Ilyās, an officer (but according to the *Riyāz*, the foster-brother) of 'Alī Shāh Nothing is known of his early career save that he was a servant of Qadr Khān who addressed him as brother,[10a] but he issued coins in 740 A H (A.D 1339-40).[11] As 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Alī Shāh of Lakhnāwatī issued coins till 743 A.H. and Fakhr-ud-dīn and his son ruled in Sonārgāon from A.D. 1339 to 1352, it is very likely that Ilyās Shāh first established his authority at Sātgāon[12] (753 A H.). In any case Ilyās made himself master of Lakhnāwatī some time about 746 A.H. (A D 1345-6), and assumed the title of Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh

The accession of Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh to the throne of Lakhnāwatī opened a new chapter in the history of Bengal. He founded a dynasty of able and vigorous kings who won military glory and revived Bengal's contact with the outside world. He achieved the political unity of Bengal and carried his victorious arms far outside the boundaries of Bengal He overran Tirhut and made a bold thrust across the inhospitable region of Terai into the fastness of Nepāl, which was yet untrodden by Muslim soldiers He advanced as far as the capital Kāthmandu, destroyed the holy temple of Svayambhūnātha and returned with a rich booty The invasion, which was of the nature of a plundering raid, took place in A D 1350 and the Nepālis claim to have defeated the Muslim invader.[13]

The Sultān next turned his attention to Orissa The Gaṅga kings had often invaded Bengal during the preceding century and were still in possession of a part of Western Bengal But the ruling king of Orissa, Bhānudeva II, was weak, and Ilyās advanced through Jājpur and Katak as far as the Chilkā lake He despoiled the temples of Orissa and returned with a rich booty including 44 elephants Finally he led a campaign against Eastern Bengal He defeated Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Ghāzī Shāh, the ruler of Sonargāon, and annexed his dominions in 753 A H. (A D 1352-3), as mentioned above

But the Sultān was soon to meet a formidable enemy Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, who had succeeded Muhammad Tughluq on the throne of Delhi in A D. 1351, naturally viewed with great concern the rise of a powerful independent kingdom in Bengal and decided to overthrow it Within a year or two of his accession he equipped a powerful army and led it in person against Bengal [14] He marched through Awadh and took with him a number of boats to facilitate the crossing of the many streams that lay on the way. Sultān Ilyās boldly faced the danger His flotilla disputed the passage of

the imperial army at important ferries across the Sarayū and the Gandak and retreated according to plan to the junction of the Kusī and the Gangā. Fīrūz was unable to cross the rivers in the face of the resolute stand made by the Bengal flotilla, and therefore made an outflanking movement. He marched northward along the Kusī as far as the foothills to a place called Jiaran. With the help of the local Rājā he could easily ford the Kusī which was very narrow at this point. The imperial army then marched direct to Pānduā (or Fīrūzābād), the capital city, about eleven miles from the modern English Bazar (Maldah District). Ilyās, unable to resist the enemy in the open field, evacuated Pānduā and took shelter in the fortress city of Ekdālā. Sultān Fīrūz occupied Pānduā without any opposition and then attempted to win the sympathy of the local people by issuing a proclamation.[14] He promised complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of Pānduā, and having declared Ilyās Shāh a rebel and an impious Muslim called upon the people to disown him as their Sultān. He made very tempting offers to those who would desert the cause of Ilyās. To the captains of *paiks* (infantry) he promised double their allowance on joining with their full quota of contingents, to the land-owners, remission of the current year's revenue and other pecuniary advantages; and to the Muslim theologians, increased land-grants and stipends. But this appeal having produced no effect, Sultān Fīrūz marched to Ekdālā. This city of which no vestiges remain today, was situated in a loop formed by the rivers Baliya and Chirāmati, two tributaries of the Mahānandā, in the Dhanjar *pargana* of the Dinajpur District.[15] Inside this watery barrier were built a cantonment and a royal villa with space for large settlements. The whole area was girt by a massive rampart made of adhesive clay, peculiar to the locality, surrounded by a moat, sixty feet wide. 'Afif calls it an island (*jazīra-i-Ekdālā*) on account of its being surrounded by water on all sides.

Unable to take the fort by assault, Sultān Fīrūz completely blockaded it in order to starve Ilyās to submission. There were sporadic fighting and skirmishes without any effect on either party. After the siege had continued for about two months, there were indications of the approach of the rainy season, and Sultān Fīrūz decided to raise the siege and return to Delhi. But before doing so he sent some spies disguised as Qalandar monks into the fort of Ekdālā who assured Ilyās Shāh that the besieging army was in acute distress. So when one day Sultān Fīrūz raised the siege and his army began to march away, Ilyās threw off all caution and pursued the imperial troops with his entire army.

Sultān Fīrūz, however, was marching in perfect order in anticipation of the enemy and as they came in sight, he swung round, with

his army drawn up in good battle order. Thus Ilyās Shāh could not avoid an engagement and a violent contest followed The imperial troops hurled back the Bengalis repeatedly as they surged forward, and before the sun had set, the Bengalis were seen fleeing away from the battlefield in confusion and disorder The battle thus ended in the discomfiture of the Bengalis.

The court-historians, as usual, magnify the success of imperial arms. According to 'Afīf, after much fighting and slaughter, Shams-ud-dīn retreated and fled towards his own city. . . . . Forty-eight elephants were taken, and three were slain. The king of Bengal, out of all his enormous force, fled with only seven horsemen, and his whole army was scattered''. According to Yahyā, Ilyās fled without any fight and a large number of his soldiers was killed. Later writers have followed suit But such a view is hardly compatible with the events that followed According to 'Afīf, Fīrūz proceeded after his victory to Ekdālā and again besieged the town. Thereupon "all the ladies and respectable women went to the top of the fort, and when they saw him they uncovered their heads, and in their distress made great lamentation" Fīrūz, moved by this spectacle, decided not "to storm the fort, put more Musulmāns to the sword, and expose honorable women to ignominy" "Tātār Khān repeatedly urged the Sultān to retain the territory he had conquered, but the Sultān was averse to annexation" Having decided to quit Bengal the Sultān gave an order "for collecting the heads of the slain Bengalis, and a silver tankā was offered for every head . . The heads were counted and amounted to rather more than 180,000 for the battle had raged for a whole day over an extent of seven *kos* The Sultān then turned with his army and marched quickly towards Delhi" 'Afīf further observes "The rains having commenced, Fīrūz Shāh had to abandon the investment, came to terms with Ilyās and retired towards his own dominions by the Mānikpur ferry" This is repeated by Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāūnī Yahyā simply says that "the Sultān halted there (battlefield) for two days, and on the third day he made his way to Delhi "[16]

The terms of the peace are not stated, but it is obvious that Shams--ud-dīn continued to rule as an independent king, even though the court historians refer to him as paying tribute The true position may be gathered from the following statement of Nizām-ud-dīn: "The same year (757 A H) Ilyās Hājī sent fitting tribute, and became the recipient of imperial favour At this time the entire country of Hindustān was in the possession of the Sultān except Lakhnāuti and the Dakhin, since the death of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq Shāh, Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Hājī was in possession of the former " As a matter of fact, almost every year after the return of Fīrūz from

Bengal, "plenipotentiaries from Ilyās Hājī of Lakhnāwatī with valuable presents" came to Delhi. "They became recipient of excessive favours and endless affections". Such exchanges of presents and tokens of goodwill, as obtain only between two sovereigns, continued till the death of Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās, and leave no doubt that the ruler of Bengal was recognized by Fīrūz as an independent sovereign. They also indirectly prove that the campaign of Fīrūz in Bengal, which probably lasted for about two years from November 1353 to September 1355, was a failure. The thinly veiled pretext of the court historians to explain the retreat of the Sultān is not likely to deceive anybody.

Ilyās Shāh's successful challenge to the authority of the Sultān of Delhi sheds lustre on his reign. As soon as Fīrūz turned his back he re-occupied his capital city Pānduā and re-established his authority as far as the banks of the Kusī He may justly be said to have inaugurated a glorious period in the history of Bengal Towards the close of his reign he added one more laurel to his crown by leading a successful campaign against Kāmrup to which a detailed reference will be made in Chapter XIII-D

Hardly anything is known of the character and personality of Ilyās Shāh. The *Riyāz* calls him *Bhāngra* i.e. a smoker of *Bhāng*, a popular narcotic generally indulged in by lower classes in Bengal. It is, however, difficult to accept the casual opinion expressed by such a late authority. According to 'Afīf, Ilyās suffered from leprosy for which he visited the tomb of Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzī and rubbed the dust of the place on his body 'Afīf was not very kindly disposed towards the enemy of his patron, and his statement is therefore not above suspicion. The death of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh probably took place in 758 A.H (A D. 1356-7)

Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī has painted the personal character and administration of Ilyās in the blackest hue. It is obvious that he has taken his cue from, and sometimes even reproduced verbatim, the proclamation issued by Sultān Fīrūz to justify his campaign against Ilyās According to this proclamation, Ilyās was guilty of oppression and highhandedness upon the people of Lakhnāwatī and Tirhut (Baranī adds: both Hindus and Muslims), shed unnecessary blood, even of women, levied illegal cesses etc , so much so that there was no security of life and property, no safety for honour and chastity. Baranī repeats all this and adds that Ilyās brought ruin upon Bengal and destroyed many Muslim cities; he was both tyrannical and treacherous.[17]

These views were undoubtedly propagated by the Delhi court in order to justify the invasion of a Muslim kingdom by Fīrūz But

war propaganda cannot be regarded as historical truth without corroboration from independent sources. Such corroboration is, however, entirely lacking On the other hand, the proclamation, which held out tempting rewards to those Bengalis who would desert the cause of Ilyās and join the Sultān, fell flat upon the people of Bengal who were undoubtedly the worst sufferers from the tyranny of Ilyās if the allegations against him had any basis in fact It is therefore unreasonable to accept the accusation against Ilyās, although it has the authority of the great historian of the period.

4 *SULTĀN SIKANDAR*

Ilyās Shāh was succeeded by his son Sikandar The most memorable event of his reign was another invasion of Bengal by Sultān Fīrūz. The first campaign of the Sultān was a failure, for though he gained possession of Bihār he had to acknowledge by a treaty the right of the Sultān of Bengal to rule independently the rest of his possessions It is very uncertain whether, left to himself, he would have sought to disturb this arrangement for he maintained very cordial relations with Ilyās as mentioned above But an unexpected event in A D 1357 induced him to make one further attempt to re-establish the authority of Delhi over Bengal Zafar Khān Fārs, a Persian nobleman and son-in-law of Sultān Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh of Sonārgāon, left that place after its conquest by Ilyās Shāh, and having reached Tattah in Sind by a voyage round the coast, ultimately went overland to Delhi. Sultān Fīrūz received him cordially and assigned him a palace and a suitable allowance for his stay in Delhi He is also said to have been appointed *nāib-wazīr* Either at his instigation, or encouraged by the prospect of help which could be rendered by a member of the old ruling family Fīrūz conceived the idea of recovering Bengal The death of Ilyās Shāh appeared to him to be suitable opportunity to carry out his plan. He repudiated the treaty with Ilyās Shāh on the ground that Sikandar was disloyal and had violated the treaty concluded by his father, declared Zafar Khān as the legitimate ruler of Bengal, and once more personally led a military expedition to Bengal [18] With a mighty army consisting of 80,000 cavalry, 470 elephants and a large body of infantry, Sultān Fīrūz marched through U P. and, after considerable delay on the way, reached Bengal in A.D. 1359 Sikandar followed the strategy of his father, and having avoided an open engagement took shelter in the island fortress of Ekdālā. Fīrūz besieged the place and, as before there were light actions and skirmishes with no decisive result On one occasion, one of the principal bastions of the fort of Ekdālā crashed down under the weight of the men assembled on it, and the generals of

the imperial army urged their master to make an immediate assault upon the fort through the breach. Fīrūz, however, overruled the suggestion, and the court-historian 'Afīf, as usual, attributes this forbearance on the part of the Sultān to a chivalrous consideration for the honour of the Muslim women inside the fort.[19] It appears, however, to be more likely that faced with the determined courage of the enemy and the skilful leadership of Sikandar, Fīrūz decided to pull his army out of Bengal The disagreeable climate of Bengal and its mosquitoes, and the approach of monsoon must have also influenced his decision. So he brought the campaign to a close by concluding a treaty with the Sultān of Bengal.

It is worthy of note that it was Sultān Fīrūz who took the initiative in opening overtures for peace He chose as his envoy one of his Bengali officials named Haibat Khān two of whose sons were employed under the Sultān of Bengal Haibat ably conducted the negotiations and a treaty was concluded on the basis of political status quo Sikandar acknowledged the cession of the country to the west of the Kusī to Sultān Fīrūz, who in his turn waived the claim of Zafar Khān to Sonārgāon, and sealed the treaty by conferring upon Sikandar a golden crown valued at 80,000 *tankas* in a formal ceremony of investiture. According to 'Afīf, Fīrūz had demanded and Sultān Sikandar readily agreed to assign Sonārgāon to Zafar Khān, but the scheme fell through as Zafar Khān declined the offer on the ground that "he and his family were so happy and secure under the government of Delhi" This can only be taken as an ill-concealed attempt to save the face of Sultān Fīrūz.[20] Nobody can fail to perceive that this second invasion of Bengal by Fīrūz, like the first, was a failure, as he could not achieve the object for which he had undertaken the expedition The formal recognition of Sikandar as an independent ruler by Sultān Fīrūz marks the last attempt by the Sultāns of Delhi to reassert suzerainty over that province, and for nearly two centuries Bengal was left in peace without any interference from the imperial court

A Sanskrit inscription[20a] on a pillar at the entrance of a temple at Pañchadhārala in the Vizagapatam District of the Andhra Pradesh records that King Choda II of the Kona-mandla (Godavari Delta) "set about in aid of the harassed Sultān of Panduva, vanquished the Emperor of Ḍilli (Delhi), and gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two elephants to the king of Utkala (Orissa)" As the grandson of Choda II ruled in A D 1403, it is reasonable to conclude that Choda II helped the Sultān of Bengal against Fīrūz Shāh Tugluq when the latter had invaded Bengal, Pandurā being obviously by the Sanskrit form of Panḍuā, the capital of the Sultāns of Bengal It is difficult to say whether the help

was rendered during the first or second expedition of Fīrūz. It would appear from the Sanskrit inscription that King Choḍa II of Koṇa-maṇḍala was a feudatory of Orissa and probably supplied a contingent on behalf of his overlord. So the help was really given by the ruler of Orissa, and this may be one of the reasons why Fīrūz invaded Orissa before he returned to Delhi after his second expedition in A.D. 1359, as mentioned above.[20b]

The prosperity of Sikandar's reign is evidenced by the many architecutral remains of his age, such as the mosque at Ādīna, built by the Sultān in A.D 1368, which ranks as one of the most famous monuments of the Muslim rule in India. But the last years of Sikandar's life were embittered by palace intrigues. He had seventeen sons by his first wife and only one by the second. The latter, suspecting that his father's ears were poisoned against him by his step-mother, fled to Sonārgāon and openly revolted against his father. He conquered Sonārgāon and Sātgāon and the long-drawn contest was finally decided in his favour in a pitched battle near the capital city in which Sikandar was defeated and killed (1390-91 A.D.)

5 THE SUCCESSORS OF SIKANDAR

(i) *Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh*

The successful rebel prince ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh.[21] According to the Assam *Buranjis*, A'zam Shāh led a military campaign against Kāmatā when its king was engaged in hostilities with the neighbouring Āhom king. In the face of the Muslim invasion the two Hindu kings made up their quarrel and drove the Bengali army beyond the Karatoyā.

Meng-tsau-mwun (Naraimekhala), the king of Arakan, being expelled from his kingdom took shelter in the court of A'zam who made an unsuccessful effort to restore him to his throne. A'zam maintained friendly relations with Khvāja Jahān, who founded the independent kingdom of Jaunpur. According to the Arakanese chronicle, the next king of Jaunpur, Ibrāhīm, invaded Bengal. The attack was, however, successfully repulsed with the new tactical methods of war introduced by the fugitive king of Arakan who lived in the court of Pānduā at that time.

To A'zam Shāh belongs the credit of having opened up the old contact between India and China. A friendly correspondence with the Celestial Emperor was followed by the despatch of envoys from Bengal in A D 1405 and 1409. The Chinese Emperor received the envoys cordially and sent presents for the Sultān and his wife. He also sent his own envoy to India to take back with him Buddhist

monks to China A Bhikshu named Mahāratna Dharmarāja travelled to China in A D. 1410-11 and revived the ancient cultural ties between the two countries. Mahuan, the interpreter attached to the Chinese embassy that visited Bengal in A D. 1409, has left a very interesting account of the people of Bengal, particularly their dress, manufactures and pastimes, to which reference will be made later.[22]

Reference may be made to two anecdotes which throw interesting light on the character and personality of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh Once he accidentally killed the son of a widow who complained to the *qāzī*. The Sultān, being summoned to the court, humbly appeared and paid the penalty as decided by the *qāzī*. At the end of the trial the Sultān told the *qāzī* that if he had failed to do his duty he would have been beheaded. The *qāzī* retorted with a smile that if His Majesty had not submitted to his orders he would have scourged him Another story runs to the effect that the Sultān composed the first line of a verse in honour of his three favourite concubines, but unable to complete it; appealed to the famous poet Hāfiz, who not only supplied the second line to the distich but also sent another *ghazal* to the Sultān.

According to the very late authority, the *Riyāz*, Ghiyās-ud-dīn was murdered by Rājā Gaṇeśa, to whom reference will be made later But the earlier authorities like Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta do not refer to any such event, and we may well believe that the Sultān died a natural death, after a long reign, in A.D. 1410

(ii) *Saif-ud-dīn Hamzah* (*A.D 1410-12*)

Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh was succeeded by his son Saif-ud-dīn Hamzah Shāh whose coins are dated 813 and 814 A.H He therefore probably ruled from A.D 1410 to 1412 The Chinese sources, however, suggest that he ruled till A D 1420, But, as the next three kings regularly issued coins in 816, 817 and 818 A H, it is difficult to accept the Chinese version, unless we accept the suggestion that there were rival claimants ruling simultaneously in different parts of the kingdom.[23] But we have no evidence in support of such an unusual state of things The only fact known about Saif-ud-dīn is that he continued the friendly relation with the Chinese court

(iii) *Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd Shāh* (*A D 1413-14*)

Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd Shāh, the son and successor of Saif-ud-dīn Hamzah Shāh continued the friendly relation with China and once sent a giraffe to the Chinese Emperor with a letter written on a golden leaf. The animal, unknown in China, aroused great curiosity in the country.

(iv) *'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh* (*A.D. 1414-15*)

Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd Shāh issued coins in 816 and 817 A.H. Coins were issued by his son 'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh in 817 A.H. from Mu'azzamābād and Sātgāon. It is not unlikely, therefore, that 'Ala-ud-dīn, exasperated with the ascendancy of Rājā Gaṇeśa at his father's court, set himself up as an independent monarch in East and South Bengal. It is, of course, equally, or even more, possible that the death of the father and the accession of the son took place in course of the year 817 A H. In any case we find a new monarch, Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad, issuing coins in 818 A.H (A D 1415-16), bringing to an end, for the time being, the rule of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty In order to understand the nature of this revolution and the course of events which brought it about, it is necessary to go back a little

6 *RĀJĀ GAṆEŚA*

During the reigns of the successors of Sikandar Shāh occurred an event, almost unique in character in the annals of Muslim rule in India, namely the successful usurpation of royal authority by a Hindu chief Unfortunately, though the main fact is beyond all doubt, the details of this Hindu interregnum are not known with any definiteness The reconstruction of the history of the period also offers many difficulties, and has consequently given rise to a number of problems and theories[24] These need not be discussed here in detail, and only a brief resumé of the main incidents must suffice

The name of the Hindu usurper is written by Muslim historians as Rājā Kans or Kansī, but some Hindu sources give it as Ganeśa, and this is now regarded as the real name He was a local zamindar in North Bengal (of Dinajpur or Rajshahi according to different traditions) and is referred to in a contemporary Muslim source as a member of a very old zamindar family of 400 years' standing

Gaṇeśa came into prominence during the reign of Ghiyās-ud dīn A'zam Shāh As noted above, according to the *Riyāz*, a Muslim chronicle written in A D 1788, Sultān A'zam Shāh was treacherously killed by Ganeśa, but this is not corroborated by any other source. In any case we know that the Sultān was succeeded by his son, Saif-ud-din Hamzah Shāh, and the latter by Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd Shāh, as mentioned above But all our main sources indicate that Saif-ud-dīn was a very weak ruler, and the real power was wielded by the nobles, generals, and the influential members of the government. It appears that Ganeśa became the most powerful among these nobles and played an important political role after

the death of Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh Firishta says that Gaṇeśa "attained to great power and predominance during Shihāb-ud-dīn's reign and became the *de facto* master of the treasury and kingdom" This is probably true, but we possess different versions of the subsequent course of events. According to Firishta, on the death of Shihāb-ud-dīn, Gaṇeśa usurped the throne, while the *Riyāz* represents Ganeśa as having attacked and killed Shihāb-ud-dīn and seized the throne On the other hand, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, it was only after Shihāb-ud-dīn's death that Gaṇeśa acquired 'domination' over Bengal for seven years, and after his death his son turned Muslim and took the title of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn The plain implication is that Ganeśa was really a king-maker, and wielded the chief power, but did not crown himself as a king, and placed his own son on the throne after conversion to Islām Evidently he was the head of a strong political faction at the court consisting of both Hindus and Muslims, and he sought to placate the latter and maintain his power by converting his son to Islām

The *Riyāz*, which represents Rājā Gaṇeśa as having crowned himself king of Bengal after killing Shihāb-ud-dīn, gives a long and circumstantial narrative of his reign which may be summed up as follows

"Rājā Ganeśa subjugated the whole kingdom of Bengal He oppressed the Muslims, slew a number of them, and his aim was to extirpate Islām from his dominions Thereupon the great saint Nur Qutb-ul-A'lam appealed to the Sharqi ruler, Sultān Ibrāhim to save Islām The Sultān accordingly invaded Bengal with an army. Thereupon Rājā Ganeśa waited on the saint and asked for his forgiveness and protection. The saint agreed to intercede for him provided he adopted Islām Rājā Ganeśa agreed, but his wife having objected to this course, his son Jadu a boy of twelve, was converted by the saint, re-named Jalāl-ud-din, and placed on the throne At the request of the saint, Sultān Ibrāhīm returned to his kingdom and died shortly after As soon as Gaṇeśa heard this news, he set aside his son and himself ascended the throne a second time He again began to oppress the Muslims and even had the son of the saint murdered by his agent. At that very moment Gaṇeśa also died 'and passed to hell'. Jalāl-ud-dīn, who was reconverted to Hinduism by his father, had refused to re-embrace Hinduism. According to some account, he was in prison but slew his father with the help of some servants The rule of Gaṇeśa lasted for seven years"

The account given in the *Riyāz* is substantially corroborated by three letters written by a saint of Jaunpur named Hazarat Ashraff

Jahangir Sinnani.[24a] One of these gives the purport of the letter which Nur Qutb-ul-A'lam wrote to the Sharqī ruler, Sultan Ibrāhīm of Jaunpur. It begins with lamentations over the sad plight of Islam brought about in Bengal by the infidel king Kans (Gaṇeśa) who has usurped the throne. He then urges upon Sultān Ibrāhīm to invade Bengal without delay. "The fire of infidelity is raging in Bengal and you are keeping your sword in your sheath", says he He concludes. "Don't sit at rest for even an hour on your throne Come and overthrow this infidelity by your sword"

What followed may be briefly described on the authority of these letters and other evidences. Sultān Ibrāhīm invaded Bengal and Gaṇeśa fled Ibrāhīm put on the throne the son of Ganeśa who was converted to Islam and then returned to Jaunpur Gaṇeśa now again appeared on the scene and became the *de facto*, if not also *de jure*. ruler of Bengal Though Nur Qutb-ul-A'lam laments over this fact in a letter to his son, he did not evidently invoke the aid of the Sultān of Jaunpur as he did before

The statement that the *Riyāz*, vouched for by Firishta, that Gaṇeśa actually ascended the throne, is discredited by some modern historians on numismatic evidence For, while no coin of Rājā Ganeśa has actually come to light, we have coins of the Muslim rulers, mentioned above, regularly issued up to 817 A H and also those of Jalāl-ud-dīn, the son of Ganeśa, dated 818, a few of 819 A H and again regularly from 821 to 835 A H.

So far no coin of Jalāl-ud-dīn of 820 A H has come to light, and this gap has given rise to a very interesting theory. For two series of coins issued by a king called Danujamardana-deva in Śaka 1339-40 and Mahendra-deva in Śaka 1340 (also probably 1341) have come to light. The following equivalents of dates have been regarded as of great significance in tracing the sequence of events

A.H. 820 (for which we have no coins of Jalāl-ud-dīn)
February 18, 1417, to February 7, 1418,
Saka 1339 = April 1416 to April 1417
Śaka 1340 = April 1417 to April 1418
Śaka 1341 = April 1418 to April 1419
A.H 821 (for which we have coins of Jalāl-ud-dīn)
= February 8, 1418 to January 27, 1419

On the basis of this sequence of coins Dr N K Bhattasali[25] formulated an ingenious theory about the history of Rājā Ganeśa mainly on the lines of the *Riyāz's* narrative. According to him Ganeśa assumed the title Danujamardana-deva on ascending the

throne in A.D. 1417, and ruled for a short period of less than two years, after which his son again occupied the throne in A.D. 1419. This view is accepted by many scholars [26]

Dr Bhattasali further held the view that Mahendra-deva was the title assumed by the son of Gaṇeśa after his reconversion to Hinduism and before his second conversion to Islām (after his father's death) when he again took the name Jalāl-ud-dīn. This view is, however, not accepted even by those who favour the identification of Ganeśa with Danujamardana-deva Some of them hold that after the death of Ganeśa, the Hindu party in the court raised his second son to the throne under the title Mahendra-deva, who was soon ousted by his renegade elder brother Jalāl-ud-dīn [27]

Recently a writer[28] has urged the view that Gaṇeśa never actually ascended the throne, but was the *de facto* ruler for seven years during the reigns of the puppet king 'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz and his own son Jalāl-ud-dīn who succeeded 'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz immediately after his death The same writer regards Danujamardana-deva and Mahendra-deva as local chiefs in East and South Bengal who asserted independence during the troubles caused by the usurpation of Ganeśa and the invasions of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī Although this view cannot be lightly set aside, the theory that Gaṇeśa was identical with Danujamardana-deva seems to be the most satisfactory hypothesis offered so far, though it cannot claim to be anything more in the present state of our knowledge

But whatever view one might take regarding the theory of Dr. Bhattasali, the fact remains that Rājā Ganeśa, a Hindu chief wielded royal authority either as a *de facto* or *de jure* king for some time and succeeded in passing the inheritance to his family This reveals the strength of the Hindu chiefs at the time, a conclusion which gains additional force if Danujamardana-deva and Mahendra-deva are regarded as local rulers of East and South Bengal, who asserted independence and maintained it for more than two years The revival of Hindu monarchy was, of course, no more than a passing episode, but it gives us a glimpse of the political situation in Bengal, of which we have no other evidence or even any vague indication Incidentally, the letter of the saint Nur Qutb-ul-A'lam and the acceptance of Ganeśa's son as king by the Muslims as soon as he was converted to Islam illustrate the strong repugnance of the Muslims to live under a Hindu ruler They also indicate that the cleavage among the people in Bengal was more on religious than on racial or political lines.

7. *THE HOUSE OF RĀJĀ GAṆEŚA*

Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh (A.D. 1415-1431)

Though we possess but a vague picture of Rājā Gaṇeśa as the ruler of Bengal, all authorities agree that he was succeeded by his son who had assumed the title Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh on his conversion to Islamic faith

The very fact that he ruled in peace for a long time after the troublesome period extending over more than ten years shows that, though belonging to a Hindu family which ousted the dynasty of Ilyās Shāh, he enjoyed the confidence and received the support of the clerical party and the Muslim nobility Jalāl-ud-dīn ruled with absolute authority over the whole of Bengal from the Kusi river in the north-west to Chittagong on the south-east, and from Fathābād and Sātgāon in South Bengal to the border of the Karatoyā in the north-east Few facts of his reign are known from the Persian chronicles Coins alone indicate the extent of his dominion, and the monuments give us an idea of the increased wealth and prosperity of the country under his sway

His coins issued in 821 A H. (A D 1418) from Fathābād, generally identified with Faridpur town, show that this region was conquered and brought under the Muslim rule during his reign. If Ganeśa *alias* Danujmardana-deva extended his authority over Chittagoang, Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad, as his successor, consolidated his authority over it and annexed to it a portion of Tipperah. A curious type of his coinage, having on the reverse the figure of a lion with the forepaw raised, resembles the type that was prevailing in the contemporary state of Hill Tipperah, and it has been rightly argued that this type was adopted in order to make the currency acceptable to the people of a portion of Tipperah conquered by the Sultān. But the issue of this type of coinage may not unreasonably be taken as a clear indication of the temporary hold of the Bengal Sultān over the whole state of Tipperah Jalāl-ud-dīn's contemporaries Mukuta-Mānikya and Mahā-Mānikya on the throne of Tipperah, if the account of the *Rājamālā* is to be believed, were feeble rulers, and the submission of any of these two kings to the authority of the Bengal Sultāns is quite plausible A coin issued from a new mint-town read as 'Rotaspur' by Lane-Poole would favour the view of Jalāl-ud-din's extension of authority over Rohtasgarh in South Bihār. As Dr Dani has pointed out, such an assumption requires further proof It may, however, be said that Rohtasgarh in the 15th century lay within the sphere of the authority of the autochthonous Chero tribe. Though situated in South Bihār it was an almost inaccessible place, and presumably beyond

the sphere of the Sharqi king's authority. Rhotasgarh, as attested by the Gaya inscription of Aśokachalla-deva, was connected with Bengal as late as the 12th century A.D., and an extension of Jalāl-ud-dīn's foothold over this strategic outpost to counteract invading armies from the west was quite possible.

Firishta applauds him by saying that "he upheld the principles of justice and equity and became the Naushīrwān of the age" This remark is corroborated by the evidence of Sanskrit works, the *Smṛiti-ratnahāra* and the *Pada-chandrikā* and refutes Buchanan Hamilton's account of his having persecuted the Hindus

According to the *Pada-chandrikā*, the commentary on the *Amarakośa*, he promoted a Brahman named Brihaspati Miśra of Kulingram in the present Burdwan district to the position of Sārvabhauma-Paṇḍita (Court-Paṇḍita) This Sanskrit scholar wrote commentaries on the *Meghadūta, Kumāra-sambhava, Raghuvaṁśa, Śiśupālavadha, Amarakośa,* and composed a digest on Hindu rites and ceremonies called the *Pada-chandrikā.* Whether he was a teacher of Jalāl-ud-dīn in his boyhood or not, the Sultān lavished gifts and honours on him According to the interpretation of a Sanskrit *śloka* by D. C. Bhattacharya, another Hindu, Śrī Rājyadhara was raised to the position of an army commander.[20] Another Hindu, Viśvās Rāi, son of Bṛihaspati, is mentioned as having been a minister to Gauḍeśvara who was no other than Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn

Viśvās Rāi and others are described in a passage of the *Pada-chandrikā* as so many gems on the crest of king's (Jalāl-ud-dīn's) minister They had composed valuable works on all the different branches of learning Under Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad, Fīrūzābād-Pānduā became a populous and flourishing town and it is recorded in the *Ming-she* that a Chinese, bearing the name of Cheng-ho, visited this city twice in his sailing craft, once in A D 1421-22 and again in A D 1431-33 The city of Gaur, representing the old capital of Lakhnāwatī, began to be repopulated in his time Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn himself contributed to its development by constructing buildings and *sarāīs*

Originally a Hindu, but converted into Islām, Jalāl-ud-dīn ruled Bengal roughly from A D 1415 to 1431 He extended the frontiers of the kingdom of Bengal, and kept up overseas communication with China which perhaps stimulated the growth of Chittagong as an entrepôt of trade. The coins issued from Mu'azzamābād, near Sonārgāon after the lapse of two decades, and the new mint-town of Fathābād presumably indicate their growth as ports, consequent on the expansion of river-borne trade.

The singular fact about this monarch is that though a neo-Muslim, he was free from bigotry, which is usually the characteristic of such persons. His mortal remains are buried in the superb mausoleum, Ekhlākhī tomb in Pāndua, which is regarded by Cunningham as a very fine specimen of Muslim architectural style in Bengal in the pre-Mughul age.

(ii) *Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh (A.D. 1431-35)*

Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad was succeeded by his son, Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh, who ruled for a short period, from A.D. 1431 to 1435. According to Firishta, he followed the liberal policy of his father and was renowned for justice and charity. The only important event that is known of his reign was the invasion of his kingdom by Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur. Ahmad Shāh, unable to withstand him in the field, applied to Shāh Rukh, the son of Tīmūr, in Herat, seeking his intervention. The Bengal envoys rounded the entire coast of India, in a seafaring vessel, and Shaikh-ul Islām Karīm-ud-dīn Abul-'l Mukarim Jāmī was sent by the king of Herat with a message to the Sharqī king, forbidding such an aggression.[30] Ahmad Shāh kept up the friendly intercourse with China and a Chinese embassy visited Bengal in A D 1431-32.

Ahmad Shāh's reign was abruptly terminated by his assassination at the hands of two of his nobles, Shādī Khān and Nasīr Khān, in A.D 1436 It has been surmised that the Sultān's murder was precipitated by the outbreak of a "sort of rivalry between the Hindu and the Muslim nobles"[31] Such an inference is far-fetched and rests on not very solid ground

8. *THE RESTORATION OF THE ILYĀS SHĀHĪ DYNASTY*

(i) *Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh (A D. 1437-59)*

After the assassination of Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh, Shādī Khān and Nasīr Khān fell out with each other and were overthrown one after the other A member of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty now ascended the throne under the title of Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd in 841 A H. (A D. 1437-1438)[32] A large number of inscriptions belonging to his reign refer to the construction of public works and generally indicate an era of peace and prosperity. This was partly due to the fact that he was freed from the menace of the Sharqī rulers on the western front on account of their long-drawn struggle with the Lodī Sultāns But there were military campaigns on other fronts. The kings of Orissa held a large part of Western Bengal, and probably extended their frontier to the Bhāgirathi during the

troubles of the second decade of the fifteenth century. King Kapilendra-deva of Orissa is referred to in an inscription, dated A.D. 1447, as Gauḍeśvara (Lord of Gauḍa or West Bengal). He also claims to have defeated "Malika Parisa". This has been taken by some to refer to the Muslim Sultān of Bengal, and by others to Mallikārjuna, the king of Vijayanagara Another inscription of Orissa refers to the defeat of two Turushka kings, one of whom has been identified with Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd.[33]

There was also fighting on the Arakan front during his reign 'Alī Khān, the successor of Meng-tsau-mwun (Naraimekhala) mentioned above as having taken shelter with Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh, initiated the policy of pushing his frontier towards the north. He annexed Sandowy and Ramu and his successor, Baswpyu (Kalīm Shāh, A.D. 1459-82), took possession of Chittagong in 1459 which remained usually in Arakanese hands until the Mughul conquest and occupation of the place in A D. 1666. In one direction, however, the frontier of Bengal was extended, for the Bagerhat region of the Khulna district was conquered by Khān Jahān to whom the local tradition gives the credit of the first Muslim colonization of this area.[34] An inscription on his tomb at Bagerhat records his death to have occurred in 863 A H (A D. 1458-9)

The transfer of the seat of royalty to Gaur probably took place during his reign and it was perhaps necessitated by a change in the course of the river on which the old capital Pānduā stood Mint-towns and inscriptions of his reign, scattered all over the country from Bhagalpur to Bagerhat, testify to his extensive sway lasting until A.D. 1459. As noted above, the Kusī had been the frontier of the kingdom of Bengal under the early Ilyās Shāhīs, but the inclusion of Bhāgalpur within Mahmūd Shāh's territory shows that the western frontier had been advanced further west under him

(ii) *Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh (A D. 1459-74)*

Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh, who peacefully succeeded his father on the throne, was a powerful ruler. During his reign the frontiers of Bengal were extended in different directions for which popular tradition gives the credit to Shāh Ismā'il Ghāzī, a popular saint of North Bengal. He waged war with the Hindu kings of Kāmatā on the north-eastern and Gajapati Kapilendra, king of Orissa, on the south-western frontier. The career of this warrior saint is narrated in a work entitled the *Risālat-us-Shuhadā* compiled by Pīr Muhammad Shattarī in A.D. 1633[35] It appears from this work as well as the *Madlāpañjī*, the chronicle of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, that he carried on his military operations against Orissa from his base at Mandāran, near Ārāmbāgh in Hughli district and

that he was the master-spirit directing the operations of the Bengal army in the long-drawn struggle against Orissa.[36] Shāh Ismā'il also distinguished himself in fighting with the king of Kāmatā which was separated from Bengal by the Karatoyā. It is stated that the Ghāzī contested the Kāmatā army at Santosh in Dinajpur district and sustained defeat.[36a] The account of his death in A D. 1474, owing to the intrigues of Bhandasi Rai, as given in the *Risālat*, is a fable, for the saint lived long enough to wage war against Gajapati Pratāparudra-deva in the first quarter of the 16th century.

The Surma valley (Sylhet) was first conquered in 703 A.H (A D. 1303-4) by Sikandar Khān Ghāzī, but it appears to have slipped from Muslim control after the reign of Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, some time about A.D 1351 The Hatkhola inscription of 863 A.H. (A.D 1458-59) shows that Sylhet was reoccupied by the Muslims under Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh The Arakanese had seized Chittagong during Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd's reign, but it was reconquered by Bārbak, as he is referred to as the reigning king in the Rāstī Khān inscription of 878 A H. (A D 1473-74).

Fathābād (generally indentified with Faridpur town) had formed an integral part of Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh's kingdom but the net-work of rivers and channels still kept most of the Barisal district outside the pale of the kingdom of Gaur. Military activity is indicated by the inscription of Ulugh-i-Iqrār Khān, mentioned as the *shiqdār* of Jor and Barur, in the Purnia district and West Dinājpur King Yakshamalla of Nepāl is said to have conquered Mīthilā [37] If this account be taken as correct, Iqrār Khān's activity might be due to a clash with the Nepālese forces.

Bārbak Shāh's reign was remarkable in the history of medieval Bengal and the stir caused in the dormant life of this country was reflected in the vernacular work, *Śrī-Kṛishna-vijaya*, composed by Mālādhar Basu, who was awarded the title of Guṇarāj Khān The prosperity of the kingdom was evinced by additions to the palace at Gaur, the digging of an underground channel for supply of water inside the palace, and many laudatory phrases about the Sultān's personality and character.

(iii) *Shams-ud-dīn Yūsuf Shāh* (A.D 1474-81)

Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak was succeeded by his son Shams-ud-dīn Yūsuf Shāh who ruled until A D. 1481 He is described as a learned and virtuous man and an efficient administrator, but hardly anything is known about his reign. His coins do not bear the mint-names but the distribution of his inscriptions from Gangārāmpur in Dinājpur district to Sylhet, and from Bandar town (opposite the

port of Nārāyanganj) and Mirpur, about seven miles north of Dacca, to Pānduā in the Hughli district, indicate the extent of his sway. Similarly the buildings erected in his reign indicate the prosperity of the times. He was the builder of the Jāmi' Mosque at Darrāsbari in A.D. 1479 and perhaps also the founder of the college which stamped its name upon the locality.[38] Cunningham and Creighton have also ascribed to him the erection of three other superb buildings at Gaur, on the evidence of inscriptions, discovered in the neighbourhood, bearing his royal title. These are (1) Chāmkātti mosque, so called for its use by a body of monks who used to gash their skin (*chām*), with a knife; (2) Lotton Masjid which, according to Francklin, "is unsurpassed for elegance of style, lightness of construction and tasteful decoration in any part of Upper Hindustan", and (3) the Tāntipārā mosque, so called for its situation in the weavers' quarter of Gaur.

(iv) *Jalāl-ud-dīn Fath Shāh (A.D. 1481-87) and the end of the Ilyās Shāhī Dynasty.*

Yūsuf was succeeded by Sikandar, probably his son, but Jalāl-ud-dīn Fath Shāh, a son of Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd, ascended the throne after deposing Sikandar Shāh on the ground that he was afflicted with lunacy. About this time the body of Abyssinian slaves, first employed by Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak as palace guards, grew very powerful and insolent The Sultān took steps to curb their power and, as a result, was assassinated by the commander of the palace-guards, Sultān Shāhzāda, who ascended the throne under the title of Bārbak Shāh Hardly had six months elapsed when he was supplanted by the Abyssinian commander of the army, Amīr-ul-Umarā' Malik Andīl, who assumed the sceptre under the title of Saif-ud-dīn Fīrūz in A.D. 1487 Thus ended the rule of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty which forms a brilliant chapter in the history of medieval Bengal.

9. *ABYSSINIAN RULE*

The accession of Saif-ud-dīn Fīrūz led to the rule of the Abyssinians at Gaur for a period of six years Saif-ud-dīn was an able ruler and the inscriptions testify to his sway from Sherpur in Mymensing District in the north to Sātgāon in the south According to Ghulām Husain Salīm, he had great sympathy for the poor and opened the treasury for them. The Fīrūz Minār at Gaur has been attributed to him simply on the ground that it bears his name. But the precarious nature of his position and the short tenure of his power are strong arguments against this view.

Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd, who succeeded Fīrūz in A.D. 1490, is stated by Firishta to have been a son of Jalāl-ud-dīn Fath Shāh This is more likely than the description of him by Nizām-ud-dīn as the son of Fīrūz, for the extant coins do not mention his royal descent. He was very young and the administration was carried on by the regent, Habash Khān, an Abyssinian, who was shortly killed by another Abyssinian, named Sīdī Badr. Sīdī Badr, who assumed the regency, had the boy-king killed with the help of the palace-guards and ascended the throne under the title of Shams-ud-dīn Muzaffar Shāh (A.D 1491). He is described as a tyrant whose violence and cruelty alienated the nobles as well as the common people. It was mainly due to the ability and wisdom of his *wazīr*, Sayyid Husain, that he could maintain his rule for three years. But his ruthless massacre of the nobility and his exhorbitant demands of revenue precipitated an armed rising which was aggravated by the disaffection of the soldiers caused by the reduction of their pay The *wazīr*, Sayyid Husain, secretly sympathized with the rebels and ultimately put himself openly at their head. The rebels besieged the citadel where the Sultān had shut himself with a few thousand mercenaries The siege dragged on for four months and, according to Firishta, the Sultān lost his life in course of a desperate sally from the citadel But according to Nizām-ud-dīn, he was secretly assassinated by Sayyid Husain with the help of the *paiks* Thus ended the dark period of Abyssinian rule in Bengal.

It is worthy of note that while these phantom and tyrannical rulers succeeded one another in quick succession, the people, both Hindu and Muslim, looked upon the palace intrigues and revolutions with complete indifference Indeed the complacence with which the people submitted to the rule of the puppet Sultāns appeared so strange to the outsiders that Bābur made the following comment in his *Memoirs*· "There is indeed this peculiarity of the royal office itself that any person who kills the ruler and occupies the throne becomes ruler himself The *amīrs*, *wazīrs*, soldiers, and peasants submit to him at once and obey him The Bengalis say 'we are faithful to the throne, we loyally obey whoever occupies it '[39] It was not till Sultān Muzaffar inaugurated a veritable reign of terror that the Bengalis cast off their lethargy and rose against the tyrant

10 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN HUSAIN SHĀH (A.D. 1493-1519)

The origin and early life of Sayyid Husain are involved in obscurity and have given rise to many legends.[40] According to some accounts, he was a born Arab who had recently settled in Bengal. According to local traditions, he was a native of the Rangpur district

in north Bengal (now East Pakistan). Several stories, however, associate him with a village named Chāndpārā in Murshidābād district.

The stages by which Husain came to occupy the post of chief minister of Muzaffar Shāh are not known to us. He showed remarkable wisdom and prudence in discharging the duties of his high office, but as he could clearly apprehend the doom that was sure to overwhelm the tyrannical ruler, he joined the rebels and led them to victory. Thereupon the popular choice naturally fell upon him,[41] particularly as no member of the House of Ilyās Shāh seems to have survived the Abyssinian rule, and he ascended the throne under the title 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh, probably in A.D. 1493 His long reign of more than a quarter of a century ushered in a new era of peace and prosperity which offered a striking and welcome contrast to the troublesome period that preceded it

Husain gave evidence of his firmness immediately on his accession to the throne He issued strict orders to the victorious soldiers to desist from pillaging the capital city, but as they continued to plunder, he sternly put them down by having executed twelve thousand of them. The search for the pillaged articles led to the discovery, among other things, of 13,000 gold plates, which indirectly reflects the wealth of the country. It was a long-standing practice of the Bengali upper class to take their food in gold plates, and Firishta remarks that the greater the display of them by an individual on days of festivity, the greater was the esteem [42]

After the restoration of order in the capital, Sultān Husain took steps to consolidate his position. He disbanded the *paiks* who, by the strength of organization and solidarity in their ranks, had become, like the Turkish janissaries, the masters of the palace

He next dismissed the large body of Abyssinians who had filled the high posts in the administration, and expelled them from the country. He appointed Sayyids, Afghāns, Turks and, the scions of the old aristocracy of the land in their place and, supported by them, restored order and security in the country.

'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh's reign forms an epoch in the history of independent medieval Bengal It was a reign of long duration during which the Sultān, by his liberal policy, administrative efficiency, and territorial conquests developed the prosperity of the country, a fact amply attested by the monuments erected during his time. The internal peace and security, the facilities for trade and commerce, and the opportunities opened to the indigenous aristocracy for military operation against the Mongoloid races living on the eastern frontier of Bengal and the Gajapati king of

Orissa, infused a new spirit among the people of the province which was reflected in the contemporary vernacular literature.

The embarrassing pre-occupation of Sultān Husain was the adjustment of his relation with the Sultāns of Jaunpur and Delhi. About the time of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain's accession, interminable fighting between the Sultāns of Jaunpur and the Lodī overlords of Delhi had practically caused an eclipse of the Sharqī power which was then confined only to Bihār In A.D. 1495, Sultān Sikandar Lodī led his army into this stronghold of the Sharqī king, who implored the protection of the Bengal Sultān. 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain, who was watching this development, promptly responded by deputing a force under his son Dāniyāl against the Afghān army The two forces met at Barh, about 30 miles east of Patna. It is a testimony to Husain's armed strength that Sultān Sikandar halted the advance of his army in the face of the Bengali opposition, and concluded a treaty of friendship on terms of territorial *status quo* and guarantee of non-aggression into each other's territory According to this arrangement, the country to the west of Barh passed under Sultān Sikandar's authority, while the country east of it, including Mungir and South Bihār, remained under Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain's occupation

During the period A D 1200-1493, the Muslim Sultanate of Bengal had gradually extended up to the hill ranges on the eastern frontier The annexation of a large portion of Bihār and the influx of the disbanded Jaunpur soldiery that followed the dissolution of the Sharqī kingdom, now infused a new vigour to the Bengal Sultanate Sultan Husain's first target of attack was the Kāmatā-Kāmrup kingdom which had long been a great bulwark against Muslim penetration in the north-east Nīlāmbara, the king of Kāmatā, fell out with his minister, who thereupon came to the court of Gaur and incited the Sultān to a war against his old master Husain fell in with this idea and, according to a popular tradition, the war was carried into the Kāmatā territory by Shāh Isma'īl Ghāzī The capital city was well fortified, but the Muslim army gained admission into it by a ruse, took king Nīlāmbara prisoner, and pillaged the city. This was followed by the advance of the Muslim army, and the whole kingdom as far as Hajo in the Kāmrup district was permanently annexed The whole operation lasted presumably from A D 1499 to 1502 when the conquest of this large stretch of territory was publicly recorded by Sultān Husain in an incription at Malda.[43]

The Kāmatā-Kāmrup expedition was followed by that against Jājnagar-Orissa whose frontier extended as far as the river Saras-

vatī, embracing within its fold practically the whole of Midnapore and part of the Hughli district. Gajapati Kapilendra and his successor Pratāparudra were mighty kings whose forces constantly menaced the enemy and carried on intermittent skirmishes on the long frontier along the river Sarasvatī which, though now dried up, carried the volume of the water of the Gangā in those days. According to the *Madlāpañjī*, the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple, Shāh Ismā'īl Ghāzī issued out of his base at Mandāran in Ārāmbāgh district about 1508-9 and swept onward in a lightning campaign to Puri, raiding Jājpur and Katak on the way, and destroying many Hindu temples The resounding victory was celebrated by the issue of coins stamped in the name of Jājnagar-Orissa. At the news of the sudden burst of the Muslim army, Gajapati Pratāparudra returned from the campaign in the south and drove back the invading force until he reached Mandāran near Ārāmbāgh The fortress was besieged by the exultant Oriya army, but they failed to take it owing to the treachery of an officer named Govinda Vidyādhara Sultān Husain's lightning raid was a brilliant success His forces, however, had to beat a hurried retreat from Orissa and any modification in the Bengal-Orissa frontier proved to be a task beyond his strength, in spite of his increased strength and resources Hostilities were intermittent along the border throughout the reign as would be borne out by the account of Chaitanya's journey to Orissa, when he had to cross the Gangā at Śrī Chhatrabhog with the aid of the local frontier official, Rāmachandra Khān, in A D 1509 On his return journey four years later, Śrī Chaitanya found the frontier disturbed as before It appears that Sultān Husain's success here was limited to maintaining the *status quo* against the great rival Pratāparudra

In the segment of the eastern frontier abutting on Tippera, also, the Sultān achieved very little success. A section of the Mongoloid people known by the name of the Tiperais, who had originally dwelt in the recesses of the Āgartalā hills, had spread across the alluvial plains along the bank of the Gumti until the whole country from Āgartalā to the Meghnā was dominated by them These people had been drawn into close contact with the Muslim power, immediately after its establishment in Sonārgāon, and we may easily infer that the primary need of defence induced Fakhr-ud-dīn to build the highway from his capital to Chāndpur During the 14th and 15th centuries hardly a glimpse of the Bengal Sultān's relation with these people is available, excepting the casual indication of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad's sway over a portion of the Tipperah kingdom. Sultān Husain made strenuous efforts to conquer this hill kingdom According to a late chronicle, the *Rājamālā*, he despatched his army

on four successive occasions, but the hill people fought heroically and do not appear to have yielded ground at all. The first expedition is said to have been an abject failure The second achieved some initial success by advancing beyond Comilla and seizing the fort of Meherkul, but the Tiperai general, alleged to be Rāi Chaichag, annihilated the Bengali force in course of its advance towards the capital, Rāngāmāti, by a novel stratagem. The way lay across the Gumti which had to be forded Rāi Chaichag dammed the river at a place higher up the ford As soon as the Muslim army, deceived by the dry bed of the river, began to cross it, the dam was cut off, upon which the roaring water swept away the horses and decimated the bulk of the army The third expedition shared a similar fate. The fourth expedition was distinguished by an engagement near the Kailargarh fort, with perhaps indecisive result.

The net result of Husain Shāh's repeated expeditions cannot be precisely determined. The reference in the Sonārgāon inscription of A.D 1513 to Khawās Khān, as *sar-i-lashkar* (commander) of the country *(zamīn)* of Tripura and *wazīr* of Mu'azzamābād, has been taken by some[44] to signify that at least a part of Tipperah was annexed But the title may as well refer to his role as the commander-designate of the forces mobilized against Tipperah.

Husain Shāh also sent military expeditions against Arakan It appears that the Arakanese, acting on their own interest, had helped Rājā Dhanya-Mānikya in his struggle against Sultān Husain in the closing phase of the war, and gained possession of Chittagong by expelling the Bengali officers In other words, Tipperah war became merged in that with the Arakanese. The conduct of the operation was assigned to Parāgal Khān[45] who advanced from his base on the Feni river Hostilities appear to have lasted from A D 1513 to 1516 After Parāgal, his son Chhutī Khān assumed charge of the campaign against the Arakanese which continued until Chittagong was wrested from their control

The Arakan campaign was probably the last military expedition during the reign of Husain Shāh who died in A D 1519 His reign is a memorable chapter in the history of medieval Bengal After a period of troubles and turmoils he not only restored peace and prosperity in the country, but also extended the frontier of his kingdom in all directions By his military exploits he added to his dominions a portion of modern Bihār and Assam, and recovered Chittagong from the Arakanese. According to the Portuguese De Barros, Arakan was a vassal of Bengal about this time, and this may mean a temporary assertion of suzerainty

In spite of almost continual fighting, the reign of Husain Shāh is noted for many works of public utility and witnessed a remarkable development of Bengali literature to which reference will be made later It was during his reign that Chaitanya preached his religion which ushered in a new era of social and religious reform among the Hindus in Bengal. The liberal attitude of Husain Shāh towards the Hindus, which will be discussed elsewhere in detail, was an important factor in this renaissance of Bengal. Husain possessed a remarkable personality and his sense of justice, affability, and kindness made such a deep impression that a Hindu writer of the time described him as an incarnation of Kṛishna

Viewed as a whole, it may be said, without much exaggeration, that under Sultān Husain Shāh, Bengal enjoyed such a spell of peace, prosperity, and all-round progress as she had not done before under any other Sultān. His reign may justly be looked upon as the most glorious in medieval Bengal

11. NUSRAT SHĀH (A D 1519-1532) AND HIS SUCCESSORS

On Sultān Husain's death, the crown passed on to his eldest son Nusrat Shāh, who followed the vigorous policy of his father and attempted to achieve the expansion of Bengal's frontier in the east and west Sultān Nusrat's reign coincided with remarkable changes in the political set-up of northern India In the early years of his reign the coalescence of the Afghāns in eastern India against Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī favoured his aggressive designs According to Ghulām Husain Salīm, he conquered Tirhut In A.D 1526 the Afghān supremacy was overthrown and the Mughuls established themselves in their place The Mughul conquest of Delhi and Agra, followed by the dislodgment of the Afghāns from their strongholds in the Doāb, presented to Sultān Nusrat the problem of defending his kingdom against the Afghāns driven eastward by Bābur at the head of an army deemed invincible. The important political role played by Sultān Nusrat after 1526, ending with the treaty of peace concluded with Bābur, can only be understood in the context of the Mughul conquest of India, and will be discussed in the next volume

Nusrat, as the heir to his father's conquest in Kāmatā-Kāmrup, carried on an active warfare in the eastern front, and invaded the Ahom kingdom of the Upper Brahmaputra valley in 1527. He was however defeated on all fronts by the Ahoms who pursued the Muslim troops as far as the Burai river According to the Āhom *Buranjis*, the Āhoms took the offensive in A.D 1529 and advanced along the Brahmaputra towards Hajo, the Muslim headquarter in this region The Bengalis suffered the first reverse in a naval action at Temani (Trimohini), but they recovered from it and attacked the

Āhom post at Singiri under their general Bit Malik who was defeated and driven back with heavy loss. After Sultān Nusrat's assassination in 1532 the military operations were conducted by Turbak who captured the Āhom posts of Singiri and Sala, but the Āhoms got the better of him in two successive engagements, one on the Dikrai river in Sibsāgar District and the other on the Bharali river in Tejpur District In the stormy times that followed Nusrat's assassination, the conquests in Assam and Kāmatā territory slipped away, and the two kingdoms pursued their own affairs without any interference from Bengal for nearly a century and a half.

Nusrat was a great patron of Bengali literature, and his reign is memorable for a number of noble edifices erected during that period Chief among these is the Great Golden Mosque (Bara Sonā Masjid), built in A.D. 1526, which, on account of its dimensions, is reckoned as the largest of the ancient monuments in Gaur Increase of wealth as a consequence of the overseas trade was also reflected in the building of mosques at important ports and marts, e.g at Sātgāon in 1529, Sonārgāon in 1523 and Mangalkot, on the bank of the Ajaya, in 1524.

Sultān Nusrat lost his life at the hands of an assassin in A.D 1532 upon which his son 'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz seized the throne He was supplanted shortly after by his uncle, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh (A D 1533-38), the son of 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh, who was the last representative of the line of independent Muslim Sultāns of Bengal He was overthrown after a short reign by the Afghān genius Sher Khān Sūr as will be described in the next volume He has been condemned as having caused "the extinction of Bengal's independence by his incompetence" Sultān Mahmūd appears to have been a gay, pleasure-loving monarch According to the Portuguese account, his harem contained ten thousand women In such a decadent atmosphere he might have lost his soldierly qualities and thereby become unfit for parrying blows with Sher Khān Afghān But whether his general policy, namely, that of alliance with the Nuhanī chief of Bihār, and opposition to Sher Khān Sūr, was unsound, can only be judged in the context of the history of Sher Khān which will be discussed in the next volume

F. SIND

1 *The Sūmras*

Reference has been made above to the domination of the Saffārids (A D 872-903) in Sind and the rise of two separate States, namely, Multān and Mansūrah, after the fall of that dynasty. Both of these had to accept the suzerainty of the Sāmānids who, as

mentioned above, replaced the Saffārids as the dominant power in this region, but had themselves to yield to the Ghaznavids towards the end of the tenth century A.D [1]

As noted above, Sultān Mahmūd established his authority over Multan in A. D. 1010,[2] and it is likely that he also established his supremacy over Mansūrah or Sind proper. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī* the Sūmras rebelled during the reign of his son Ma'sūd and placed a man of their tribe, also called Sūmra, on the throne. This is the first definite reference to the Sūmras who are known to have ruled in Sind for a long period. Unfortunately very little is known either about their origin or of their history. It has been suggested that they were Paramāra Rājputs, but of this we have no authentic evidence It is generally assumed, from the names of the later rulers of this dynasty, that the Sūmras were Muslims. It is, however, very likely that they adopted their new faith at a later date, in any case, their conversion must have been a slow process.

Ibn Batūtah states of the Sāmiras, that is the Sūmras, that "they do not eat with anybody nor can anyone look towards them when they are eating, nor do they marry among people other than their own, and no one marries in their fold"[3] When Mahmūd Begarha first invaded Sind to relieve the Sindhi Muslims from persecution by the Hindus, he came across Sūmras and other tribes who were Muslims but knew little of Islām or its rules, and were wont to intermarry with and live as Hindus[4] It is also interesting to note that the name of the last Sūmra king, Hāmīr, was usually borne by a Hindu

The total region-period of the Sūmras is given as 143 (lunar) years (A D 1300-1439) in the *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī*, but according to other authorities, it was 500 or even 550 years[5] They certainly ruled till the middle of the fourteenth century A D , and as we hear of them in the reign of Ma'sūd they must have ruled for a period of at least three hundred years It is not, however, unlikely that they ruled for five hundred years as stated by Abu-'l Fazal and Nizām-ud-dīn, for they might have established their power during the confusion that must have followed the Saffārid conquest of Sind On the other hand, we do not know the name of any Sūmra chief preceding the ruler of that name who successfully rebelled against Ma'sūd It is probable that he was the real founder of the dynasty which was named after him.

Sūmra consolidated his position by marrying the daughter of a powerful chieftain named Sād, and was succeeded by his son Bhūngar, who enjoyed a reign of 15 years His son Dūdā, who extended

his sway up to Nasrpūr, died in 485 A.H. (A.D. 1092), and was succeeded by his minor son, Singhār. Singhār reigned for 15 years, during which period he seems to have conquered a part of Cutch As he had no son, his wife Hamūn took charge of the government after his death. Then followed a period of internal strife, after which one Pithu, a descendant of Dūdā, established himself as king

According to the *Jagaducharita* of Sarvānanda, Piṭhadeva of Pārā (the peninsula on the north-east side of the Runn of Cutch which is still called Pārkar) destroyed the whole of Cutch and reached Bhadreśvara; after demolishing the ramparts of the city, he returned to Pārā Ultimately the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva II (A D. 1178-c. 1241) sent an army against Piṭhadeva who fled, and later died of excessive grief [6]

Buhler identified this Piṭhadeva with the Sūmra chief Pithu. If Buhler's identification is accepted, the reign of Pithu cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D [7]

Pithu was succeeded by one Khairā who, in his turn, was succeeded by one Khafīf or Hafif, during whose long reign of 33 years the people are said to have been happy and content It is during this reign that the Sammās are first mentioned Khafīf appears to have been succeeded by Pithu's son, 'Umar, who ruled first 40 years. He was succeeded by his son Dūdā II, who died after a reign of 14 years

Our two main authorities differ very widely regarding the successors of Dūdā II While Mīr Ma'sūm mentions only four kings ending with Armīl, 'Alī Sher Qāni gives a long list of twelve kings ending in Hāmīr whose reign-periods exceed a total of more than two hundred years As we know from a contemporary source that the name of the last king of the Sūmra dynasty was Hāmīr Dūdā, the list of 'Alī Sher Qāni appears to be more authentic, but when he says that the Sūmras were extirpated in a fight against Alā-ud-dīn, he is evidently wrong and probably makes a confusion between 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and Muhammad bin Tughluq In any case there is no doubt that the Sūmras were succeeded by the Sammās in the sovereignty of Sind about the middle of the fourteenth century A D

2. *The Sammās*

All the kings of the Sammā dynasty bore the title Jām, because they claimed to have been descended from Jamshīd. But there is hardly any doubt that this legendary origin is fictitious It is interesting to note that there was another tribe in Sind, called the Thathwas(?) who also claimed descent from Jamshīd, and this led to their quarrel with the Sammā kings.[8]

Lists of kings of the Sammā dynasty are given by Nizām-ud-dīn, Abu-'l Fazl, Firishta and Mīr Ma'sūm The names of the kings and their regnal periods, as given by the four authors, do not agree, the initial date for the beginning of the Sammā rule is not stated, and the discrepancy makes it difficult to construct an exact chronology of the Sammā chiefs.[9] Prof Hodivala has pointed out that a fairly correct list can be made out on the basis of the following three or four fixed dates or epochs and two points of contact between provincial and imperial history, which can be determined with tolerable certainty.[10]

Accession of	Jām 'Unar	c 736 A H	A.D. 1335
"	Fath Khān	801 A H (Tīmūr's invasion)	A D 1398
"	Nandā	866 A H.	A.D 1461
Death of	" Nandā	914 A H	A D 1508

By fitting these points into the framework of the names and regnal periods given in the lists, Hodivala suggested the following chronology

Name of the king	A.D.
Jām 'Unar	1335-1339
,, Jūnān	1339-1352
,, Banhbina	1352-1367
,, Tamāchī	1367-1379
,, Salāh-ud-dīn (usurper)	1379-1389
,, Nizām-ud-dīn	1389-1391
,, 'Alī Sher (son of Tamāchī)	1391-1398
,, Karn	1398
,, Fath Khān	1398-1414
,, Tughluq	1414-1442
,, Mubārak	1442
,, Sikandar	1442-1444
,, Rāidhan	1444-1453
,, Sanjar	1453-1461
,, Nandā	1461-1508
,, Fīrūz	1508-1527

The first part of this proposed chronology is, however, not free from difficulties For, from the *Munshāt-i-Mahrū* it appears that the second and the third kings, namely, Jūnān and Banhbina,[11] the brother and son respectively of the first king, 'Unar, were joint rulers. We also learn from the same work, that Hāmīr Dūdā Sūmra was still in Sind, though "the plant of his existence had been afflicted by the violent wind of calamities" Fīrūz Shāh was however, helping Hāmīr, apparently to set him up against Banhbina,

as the latter in alliance with the Mongols had attacked Gujarāt and the Punjab on several occasions. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Mahrū, the governor of Multān, was therefore writing to Fīrūz Shāh's governor of Sind to strengthen the position of Hāmīr, who had been granted a position and pension by Fīrūz Shāh. Fīrūz had also entrusted Hāmīr to the charge of Malik-ul-Umarā' Rukn-ud-dīn Amīr Hasan, the brother of the governor of Gujarāt, to whom 'Ain-ul-Mulk's letter was addressed. 'Ain-ul-Mulk hoped that "the position of Hāmīr Dūdā will be strengthened (by the governor of Gujarāt) as is desired by His Majesty (Fīrūz Shāh), and both the territories of Gujarāt and Sind will be freed from the menace of Banhbina (bin) 'Unar. Otherwise nothing can prevent these handful of damned people from bringing infidels (Mongols) into the territories of Islām whenever they like and looting and carrying off as slaves the subjects and the Dhimmis of Dār-ul-Islām." This is the last, however, that we hear of Hāmīr, for in the letters that follow, Hāmīr is never again mentioned. From this it may be presumed that Hāmīr was the last Sūmra king, as stated by 'Alī Sher Qānī.

It appears from the letters of Mahrū, that either Jām Jūnān and Banhbina were ruling jointly or had divided the kingdom amongst themselves. Jām Jūnān was loyal to Sultān Fīrūz, while Banhbina, as has been noted above, was creating trouble by raiding the imperial domains with Mongol help, from practically the beginning of Fīrūz Shāh's reign. Being afraid of reprisals, Banhbina once wrote a letter to Mahrū justifying his (Banhbina's) conduct, in reply to which Mahrū wrote a stinging answer, which contains the interesting information that Sultān Fīrūz Shāh had married Banhbina's daughter

In spite of the remonstrances of Mahrū, Banhbina did not change his ways so that Sultān Fīrūz, as noted above, was obliged to lead a campaign against him into Sind, which probably lasted from the end of A.D 1363 to the first half of A.D 1367.[12] Fīrūz carried to Delhi both Jām Jūnān and Banhbina, and several *muqaddams* and *zamindārs* of Sind. Jām Jūnān's son and Banhbina's brother, Tamāchī, were left to rule jointly at Tattah, in return of a payment of four lakhs of *tankas* and a promise to send several *lakhs* every year with horses and other valuable things

Jām Jūnān and Banhbina were kept comfortably in their honourable captivity at Delhi, but very soon Tamāchī, the brother of Banhbina, broke into rebellion. Jām Jūnān, who had always been loyal, was therefore sent to Sind, and he managed to capture Tamāchī and sent him to Delhi. Jām Jūnān continued to rule at least up to May 1380

After the death of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh (A.D. 1388), his successor Ghiyās-ud-dīn sent Banhbina to Sind, probably because Jām Jūnān had died in the meantime. But Banhbina died on his way to Tattah. The Sammās probably took advantage of the weakness of the Delhi Sultanate during this period and declared their independence.

Not much is known of the kings whose list is given above Some of these usurped the throne and one was selected by the nobles. During the reign of Nandā, the last king but one, Shāh Beg Arghūn came from Qandahār in A D. 1493, and occupied the fort of Sewī. Nandā managed to recover the fort, but, later, Shāh Beg sent another army which not only reconquered Sewī, but captured the forts of Bhakkar and Sehwan also, and this time Nandā failed to recover his possessions.

During the reign of Nandā, Mahmūd Begarha of Gujarāt had to come to the aid of the Muslims of southern Sind, who were said to have been persecuted by the Hindus Mahmūd's mother was a daughter of Nandā, and Mahmūd came to his grandfather's aid in A.D. 1472, when it was reported that 40,000 rebels had risen against the latter. According to Firishta, these rebels were Shiah Baluchis, and according to the author of the *Zafar-ul-Wālih,* they were pirates, skilled in archery, who lived on the sea coast owing allegiance to none The rebels dispersed on hearing of Mahmūd's approach. Nandā sent Mahmūd a letter of thanks with valuable gifts and his daughter, who was married to Qaisar Khān, the refugee prince of Khāndesh, who was staying in Gujarāt

Nandā died after a reign of 62 years,[15] and was succeeded by his son Fīrūz, but the real power passed into the hands of Daryā Khān, the *wazīr*. A relation of Fīrūz, named Salāh-ud-dīn, attempted to seize the throne, but being unsuccessful fled to Gujarāt to seek help from Sultān Muzaffar with whom he was related through marriage Muzaffar gave Salāh-ud-dīn some help, and Daryā Khān also joined him. Fīrūz fled away and Salāh-ud-dīn ascended the throne without any opposition. Later, however, Daryā Khān changed sides, deposed Salāh-ud-dīn and restored Fīrūz.

Salāh-ud-dīn again received help from Sultān Muzaffar of Gujarāt and in 920 A H (A.D 1514) once more turned Fīrūz out of Sind. Fīrūz then went to Shāh Beg Arghūn, with whose help he fought and killed Salāh-ud-dīn and his son and ascended the throne for the third time. But again he was dethroned. Shāh Beg Arghūn, who had been driven out of Qandahār by Bābur, in his turn, expelled Fīrūz and occupied Sind. Fīrūz retired to Gujarāt, and giving his daughter in marriage to Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt be-

came one of his *amirs.* With the accession of Shāh Beg, the rule of the Arghūns, a Mughul clan, began in Sind and their history will be related in the next volume.

G. MULTĀN

Reference has been made above[1] to the Muslim kingdom of Multān and the strategy by which its rulers succeeded in averting the danger of conquest by the Pratīhāras. Its subsequent history is obscure, but its ruler Shaikh Hamīd Lodī maintained friendly relations with Amīr Sabuktigīn of Ghaznī. But as Abu-'l Fath Dāūd, the grandson of Hamīd, had adopted the heterodox doctrine of the Qarmatian sect, Sultān Mahmūd, the great champion of orthodox Islām, determined to punish him. He led two expeditions against Multān in A.D 1005-6 and 1010, and established his authority over that country. With the decline of the power of the Yamīnīs, Multān asserted independence, and again the Qarmatians seized power and held it till it was conquered by Mui'zz-ud-dīn After the death of Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, Multān fell to the share of Nasīr-ud-dīn Qabācha, who defended it successfully against a Mongol attack in A.D. 1227, but lost it to Iltutmish, as related above.[1a]

Multān was at this time the western frontier of the Delhi Sultanate, and had to bear the brunt of repeated Mongol attacks. The situation was further complicated by the marauding operations of Saif-ud-dīn Hasan Qarlugh, an officer of Jalāl-ud-dīn Mangbarni, whom the latter had left in India

Situation changed rapidly after the death of Iltutmish. Hasan Qarlugh is said to have sent his son, Nasīr-ud-dīn to Raziyya, but does not seem to have gained any diplomatic advantage. Immediately after the accession of Ma'sūd (A.D. 1242), Kabīr Khān, the governor of Multān, rebelled and not only gained complete control over that province, but conquered Uch also. Ma'sūd was unable to dispossess him, and his (Kabīr Khān's) son, Abu Bakr, succeeded him shortly afterwards[2] After Abu Bakr's death, Hasan Qarlugh was able, after a series of attempts, to conquer Multān in A.D. 1245, whence he issued coins in the name of his master, Jalāl-ud-dīn Mangbarnī[3]

A Mongol invasion early in 1246, saved Multān for the Sultanate, for, with the approach of the Mongol army, Hasan Qarlugh fled from Multān to lower Sind Ulugh Khān, later Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, drove the Mongols out of India, and occupied Uch and Multān without any opposition Next year the Mongols again invaded India and besieged Multān, when the saint Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyā induced them to leave on payment of 1,00,000 dīnārs.

The repeated Mongol raids forced the Sultāns of Delhi to send strong governors to Multān, and Balban sent his eldest son, Muhammad, as the governor there. Muhammad died in his post while repulsing a Mongol raid early in A.D. 1285[4] This incident has been immortalized by the elegy written by the poet Amīr Khusrav who was taken prisoner by the Mongols after the prince's death but managed to escape soon after However, in spite of the Mongol raids, Multan continued to be a province of the Delhi Sultanate

As has been related above, Tīmūr, before leaving India, appointed Khizr Khān the governor of Multān, which was thus included in the kingdom of the Sayyids During the reign of Mubārak, successor of Khizr Khān, Amīr Shaikh 'Alī of Kābul seems to have invaded Multān more than once, but was forced to retire by Mubārak[5] After the assassination of Mubārak, the affairs of the provinces fell into disorder, and either in A D 1434 or 1436,[6] his successor Muhammad came to Multān to visit the tombs of the saints.

"In A.H. 841 (A D 1437-8)", states Nizām-ud-dīn, "news was brought that owing to the turbulence of a band of Lankāhs there was disturbance in Multān" Multān, however, continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi till 847 A.H. (A D 1443-4), when there being no regular governor,[7] the people of Multān chose as their ruler Shaikh Yūsuf Zakariyā Quraishī, guardian of the tomb of the famous saint Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyā (A.D 1182-1267), mentioned above.[7a]

The Shaikh applied himself to the task of government but, before long, fell a victim to the wiles of Rāy Sahrah, the chief of the Lankāhs and ruler of Sewī and the surrounding territory[8] Sahrah beguiled the simple Shaikh by giving him his daughter in marriage, and then began to visit Multān regularly on the pretext of visiting his daughter One night Sahrah introduced his followers into the city by a clever ruse, and expelling the Shaikh, seized the government of the country Thus, after a rule of two years, Shaikh Yūsuf had to leave Multān and seek shelter at Delhi He was well received there and his son 'Abdullāh married the daughter of Buhlūl Lodī.

Sahrah became the king of Multān under the title of Qutb-ud-dīn. He proved to be an able and good ruler, and the people, satisfied with his government, rendered him willing allegiance He died in A.D. 1460 after a reign of 16 years, and was succeeded by his son Husain.

Husain also proved to be an able ruler. He conquered the fort of Shor (Shorkot, Jhang district, Punjab), and Kot Karor, and brought the country around it as far as the fort of Dhankot under his possession. Meanwhile, Shaikh Yūsuf persuaded Buhlūl Lodī to send an expedition against Multān under Buhlūl's third son, Bārbak Shāh, and Tātār Khān, the governor of the Punjab. As the invading army was marching towards Multān, Husain's brother, who was the governor of Kot Karor, rebelled against him and assumed the title of Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn. Husain first proceeded against his brother, reduced Kot Karor, and imprisoned Shihāb-ud-dīn. He then turned against Bārbak Shāh and Tātār Khān who had reached near the city of Multān, but had not yet been able to invest it. Husain crossed the Sindhu during night and entered the fort; the next morning he made a sally and the Delhi army fled after a brief encounter.

On the death of Buhlūl (A.D 1489), Husain sent letters of condolence and congratulation to his successor Sikandar. This led to a treaty, by which the parties agreed to respect each other's boundary. Husain also sent an embassy to Sultān Muzaffar of Gujarāt, with whom he maintained friendly relations.

During Husain's reign, two nobles from Sind, Jām Bāyazīd and Jām Ibrāhīm, being forced to leave their country by Jām Nandā, came to Multān Husain allotted to Jām Bāyazīd the fief of Shorkot and to Jām Ibrāhīm, Uch

When Husain became old, he placed his son Fīrūz on the throne and retired The old *wazīr*, 'Imād-ul-Mulk Tawalak, continued in his office, but unfortunately, Fīrūz suspected the *wazīr's* son of disloyalty and had him murdered To avenge his son's death, Tawalak poisoned Fīrūz soon after, and Husain, stricken with grief, had to ascend the throne again, and take over the charge of administration It was, however, impossible to forgive Tawalak, and with the help of Jām Bāyazīd, Husain had him arrested and executed. Bāyazīd then became the *wazīr*, and received the guardianship of Mahmūd, the son of Fīrūz Shortly after, Sultān Husain died (August 31, 1502) and was succeeded by Mahmūd.[9]

Mahmūd was a profligate young man, favouring low company; Jām Bāyazīd was provoked into open rebellion, and received help from Daulat Khān Lodī, the governor of the Punjab.[9a] The two armies encamped near the Rāvi, but before any engagement took place, negotiations were started and settlement was effected on the basis of the river Rāvi being recognized as the boundary between the territory of the two parties; that is, Bāyazīd got all the territory from Shorkot up to the Rāvi.[10]

A few years after the conquest of Qandahār, Bābur bestowed Multān and the adjoining territories on Shāh Husain Beg Arghūn of Sind, who thereupon invaded Multān Mahmūd sent emissaries to Shāh Husain, but before anything could be effected, died of colic. It was suspected that he was poisoned by Langar Khān, one of his officers, who soon after joined Husain and helped him to subjugate several cities.

Other nobles, however, remained true to the dynasty, and raised Mahmūd's infant son, Husain II, to the throne; but Mahmūd's son-in-law, Shujā'-ul-Mulk Bukhārī, became the *wazīr* and the *de facto* ruler. Taking advantage of the situation, Shāh Husain Arghūn besieged Multān, which was bravely defended for more than a year. But at last food ran short, and the people suffered terrible privations augmented by the misgovernment of the inept Bukhārī and the follies of his trusted officers Finally, in A.D 1525[11] (932 A.H.), Shāh Husain Arghūn stormed the city, and all its residents from the age of seven to seventy, who escaped the sword, are said to have been taken into captivity as slaves

After a brief stay at Multān, Shāh Husain Arghūn left it in charge of one Khvāja Shams-u-dīn with Langar Khān as his assistant. But soon Langar Khān managed to remove the Khvāja and took possession of Multān, where he was able to restore order to some extent.

After the death of Bābur, when the Punjab fell to the share of Kāmrān, he summoned Langar Khān to wait upon him When Langar Khān came to Lahore, Kāmrān bestowed on him the territory of Bābal in exchange for Multān, which, thus, again became an appendage of Delhi. It passed into the hands of Sher Shāh and, after the restoration of the Mughul power, became a Mughul province.

H. SOUTH INDIA

I *THE PAṆDYA KINGDOM*

At the close of the thirteenth century A D. Māravarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya ruled over a rich, prosperous and extensive kingdom which included, besides the Pāndya kingdom proper round about the capital city Madurā, the greater part of the South Indian Peninsula [1] As noted above, it was during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī that the Delhi Sultanate made the first attempt to conquer this Hindu kingdom in the far south, but the invasions of Malik Kāfūr[2] were more of the nature of plundering raids than serious attempts at annexation. The same may also be said of the later invasion under Khusrav [3] These invasions resulted in the plunder

of wealth and desecration of temples and images of Hindu gods, and inflicted untold miseries upon the people which are reflected in contemporary inscriptions.[4]

Unfortunately, at the time of the first Muslim invasion, the country was suffering from the inevitable effect of a war of succession between two sons of Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya, namely, Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāḍya The position was rendered more serious by the fact that Sundara Pāṇḍya, defeated by his brother, sought the protection of the Muslim invader. This action of Sundara has been regarded by some as the direct cause of Kāfūr's invasion, but this may be doubted. The probability is that the Pāṇḍya prince did not go to Delhi court for help, as is generally believed, but fled to Malik Kāfūr when he was actually in the south [5] The extent to which he received any help from the Muslims is also uncertain There is no positive evidence to support the view that Sundara was placed on the throne by Kāfūr who left a garrison at Madurā to protect him.[6]

In any case there remained no trace of Muslim influence in the Pāṇḍya country after the departure of Kāfūr, and epigraphic evidence shows that the two Pāṇḍya brothers and their successors continued to rule over the country [7] But the fratricidal war and the Muslim invasion had undermined the strength and solidarity of the Pāndya ruling family and paved the way for the rise of new powers. The first to take advantage of the situation was Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, ruler of Kerala, whose territory had somehow or other escaped the invasion of Kāfūr. He defeated both the Pāndya rivals and established his authority over the Cholas and the Pāndyas Some time about A.D 1312-13, he crowned himself on the banks of the Vegavatī, which has been identified by some with a river near Kāñchī and by others with the well-known river of that name in the Madurā District But Kulaśekhara certainly advanced as far as Kāñchī, and probably defeated another king named Vīra Pāṇdya who was forced to seek refuge in Konkan, and then in the forests.[8]

Soon, however, Vīra Pāṇdya managed to raise a force and seems to have gained the alliance of Hoysala Vīra Ballāla III and one Vīra Udaya Mārttaṇḍavarman, a rebellion also broke out in Kerala. The combination of these circumstances forced Ravivarman to retire from the northern part of Pāṇḍya empire, though he clung to its southern part for about two years more.[9]

But the unfortunate country was not destined to enjoy peace. Shortly afterwards, the Kākatīya Pratāparudra sent an expedition under Muppidi Nāyaka to invade the south Faced with this calamity, the five Pāṇḍyas namely Vīra, Sundara, Vikrama, Kulaśekhara

and Parākrama, joined their forces and faced the enemy in a battle just outside Kāñchī. But Pratāparudra, who had by this time joined his army, emerged victorious, captured Kāñchī and placed it under his own governor. Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya attempted to drive out their enemy, but were again defeated.

The evils of the system of co-regents, namely, the joint rule of a number of members of the ruling family, also made themselves felt. At a time when the Pāṇḍyas could only be saved by a strong united opposition, internecine quarrels broke out among the co-regents, particularly between Vīra Pāṇḍya and Parākrama Pāṇḍya in which the latter was joined by Vīra's son, Samudra Pāṇḍya. As usually happens, the feudal chiefs took advantage of the weakness and disunion of the central government to throw off their yoke. Kulaśekhara, belonging to the family of the Sambuvarāyas of North Arcot, who had been feudatories, successively, of the Choḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, continued his allegiance to Vīra Pāṇḍya till about A.D. 1317-8, and then declared his independence. Another feudatory, who also probably followed in his footsteps, was a member of the illustrious Choḷa Imperial family He was Semapillai, the son of Rājendra III, who issued inscriptions in the old Pudukkottai State.[10] The invasion of Khusrav Khān[10a] further hastened the process of disintegration.

Though shorn of the empire the Pāṇḍyas continued to rule in South India. Sundara Pāṇḍya ruled till A D 1319, or probably 1320,[11] while Vīra Pāṇḍya issued inscriptions from the Rāmnād district till A.D. 1341.[12] It was during the latter's reign that the Muslims obtained a firm footing in South India; for, as noted above, during the reign of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, his son Ulugh Khān, the future Muhammad bin Tughluq, conquered Madurā in A.D. 1323, and made it the headquarters of the Muslim province in this region, known in Muslim history as Ma'bar The history of Ma'bar will be dealt with in the next section of this chapter. But it is necessary to point out that the establishment of Ma'bar did not mean the extinction of the Pāṇḍya rule, even in the neighbouring districts of Madurā, Rāmnād and Tanjore Māṛavarman Kulaśekhara, probably the younger brother of Sundara Pāṇḍya mentioned above, is known to have ruled till A D 1346, and his epigraphic records prove that his rule extended to all the districts from Tinnevelly to Tanjore Inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, whose rule covered the period from A.D. 1315 to at least 1347, are found in the Tinnevelly, Madurā, Rāmnād and Tanjore districts as well as in the old Pudukkottai State. One Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya issued an inscription in the Rāmnād district in A.D. 1364, the 31st year of his reign, and probably ruled till A.D. 1380 The

records of another king, Māṛavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, who ruled from A.D. 1335 to 1352, are found in the districts of Rāmnād, Tanjore, South Arcot and Chingleput. One Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya exercised authority in the Rāmnād district, the old Pudukkottai State and as far as Nagercoil in the southern extremity of the Peninsula from A.D. 1357 to 1380.[13] It would thus appear that the Muslim principality of Ma'bar was a tiny State which could not oust the Pāṇḍyas from their homeland. The establishment of Muslim authority in this region was resisted not only by these Pāṇḍya rulers, but also by the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāla III Ma'bar thus led a precarious existence till it was finally swept away by the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara in the third quarter of the fourteenth century A D But even after this the Pāṇḍyas continued to rule, and we know the names of at least three rulers, two of whom bore the name Parākrama, and another, Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara, who ruled respectively from 1367 to 1387, 1384 to 1415 and 1395 to 1411 All their records were, however, found in the Tinnevelly district, and it seems that their authority was restricted to this region in the extreme south of their homeland [14]

II *MA'BAR*

The Tughluq Sultāns of Delhi were not destined to enjoy for long their southernmost province of Ma'bar As mentioned above,[15] a rebellion broke out in Ma'bar in A.D. 1334 and Sultān Muhammad was unable to suppress it Jalāl-ud-dīn Ahsan Shāh, who headed this rebellion and established the independent Sultanate of Madurā, was probably the *kotwāl* of Ma'bar though Ibn Batūtah, who had married his daughter, describes him as the governor of the province [16] Jalāl-ud-dīn could not reign in peace as the Hindus took advantage of his rebellion to liberate this region from the yoke of the Muslims Ekāmbaranātha, one of the Sambuvarāyas, mentioned above, rose against the Muslim rulers and, with the help of Vīra Ballāla III and Kāpaya Nāyaka, wrested the northern parts of the country.[17] Ibn Batūtah does not give any details of the reign of Jalāl-ud-dīn, but merely says that he was killed after a reign of five years, and was succeeded by one of his *amīrs*, namely, 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Udaijī. According to Ibn Batūtah, 'Udaijī, after he had ruled for a year, set out on an expedition against the Hindus and returned with immense booty Next year he again defeated the Hindus and "massacred very many of them", but as he incautiously raised his helmet to drink water, was pierced by an arrow and died instantly.[18] It may be presumed that the first two Sultāns of Ma'bar had to fight against the Hindu chiefs mentioned above as well as the Pāṇḍya

rulers who, as noted above, exercised authority in various parts of South India, including territories adjacent to Madurā.

After the death of 'Udaijī his son-in-law, Qutb-ud-dīn, was raised to the throne, but was killed after a reign of forty days. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh Dāmaghānī, a son-in-law of Jalāl-ud-dīn Ahsan Shāh, then ascended the throne. During his reign Ibn Batūtah visited Ma'bar and has left an eye witness' account of the revolting man-hunt and mass execution practised by this ruler. The Sultān, Ibn Batūtah relates, entered a jungle with his soldiers one night and all the Hindus who had taken shelter there were captured. Next morning all the male prisoners were impaled on stakes which they had been forced to carry the previous night. "This done, their women were slain along with their children, their hair being tied to the stakes, they were left there in the same condition. Afterwards, the camp was pitched and they took to cutting down the trees of another part of the forest, and they treated in the same manner the next batch of *Kāfirs* (i e. Hindus) whom they had captured. This was a hideous thing which I have never seen being indulged in by any king On account of this, God hastened his death".[19]

Probably such unheard of cruelties perpetrated on the Hindus, added to the general desire to liberate the country from the Muslims, spurred to action the Hoysala king, Vīra Ballāla III, then over eighty years of age. He invaded Ma'bar and besieged Kannanur, one of the strongest forts held by the Muslims. Ibn Batūtah has left a graphic account of the fight. The Muslim army met him in battle in the outskirts of the city of Konnanur,[20] but he routed them and they withdrew to Madurā, leaving Ballāla free to besiege Konnanur. After the siege had lasted for ten months, the garrison was left with little food, and Vīra Ballāla promised them safe-conduct if they capitulated. The garrison then proposed that they should get permission from their Sultān and this was allowed by Ballāla. But the messenger of the besieged army returned with reinforcement from Madurā which fell upon the besieging army when it was off its guard The Hoysala army was routed and its king taken prisoner. Dāmaghānī at first treated Ballāla kindly and wrested from him all his riches, elephants and horses promising to release him But after he had stripped him of all his possessions, he killed and flayed him Vīra Ballāla's skin was then filled with straw and hung on the wall of Madurā where Ibn Batūtah saw it suspended. Shortly after, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Dāmaghānī died as a result of taking an overdose of aphrodisiac. A few days earlier his only son and wife had died of cholera which was then raging in an epidemic form at Madurā

Ghiyās-ud-dīn was succeeded by his nephew, Nasīr-ud-dīn, who was once a domestic servant in Delhi. One of his first acts on coming to the throne was to murder his cousin, the son of his paternal aunt, and to marry his widow, the daughter of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Dāmaghānī.

Ibn Batūtah, whose account is the only source for a connected history of the Sultāns of Ma'bar, left the country shortly after the accession of Nasīr-ud-dīn, and no definite information about the history of Ma'bar subsequent to his departure is available

There is, however, no doubt that the royal dynasty came to an end during the next decade When Fīrūz Tughluq ascended the throne he sent a *farmān* to Ma'bar But instead of submitting to the authority of Delhi, Ma'bar sought help from the Bahmanī king to maintain her independence. Agents from Ma'bar came to Daulatābād and took back with them Qurbat Hasan Gangū whom they placed on the throne In some manuscripts of 'Afīf's *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, which alone mentions this episode, the first part of the name, Qurbat, is written as *Qurba* or *Qarīb*, meaning 'relative'; 'kinsman', and it is thus quite likely that the newly elected king of Ma'bar was not named Qurbat, but was a relative of Hasan Gangū Bahmanī Howsoever that may be, the new king was a worthless debauchee and the people got disgusted at his conduct. Taking advantage of this, a neighbouring chief Bikan, invaded Ma'bar with a large army The king was captured and killed, and the whole of Ma'bar came under the sway of Bikan [21]

There is no doubt that 'Afīf here refers to the conquest of Ma'bar by Bukka, the king of Vijayanagara, which will be described in Chapter XII According to 'Afīf, Ma'bar, at this great crisis, appealed to Fīrūz Tughluq for help But the Sultān reminded the ambassadors of the past attitude of Ma'bar towards the Delhi Sultanate and politely refused any help on the ground that his army was very tired after the expedition to Gujarāt This would indicate that the invasion of Ma'bar by Vijayanagara army, resulting in the death of Qurbat Hasan Gangū and the conquest of his kingdom, took place not long after the Gujarāt expedition of Fīrūz in A D. 1363-4

Afīf's account is corroborated by other evidences According to the Telugu *Jaimini-Bhāratam*, a work of the late 15th century, Saluva Mangu, a general of Kumāra Kampana, son of Bukka, who led the expedition against Ma'bar, put to death the Sultān of Madurā. The exploits of Kampana are also graphically, though somewhat romantically, described by his consort Gangādevī in her celebrated work, *Madhurāvijayam* or *Kamparāyacharitam*. She

proudly relates how her valiant husband killed the Sultān in a duel after the Muslim army had taken to flight.

Afīf's statement that the whole of Ma'bar was conquered and annexed by Vijayanagara, shortly after A.D. 1364, after the death of Qurbat Hasan Gangū, requires some modification in the light of numismatic evidence. We possess a series of coins issued by 'Ādil Shāh, Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, and 'Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh with dates ranging between A.D. 1356 and 1378. The testimony of these coins has been rejected on the ground that except for the fact that these coins were discovered in South India there is nothing to indicate that the Sultāns mentioned in these coins ruled over Ma'bar[22] But the sequence of dates in the series of coins, their find-spots and the absence of any other Muslim dynasty ruling in this region about that time certainly favour the theory that the coins were issued by the rulers of Ma'bar. If we accept this view we may easily identify Qurbat Hasan Gangū with Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh whose coins cover the entire period from 760 A.H to 770 A.H., year by year, with the exception of years 762 and 766 A H[23] It would thus appear that he certainly ruled between A.D 1358-9 to 1368-9 This fits in fairly well with what 'Afīf says about Qurbat Hasan Gangū and also with the Vijayanagara sources. There is some apparent conflict between the testimony of coins mentioned above and the general assumption of the historians of Vijayanagara that Ma'bar was annexed after the campaign of 1370. This view is supported, among others, by the statement in the *Maduraittala Varalāru*, a fifteenth century chronicle of Madurā, that the place was under Muslim sway from A D. 1324 to 1371[24] But this is not irreconcilable with the issue of the coins by 'Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh in 779 A H (A.D 1377-8) It merely indicates that even after the loss of the major part of their dominions, some time about A D 1370, the Muslim Sultāns continued their resistance for about a decade more The very fact that Ma'bar sent for help to Fīrūz Tughluq even after the death of Qurbat Hasan Gangū and the conquest of Ma'bar by Vijayanagara, proves that some sort of resistance was still continued by another Sultān

It should be noted in this connection that the date of Kampana's expedition or more probably a series of expeditions against Ma'bar is not definitely known Some scholars have placed them during the interval between A D. 1343 and 1355-6,[25] while others concluded that Kampana's expedition took place after A.D 1378;[26] it has also been suggested that Kampana led his expeditions between A D. 1361-3 or about A D. 1364.[27]

While it is not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion on this point, it has to be admitted that there are indications that

Kampana gained his famous victory over the Ma'bar Sultāns in A.D. 1370.[28] In an inscription, dated A.D. 1371, Kampana's general Goppana claims to have slain the Tulushkas, and two inscriptions show Kampana ruling a portion of Rāmnād district in A D. 1371 and 1374.[29]

It is, however, possible that Kampana's victory was the culmination of a war which was started by his grandfather, Saṅgama. An inscription claims that Saṅgama, the father of Bukka, had defeated ". . . . . Pāṇḍya, the proud lord of Madhurā the fierce valorous Turushka, the king Gajapati and others " Even after due allowance is made for the exaggerations from which this type of literature is never free, it is evident that Sangama gained some success against the Sultāns of Ma'bar, and it is possible that he took up arms after the tragic death of Ballāla III [30]

It would thus appear that ever since the foundation of the Sultanate of Madurā, it had to carry on a prolonged fight with the neighbouring Hindu States. The second Sultān died in course of a battle against them Next, Vīra Ballāla made a gallant attempt to conquer Ma'bar but failed It is probable that Sangama had started the war against the Sultān and gained some notable success Ultimately his grandson Kampana took up his unfinished task and destroyed the power of the Sultanate of Ma'bar. Though Kampana had probably broken the back of the Muslim power in the south by A D 1370, or even a little earlier, the last Sultāns seem to have maintained a feeble struggle against Vijayanagara till A D 1377-8.[31]

A GUJARĀT

1 See above p 97
2 *T A*, III, i, 184
3 In the *CHI* (III, 710) the date of Muzaffar's accession is given as 798 A H (A D. 1395 6) But Nizām-ud-dīn gives 810 A H (A D 1407-8) as his date of accession and an inscription dated A D 1405 shows that Muzaffar had not at that date assumed the royal title (*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Baroda* 1934-35, p 23)
4 *Yam Khanah Pattaneśo Dafara iti samāsadya kunthi babhūva*, Kumbhalgarh Inscription, 4th slab v 195 Sarda, *Mahārānā Kumbha*, *EI*, XXI, 278, 282, v 196
5 *Mandalika-nripa-charita* I, v 88 Ed by H D Velankar, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XVI, 41
6 Santinath Temple Inscription quoted by G H Ojha, *Rājputānā Ki Itihās*, III, part i, 65
7 *EI*, XXI, 278, 284, v 221
8 *EI*, XXIII, 239, v 14
9 *FI*, II, 417, v 51
10 *CHI*, III, 300, Briggs, IV 35 This question has been discussed by Dr B Prasad (*T A* III, i 224, f n 2) who has pointed out the mistake in *CHI*
11 *CHI*, III, 301, *T A*, III, i 227, f n 1
12 H B Sarda *Mahārānā Kumbha*, 96, 99
13 Chitor Kīrtistambha Inscription, Sarda op cit Appendix, 221 The first line of verse 172 as given in Sarda reads
sphūrjad Gūrjara-Mālaveśvara Suratrān-aru-sany-ānava

There seems to be a printing mistake, so I have changed the last two words into *ari-saimy-ārnava*.

14. H. D Velankar: Maṇḍalika, the last great king of Saurāshṭra, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XIV, 44-46
15. Nizām-ud-dīn mentions one 'Jai Singh' son of Gangādās Rājā of Chāmpāner, (*T.A*, III, i, 257), but while later narrating this incident, Nizām-ud-dīn refers to the king of Chāmpāner as 'Rāi Bitāi' or 'Rāi Basāi', while Firishta (litho ed.) calls him 'Rāi Banahi' The *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* has Rawal Patai, but Forbes gives his real name as 'Jye Singh' (*Rās Mālā*, I, 371) For a discussion of this name see *T.A.*, III, i 272, f.n. 1
16 G. H. Ojha, in *Rājputānā Kī Itihās* (III part. i, 75), uses the form Bharmal which has been used here in preference to Bihārimal (*CHI*, III, 318).
17 G H. Ojha, op. cit, II, i, 75, 76.
18 H B. Sarda· *Mahārānā Sāngā*, 70
19. Bayley. *Gujarat*, 267
20 *CHI*, III, 320-21.
21 H B Sarda: *Mahārānā Sāngā*, 86-7

B. KHĀNDESH

1 Thalner, 75° 7' E, 22° 21' N Kuronde, 73° 28' E, 21° 18' N According to Sir Denison Ross, the name of the founder of the principality of Khāndesh was Malik Ahmad, who was called Malik Raja and Raja Ahmad Having joined Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī in his unsuccessful rebellion against the Bahmanī king, Malik Ahmad fled and established himself at Thālner (*CHI*, III, 294) But Sir Denison has not given any reference for this version, and I have not been able to find any Dr H K. Sherwani, also, has not been able to verify this statement (*The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 109, f n 55) I have, therefore, followed the version of Firishta (Briggs, IV, 280 327) which has been followed by later writers and gives the most detailed account of the origin of Khāndesh as an independent State

[According to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Malik Raja fell on evil days when he was in Bīdar So it is likely that he began his career there In the account of the rebellion of Bahrām Khān the name of Malik Raja does occur, but there were two contemporary noblemen bearing the name Ahmad, and it is quite likely that Ross confused one of them with Malik Raja. I am indebted for this information to Prof Abdur Rashid —Ed]

2 According to Firishta (Briggs, IV 283) the name of Malik Raja's younger son was Iftikhār. Ross gives the name as Hasan (*CHI*, III 296)
3. Firishta (Briggs, IV 298) Ross writes that 'Ādil Khān II "carried his arms as far as Jhārkhand, the modern Chota Nāgpur, from which circumstance he is known as *Jhārkhandī Sultān*" (*CHI*, III 313). As usual, Ross does not reveal his source, and it is not possible to check this statement It is, therefore, safer to follow Firishta
4 Firishta gives the date of his death as Rabi-ul-Āwal 14, 909 A H which falls in A.D 1503 Ross gives the date as A D 1501 (*CHI*, III 313) There is similar discrepancy of two years in the reign-period of his successor
5 Sir E Denison Ross, possibly following the *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, has referred to 'Ādil Khān III as Ālam Khān and states that after coming to the throne he assumed the title of 'Ādil Khān (*CHI*, III 313-314) This is however, at variance with Firishta (Briggs, IV, 303-4) and Nizām-ud-dīn (*TA*, III i, 282)
6 Nizām-ud-dīn refers to Mīrān Muhammad as 'Ādil Khān (*TA*, III i, 344) but this seems to be a mistake

C MĀLWA

1 According to Sir W Haig, "Dilāvar Khān never assumed the style of royalty" (*CHI*, III 349) But both Nizām-ud-dīn (*TA* III, ii, 468) and Firishta (Briggs, IV, 169-70) definitely state that Dilāvar declared his independence and assumed the paraphernalia of sovereignty
2 For a discussion of this date see Nizām-ud-dīn op cit 467, f n 6
3 This victory of Allāḍa is referred to in several contemporary works and inscriptions. For detailed reference and discussion see N Venkataramanayya The Gajapati Bhānudeva IV, *PIHC*, XIII (1950), 161 The Muslim historians do not refer to this incident
3a 24° 38' N, and 76° 12' E
4 *TMB*, pp. 209-10.

4a. 24° 48′ N., and 72° 32′ E.

5 For this lake see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VIII, p. 121 Bhojpur is situated in 28° 6′ N., and 70° 38′ E. Sir W. Haig, following Briggs, describes the Hindus as robbers and does not mention the destruction of the lake. He adds that after this Hūshang built the town of Hūshangābād But there seems to be no authority for this statement.

6 As regards the date of Muhammad Shāh's death and that of Mahmūd Khaljī's accession, there is a conflict between the numismatic evidence which places both in 840 A.H (A.D. 1436-7) and the account of the contemporary writer, Shihāb-i-Hākim, according to whom Mahmūd ascended the throne on 29 Shawwal 839 (May 16, 1436). However, Muhammad Shāh's gold coin, bearing the date 840 A.H. to which Wright has referred, appears to be a posthumous one which was presumably issued by the supporters of the Ghūrīd line to which Muhammad Shāh and his two predecessors belonged. Wright has similarly catalogued three coins of Mahmūd Khaljī I with the dates 877, 878 and 883 A.H. although Mahmūd died in 873 A H The practice of issuing posthumous coins was also repeated in the case of Husain Sharqī who died in 905 A H, but coins issued in his name in 906, 907, 909 and 910 are available

Wright has probably not consulted the contemporary work *Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī* the evidence of which ought to be considered reliable with regard to the rise to power of Mahmūd Khaljī who was its author's patron *Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*, Tubingen MS fols. 52a, 243a, Bodleian MS fols. 57b, 60b, Wright. *Catalogue of Coins, Calcutta*, II pp 218-19, 247 Numismatic Chronicle IV, 1904, p 99. Lane-Poole *Coins, Muhammadan States*, p. 107 (This note was written by Dr Hamid-ud-din Ed)

7 In *CHI*, III 354, the city is called "Shahr-i-Nau" and it is stated that it is not now traceable Though in some MSS the place is called "Shahr-i-Nau", in one MS of *TA*, it is called "Shahr-i Narwar", and Briggs calls it Narwar, in his translation of Firishta (IV, p 205) Narwar is a well-known place, and it is situated on the river Sind, about 50 miles to the SSW of Gwalior

7a P 135

8 Ranapura Temple Inscription, 11, 17 and 26 *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar*, p 114 It has sometimes been held that Mahārāṇā Kumbha defeated and captured Sultān Mahmūd in 1437 (H B Sarda *Mahārānā Kumbha* p 51) But the evidence for such a conclusion does not appear to be convincing

9 "One large figure (image) in particular representing a ram, and formed of solid marble, being consumed, the Rājputs were compelled to eat the calcined parts with *pan*, in order that it might be said that they were made to eat their gods" (Briggs, Tr of Firishta, IV, 209) Nizām-ud dīn also relates the same incident (*TA*, III, ii 513-14)

10 *TA*, III, ii, p 525 The reading of Ajmere is doubtful Elsewhere Nizām-ud-dīn writes Ambar, (*TA*, III, 232)

11 The Kumbhalgarh inscription (quoted by H B Sarda, *Mahārānā Kumbha*, p 84) states that Kumbha "vanquished the Hārās and received a tribute from them"

12 *CHI*, III 361

13 Sir Wolseley Haig does not mention this battle at all though it is corroborated by Firishta, and has been rightly criticised by Dr B Prasad (*TA*, III, ii, p 529-30 f n) Firishta's statement that Kumbha concluded peace by paying a large amount in gold and specie, when compared with Nizām-ud-dīn's version, shows what little value is to be placed on such accounts of repeated successes and victories of Muslims against a particular Hindu kingdom without any tangible result The contemporary Rājput inscriptions, claiming success against the Muslim invaders, is deserving of at least as much credit as the later Muslim chronicles, and there is no good ground to believe the latter and reject the former, as is usually done by European historians

14 According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Nizām-ul-Mulk Ghūrī was assassinated by the Bahmanī king Humāyūn Shāh, whereupon his relatives induced Mahmūd to invade the Deccan But both Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta state that the instigator was Nizām-ul-Mulk Ghūrī himself Tabātabā merely says "at the instigation of the Ghūrīs" (*BK*, 90)

15 According to Tabatabā the districts of Ahmedābād and Māhur were retained by the Bahmanīs and only Kherla was ceded to Mālwa (*BK* 100). Sir W Haig writes that under the treaty "Mahmud's possession of Kherla was confirmed but the integrity of Berar, with that exception, was maintained" (*CHI*, III, 359) But Nizām-ud-dīn states that Berar as far as Ellichpur was ceded to Mālwa (*TA*, 538)

16 The name is Shaikh Muhammad Farmalī in the MSS of the *TA* and in the lithograph edition of Firishta, but the lithograph edition of *TA*. and the *CHI*. (III. 360) have Shaikhzāda Muhammad Qarmalī.
17 According to both Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta, Mahmūd died on Ziqiadah 19, 873 which is May 26, 1469 Sir W Haig, without giving any reference, writes that Mahmūd died on June 1, 1469 For the date of Mahmūd's death, see n 9 under D. Jaunpur
18 B K, 90 Eklingji temple Inscription v 6 *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar*, p 21. The verses state that Mahārānā Rājamalla (Rajmal) defeated Gyas, the Śaka King, who can only be Ghiyās-ud-dīn, the Sultān of Mālwa. This is corroborated by the unpublished *Raimal Rāso* quoted by H. B Sarda (*Mahārānā Sāngā*, p. 60) who describes the genesis of the quarrel.
19 According to Nizām-ud-dīn (*TA*, III. 353 and 612) the fort fell on 9th Sha'bān, 937 A H. The year 937 A H corresponds to A.D 1530-31 so that it cannot be A D 1528 as given in (the translation of) the *TA*

D. JAUNPUR

1 See above, p 92
2 See above, p. 122
3 See the next section of this Chapter.
4 See above, p. 175
5 According to Nizām-ud-dīn and others Ibrāhīm died in 840 A H (A D 1436) But his coins show that he was alive at least up to 844 A H (*JASBL*, XVIII 135, 157).
6 This and the next invasion of Orissa, respectively by Mahmūd and Husain of Jaunpur, though vouched for by Nizām ud-dīn and Firishta, appear to be very doubtful See the Chapter on Orissa
7 See above, p. 140
8 See f n 6 above.
9 "*Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhi*" Cambridge MS fols 471-476, Bodleian MS fols 307-309, Tubingen MS fol 264

The date of Husain Sharqī's first major attack on Delhi is disputed Nizām-ud-dīn has mentioned the year 1473, but he also says that Buhlūl simultaneously sent appeals for help to Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa, notwithstanding the fact that Mahmūd I had died four years earlier (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Vol III, p 284)

Haig, in an attempt to correct Nizām-ud-dīn, writes that Buhlūl sent his agents to Mahmūd II of Mālwa who however, ascended the throne in 1511, about 22 years after Buhlūl's death (*CHI*, III, pp 231)

'Abdul Haqq writes that it was during the progress of Husain's invasion of Delhi that Mahmūd Khaljī I of Mālwa died (May 3 1469) The invasion had, therefore, been launched probably some time between March and May 1469 (This discussion of the date of Husain Sharqī's attack on Delhi is by Dr Hamid-ud-din —Ed)

E BENGAL

1 Above, Vol V 154-5
2 Ibid, 157
3 According to the *Riyāz*, the king discarded the insignias of royalty out of fear of the Khaljī Sultān of Delhi (Ed)
4 Cf *HBS*, 77, and *IHQ*, XVIII, 65
4a According to 'Afif the name was changed to Fīrūzābād by Sultān Fīrūz, *HIED* III, 298 (Ed)
5 *IBH*, 50
6 *HIED* III 234 These noblemen from Lakhnāwatī, however did not make any specific allegation against Bahādur It has been rightly observed "There is hardly any reason why the Muslims of Bengal should have suffered so much at the hands of Muslim princes contending for the sovereignty of Lakhnāwatī as to justify the pious Sultan's unprovoked attack on another Muslim State" *HBS*, 84 (Ed)
7 According to the *Riyāz*, Qadr Khān was appointed governor of Lakhnāwatī after the death of Nasīr-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm. But the contemporary 'Isāmī says that the latter accompanied Muhammad Tughluq in his expedition against Kishlū Khān, which did not take place before 728 A H (A D 1327-8) (Ed)
8 *IBH*, 95.
9 Thomas read the date of a coin of Fakhr ud-dīn as 737 A H and therefore

placed the death of Bahrām Khān in that year Nelson Wright places the revolt of Fakhr-ud-dīn in or about A D. 1338 (739 A H). The death of Bahrām Khān is given in *HBS* as 738 A.H. in one place (p 89), and 739 in another (p 96) (Ed).

10. According to 'Afīf, Ilyās Shāh defeated and killed Fakhr-ud-dīn after the first invasion of Bengal by Sultān Fīrūz and conquered Sonārgāon. He makes no reference to Fakhr-ud-dīn's son and successor (*HIED*, III, 304). According to the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Muhammad Tughluq invaded Bengal in 741 A.H (A.D 1340-1) and killed Fakhr-ud-dīn Both these statements are proved to be wrong by the fact that Fakhr-ud-dīn issued coins till 750 A.H. and Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Ghāzī Shāh issued coins from Sonārgāon in 750 and 753 A.H. The latter was probably the son of the former though there is no definite proof of this. (Ed.).

10a According to the *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, *JBORS*, XXVII, 92

11. The date usually assigned to Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh, namely 743-758 A.H., has been given up, as a closer examination of his coins in the Indian Museum corroborates Mr Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad's reading of the dates 740 and 760 The reign of Ilyās Shāh therefore covers the period A.D 1339 to 1358-9 (vide the *Supplementary Catalogue* by Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad to Vol. II of the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*).

12 As noted above, 'Izz-ud-dīn Yahyā, the governor of Sātgāon, in south Bengal, joined the governors of Karā and Lakhnāwatī in an expedition against Fakhr-ud-dīn of Sonārgāon in A D 1330 But after this Yahyā passes from our view. According to Ibn Batūtah, Fakhr-ud-dīn fitted out ships from the port of Sadkawan in his campaign against Lakhnāwatī (*IBH*, 235 ff). Sadkawan has been identified by some with Sātgāon and by others with Chittagong (for the controversy cf *HBS*, 100, f n 1) In case we accept the first identification we must presume that Fakhr-ud-dīn succeeded in annexing south Bengal and this view is supported by the fact that nothing more is heard of Yahyā On the other hand, as 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Alī Shāh of Lakhnāwatī issued coins till 743 A H (A D 1342), and Fakhr-ud-dīn's successor ruled in Sonārgāon till A D 1352, it is most reasonable to hold that Ilyās Shāh established his power in Sātgāon in 740 A H (AD 1339-40), the earliest date found on the coins issued by him. (Ed)

13 For full details cf Ch XIII-D, III.

14 According to Baranī, whose view has been adopted by later writers, Fīrūz left Delhi on 10 Shawal, 754 A H (November 8, 1353) and returned to Delhi on 12 Shaban 755 A H (September 1, 1354) But the detailed accounts of Fīrūz's march, given by 'Afīf, makes it difficult to believe that the whole military operation lasted only ten months Accordingly it has been held by some that Fīrūz spent about two years in this campaign (*HBS*, 105-6) 'Afīf alone gives full details of both the campaigns of Fīrūz against Bengal, but his account is obviously of a partisan character, and he tries to gloss over the discomfiture of his patron and assigns specious grounds for discomfiture as will be noted below (Ed)

14a *JASB*, N S, XIX, 279

15 For the identification of Ekdālā, which was for long a very controversial issue, cf *HBS*, 107, f n 1

16 For the account given in this and next para see
 1 *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, *HIED*, III
 2 *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Tr. by K K Basu, *JBORS*, XXVII, 79 ff
 3 *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shahī*, Tr. by K K Basu 123-134
 (The translation of a passage of 'Afīf, quoted above, is given on p 129 f n 5 of his work, but does not occur in *HIED*, III)
 4 *Firishta* (Briggs, I, 449-52, IV, 331-34)
 5 *TA*. I 244-47
 6 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, I, Tr by Ranking, 324-29.
 As regards the date of the campaign cf *HBS*, 105, ff (Ed)

17 For the text of the proclamation cf *JASB*, N. S, XIX, 279 For Baranī's remark, not translated in *HIED*, see the text, p 586, or the Hindi translation in *TKB* by A A Rizvi, Part II, pp. 39-40 (Ed)

18 'Afīf says that Zafar Khān was received with extraordinary honours "On the first day he received 30 000 *tankas* to get his clothes washed His title, Zafar Khān, was confirmed and a sum of 4 lacs of *tankas* granted to him and his friends One thousand horses and large numbers of footmen were assigned to him He was first appointed deputy-*wazīr*, and subsequently became *wazīr*". 'Afīf distinctly says that Sultān Fīrūz undertook the expedition to Bengal "for avenging the claims of Zafar Khān". 'Afīf further adds that preparations for

this campaign were began even during the lifetime of Ilyās, who out of fear, retreated to Sonārgāon, and then we are told that "the inhabitants of that place were instant (sic) in their supplications to Sultān Firoz Shāh for relief from the tyrant", (*HIED*, III. 304-5). (Ed.).

19. *HIED*, III. 308. As mentioned above, the same motive, according to 'Afīf, persuaded Fīrūz not to storm the citadel of Ekdālā in the first expedition (Ibid. 296-7) It could not have been unknown to Fīrūz that the ignominy of Muslim women was an inevitable consequence of military campaigns, and if therefore this consideration weighed with him in not pressing the campaign to a victorious conclusion, he should not have undertaken the campaign at all. At least after his experience of the first campaign, he should not have undertaken the second The same argument applies to the aversion of Fīrūz to the annexation of Bengal, as mentioned by 'Afīf (Ed).

20. If the argument advanced by Zafar was sincere, why, one might pertinently ask, was the campaign undertaken at all? What about avenging the claims of Zafar Khan, which, according to 'Afīf, was the sole motive of Fīrūz in undertaking this campaign? (Ed).

20a. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, p. 155

20b P Cf pp 92-3

21. The extreme known dates on Sikandar's coins are 758 and 792, and A'zam Shāh's earliest coin bears the date 793 (A H which commenced on 9-12-1390 A D) A'zam Shāh therefore probably ascended the throne in 1391 A D The date of A'zam Shāh's accession is given as A D 1389, and again some time between 793 and 795 A H (A D 1390 and 1393) in *HBS*, pp 114 and 116 (Ed)

22 The accounts of Mahuan and other Chinese envoys of this period have been translated by Dr P C Bagchi in the *Visvabharati Annals*, I 101 ff.

23 This was the theory of Dr Bagchi (op cit 108-9) He held that while Ghiyās-ud-dīn (died A D 1411) and his son Saif ud dīn (A D 1412-21) ruled in one part of the kingdom, Shihāb-ud-dīn (A D 1409-14) and Jalāl-ud-dīn (1414-31) ruled in another part He further identified Shihāb-ud-dīn with Rāja Gaṇeśa, to whom reference will be made later

24. These have been very fully discussed, with reference to authorities, by Dr. A H. Dani in *JRASBL*, XVIII (1952), 121 ff and by Sukhamay Mukhopadhyaya in his Bengali Book *Bānglār Itihāser duso vachhar* (1966) The earlier discussion of the subject cf *The Coins and Chronology of the Independent Sultans of Bengal* by N K Bhattasali, and HBS, 120 ff

24a These letters have been quoted and their bearings on the problem of Gaṇeśa have been discussed by S H Askari in the *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol LXVII, pp 32-9, Sukhamay Mukhopadhyaya, op cit, pp. 19 ff

25. *op cit.*

26 *HBS*, 121, 125 ff.

27 This is the view of Jadu Nath Sarkar and Stapleton, *HBS*, 121

28 Dani op cit

29. *IHQ* XVII, 465-6 which quotes references to the king in Sanskrit books

30 *Matla'-us Sadain*, edited by Md Shafi, Vol II, Part II, 782-3 Also cf *India in the Fifteenth Century* by Major

31. Dani, op cit

32 This date is obtained from a coin in the Rajshahi Museum (*JNS*, IX, 1947, pp 45-48) The date, usually given as A D 1442 (*HBS*, 130), must therefore be rejected

33. R. D Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I 289 ff, 301-2 *HBS*, 132

34 JASB, 1867, p 135 Also cf O'Malley—*Khulna Gazetteer*, pp 26-7

35 The text of this manuscript, found in the shrine of the saint at Kantaduar in the Rangpur District, was published, with an abridged translation, by G H Damant in *JASB*, 1874 pp 216-39

36 The Portuguese writer De Barros refers to the employment of Arab soldiers by a king of Gaur for the conquest of Orissa (*JASB*, 1873, p 287) As this happened about a hundred years before the arrival of the Portuguese in Chittagong, the reference may be to the campaign of Ismā'īl (Ed)

36a A full account is given in Ch XII-D

37. Levi, *Le Nepal*, II, 238

38. Stapleton and Abid Ali—*Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p 77

39. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Babur*, II, 482 3

40. Cf *HBS*, 142-3.

41 The *Riyāz* gives a full account

42. Firishta, Lith Ed, p 301-2

43 The Kamrup campaign, concluded in 1501-2, as well as the question whether Husain Shāh followed it up by invading the Āhom Kingdom, has been fully discussed in Ch. XIII—D.
44. *HBS*, 149.
45 Some hold that the commander of the expedition was possibly Nusrat Khān, the crown-prince, to whom local traditions of Chittagong ascribe the first Muslim conquest of the district (*HBS*, 149-50). (Ed.)

F. SIND

1 See above, Vol. IV, 127, V, 1-2
2 See above, Vol V, 10.
3. *IBH*, 6
4 *CHI*, III, 306
5 *Tārikh-i-Tāhiri*, *HIED*, I, 256, *Āin* Tr 2nd Ed. II, 343; *TA*, III, 772, Firishta (*Briggs*, IV. 411) states that the Sūmras ruled for 500 years, but according to the lith. ed II, 609, 100 years only.
6 *Jagaducharita*, V, vv. 3-41, edited by G. Bühler, *Indian Studies*, I.
7 This leads to a difficulty because, according to Mīr Ma'sūm, after the death of Singhār in A.D 1007, his wife ascended the throne and then followed a strife at the end of which Pithu became king. But this difficulty is not insurmountable, for either Hamūn, the queen of Singhār, or Pithu—whose regnal periods are not mentioned—might have enjoyed long reigns or the internal strife lasted for a very long time, so that it is not improbable for Pṛthadeva to have been on the throne during the early years of the reign of Bhīma II.
8 *TA*, III, 795
9 Practically no two accounts of the Sammā dynasty agree among themselves, although the differences are not great The reason for this discrepancy is that with the exception of Nizām-ud-dīn none of our authorities were able to find a written history of Sind following the death of bin Qāsim. We have therefore followed Nizām-ud-dīn's version (*TA*, III, 773 ff)
10 S H Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, I, 102.
11 The following account based on the *Munshāt-i-Mahrū*, *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhi*, and the *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf is based on R Islam's article, Rise of The Sammās In Sind, in *Is C.*, XXII, 359-82, and all the necessary references will be found there For Banhbina I have adopted the spelling suggested by R Islam.
12 See above, pp. 95-6.
13 *TA*, III, 779 As noted above, Hodivala assigns to him a reign of 48 years, but gives no reason.

G MULTAN

1 Vol IV, 127
1a Vol V, 132-3
2 Minhaj, 235 A B M Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, 129, 200-01 (Lahore, 1945) The date, A D 1241, given by Habibullah for this event, should be 1242 (Above, Vol V, p 139)
3 E Thomas *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (London, 1871), 91.
4 M W Mirza *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* (Calcutta, 1935), 59. [The date for this event, given above (Vol V, 155) as 1286, is probably wrong. Ed]
5 At least up to A D 1422 'Alā-ul-Mulk was the governor of Multān. In that year news came that Shaikh 'Alī was preparing an invasion, whereupon Mubārak Shāh removed 'Alā-ul-Mulk and appointed Malik Mahmūd Hasan as governor of Multān (*TA* I, 305) In A D 1426, Malik Mahmūd Hasan was transferred and Malik Rajab Nādira sent to Multān (ibid, 308). Malik Rajab Nādira died in 1428 after which Mubārak again sent Malik Mahmūd Hasan to Multān conferring on him the title of 'Imād-ul-Mulk (ibid, 311) In 1431, he was removed from Multān and Malik Khair-ud-dīn Khānī received Multān as his fief Commenting on this Yahyā bin Ahmad states. "But this act of transfer was imprudent and inconsiderate, as some insurrection broke out in Multān, an account of which will be given in the following pages" (*TMB*, 231). But no account of insurrection is given Shaikh 'Alī came in A D 1431, to help Pūlad at the latter's request This time Shaikh 'Alī was defeated near Multān and forced to turn back, but the governorship of Multān was transferred from 'Imād-ul-Mulk to Khair-ud-dīn (ibid. 315) Soon after Sheikhā Khokhar start-

ed his operations and beseiged Lahore, and taking advantage of the situation Shaikh 'Alī advanced and captured Talambah (on the left bank of Rāvi, 52 miles north-east of Multān, identified as Malli conquered by Alexander, where he crossed the Rāvi, ibid, 313, f n. 3, 316) This time Mubārak Shāh advanced and Shaikh 'Ali fled to Kābul.

6. According to Nizām-ud-dīn, 838 A H. (A D 1434 *TA*, I. 326) According to Firishta (Briggs) 840 A H (A.D 1436), I. 536
7. Briggs, IV. 380 Firishta probably means that the Governor was not appointed by the Sultān of Delhi.

7a According to some authorities, Shaikh Yūsuf was never appointed governor of Multān, and it was conquered, not by Qutb-ud-dīn, but by his father, Budhan Khān Sindhī, chief of the Lankāh tribe, in A D 1437 (See Appendix A at the end of this chapter)

8. I have adopted the spelling of the proper names as found in the *TA*, which differs from those found in the *CHI*
9. The date of Sultān Husain's death is doubtful; even Nizām-ud-dīn (*TA*, **III**, ii. 80) could not ascertain the date definitely But the reading 980 A H. accepted in the translation of the *TA*, is impossible, as, according to Nizām-ud-dīn, Husain succeeded his father in 865 A H, neither is 940 A H likely I have therefore accepted the reading 908 A H found in the lithograph ed of the *TA* and followed by Sir Wolseley Haig (*CHI*, III, 504). Firishta (Briggs, IV, 391) also gives the year of Husain's death as 908 A H

9a. Jām Bāyazīd acknowledged allegiance to Sikandar Lodī, who thereupon sent him help. *Āīn* (text), I, 555, *Tanqīh-ul-Akhbār*, I O MS f 233b, *Mir'at-i-Jahān Numa* Camb MS f 36a (This note was written by Dr. Hamidud Din Ed)

10 *TA*, III, ii, 803, Firishta (Briggs), IV, 395

11. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Multān fell to Husain Arghūn in A D 1528, but both Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta (op cit.) quote one Maulānā Sa'dullah Lahorī, who was at Multān during its fall and states that it fell in 932 A H (A D 1525) Nizām-ud-dīn, makes it clear that Bābur "took possession of the Punjab in the year 930 A H and marched towards Delhi," that is, before the battle of Pānipat It is known that after conquering Lahore, Bābur instructed his generals to help 'Alam Khān in his projected attack on Delhi which never took place. Probably Nizām-ud-dīn is referring to this abortive invasion Babur is most unlikely to have bestowed Multān to the Arghūns after the battle of Pānipat (But Dr Hamidud Din points out that according to the *Tanqīh-ul-Akhbār*, I O MS f 2331, *Āīn* (text) I, 555, *Muntākhab*, Hasan Khaki, Eton MS f 158b, *Ma'āsir-i-Rahimi*, I, 283, Shah Husain Arghun captured Multān in 1526)

H. SOUTH INDIA

1. Vol V, p 259
2. Above, pp 35-37
3. Above, p 43
4. K A. N. Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp 209-10
5. Ibid, 206
6. According to S K Aiyangar (*South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, 123) Malik Kāfūr "left a garrison behind in Madurā, the headquarters of the Pāṇḍya Kulasékhara who had fled for protection to Delhi Whether the garrison was left to safeguard the interests of Kulasékhara is not clearly stated, but seems quite likely" (Kulasékhara is obviously a slip for Sundara Pāṇḍya) K A N Sastri, however, observes that our authorities "do not suggest that Malik Kāfūr's invasion of Ma'bar was either caused by these differences (between the two brothers) or undertaken in the interest of one of the parties and on an appeal from him There is thus no reason to suppose that Sundara Pāṇḍya was restored to the throne of Madurā and that a Muhammadan garrison was left behind in the city for his protection" (op cit 207-8)
7. Sastri, op cit 208
8. Sastri, op cit. 211-2, *EI*, IV 146-8, *Ann Rep. S Ind Ep*, No 34 of 1911
9. For a detailed treatment of the history of Ma'bar during this and the ensuing period cf N Venkataramanayya's two articles· (1) Ma'bar (1311-1323) in *JOR*, XII, part ii, 136 ff and (2) Ma'bar (1323-1371) in the *Journal of the Madras University* (1939), XI, 41-65, also Sastri, op cit, S A Q. Husaini The History of the Madura Sultanate, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, II, 90-130.
10. Sastri, op. cit, 213-4

10a. Above p. 43.
11. Sastri, op. cit., 214-245
12. Sastri, op. cit., 210.
13 For these records cf. Sastri, op. cit, 245-6. Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya's rule in Nagercoil is not mentioned by Sastri, but is proved by a local inscription (*EI*, VII, 12).
14. Sastri, op cit, 246-7
15 Above p 74.
16. *IBH*, 99 As Ibn Batūtah was not only a contemporary writer but was also closely related to Jalāl-ud-dīn, his evidence undoubtedly carries great weight, and has been accepted by many (*CHI*, III 148). On the other hand 'Isāmī, another contemporary writer, definitely asserts that Jalāl-ud-dīn was the *kotwāl* of Madurā and that he usurped the government of the province after murdering the officers who were in charge of the administration (*Futūh-us-Salātīn*, p 449). This is also partially corroborated by Yahyā (N Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, 123, f n 50) In judging the comparative value of the evidence respectively of Ibn Batūtah and 'Isāmī, we must make due allowance for the natural desire or tendency of the former to exaggerate the importance and status of one whose daughter he had married.
17 Venkataramanayya, *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, 205 See also the *Madhurāvijayam* of Gaṅgādevī ed. by S Thiruvenkatachari, introduction, 15.
18 *IBH* 226.
19. *IBH* 227-8. In the passage quoted, Ibn Batūtah has referred to the persecuted people as *Kuffār* (plural of *Kāfir*) which Dr. Husain has translated as 'enemy'. But as Ibn Batūtah does not refer to any battle or any hostile action, it is not easy to understand why the normal meaning of *Kāfir* should not be accepted here Dr Husain also, has not assigned any reason for interpreting it differently It therefore seems preferable to follow Defremery and Sanguinetti's translation where the word *kāfir* has been translated as 'Hindu'. (*Voyages D'Ibn Batutah*, Text and translation by C Defremery and B R Sanguinetti Paris, 1922, IV, 192). There is no doubt that Ghiyās-ud-dīn Damaghānī was hunting out peaceful people who might have taken shelter in the forest to escape from his clutches Therefore, to describe them as enemies seems inappropriate. Hence I have taken the word *Kafir* used by Ibn Batūtah in its normal sense to mean the Hindus It seems that Gangādevī refers to this inhuman act when, lamenting on the condition of Madurā after Muslim occupation, she writes "I very much lament for what has happened to the groves in Madhura The cocoanut trees have all been cut and in their places are to be seen rows of iron spikes with human skulls dangling at the points ' Gangādevī, op cit, 61.
20 Ibn Batūtah calls the place Kubban, *IBH*, 229, which has been identified with Konnanur—Koppam S K Aiyangar, op cit, 173-4, N. Venkataramanayya, Journal of the Madras University, XI. 48
21 *Tarikh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, (Text, B I) 261-2 *Tughluq Kālīn Bhārata*, II 109-10 Hodivala,—*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, I, 326-7
22 For a discussion of this problem see N Venkataramanayya, op cit
23 Hodivala, op cit, 327
24 K A N Sastri and N Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, I 40
25 S K Aiyangar op cit, 184
26 E Hultzsch The coinage of the Sultans of Madura, *JRAS*, 1909, 667
27 K A N Sastri, op cit, 224 T V Mahalingam, Two centuries of Madura *PIHC*, 1945 198
28 See N Venkataramanayya, op cit, Also cf ch XII
29 E Hultzsch, Ranganatha Inscription of Goppana, *EI*, VI, 330, Tirumelli Copper plate grant of Bhāskara Ravivarman, E Plate II, *IA*, XX 289
30 For the struggle between Vijayanagara and Madurā, cf Ch XII, also *JRAS*, 1909, pp 682-3 For Saṅgama's victory, cf *JBBRAS*, XII 876-77.
31 K A N Sastri, op cit, 244 also Ch XII

Appendix to Chapter X

THE ORIGIN OF THE LANKĀHS

Some of the well known writers, including Niẓām-ud-dīn, 'Abbās Sarwānī and Mīr Ma'sūm, hold the view that the Lankāh dynasty of Multān was founded by one Rāi Sahra who hailed from Rapri (Rapar in Mailse tahsil of Multān) or Sewi (modern Sibbi near Quetta) and overthrew Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī whom the people of Multān had raised to power in the reign of the Sayyid Sultān, 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ālam Shāh. [The date stated by them is A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443) although 'Ālam Shāh succeeded his father Muhammad Shāh in A.H. 849 (A.D. 1445). See above p 137 n. 28]. They give, however, divergent and often conflicting accounts of the various Lankāh rulers as well as of their chronology and this renders their statements incredible (*TA*, III, 522, *Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shāhī,* Camb MS. fol. 2., *Tārīkh-i-Sind* by Ma'sūm, ed. Da'ūdpota, 148)

However, before ousting Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī from Multān in A.H. 849 (A.D. 1445) Rāi Sahra, according to the *TA* and the *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* had held discussions with the Shaikh during which it was revealed that Buhlūl had by then occupied Delhi, an event which actually took place in A H 855/A.D. 1451 This would also contradict the other statement that Shaikh Yūsuf went to Delhi to seek Buhlūl's help in recovering Multān. *CHI* (III, 503) has also ignored the date of Buhlūl's accession while stating that Shaikh Yūsuf was banished in A D 1440 to Delhi where he was well received by Buhlūl Rāi Sahra, who had assumed the title of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn, died, according to the *TA*, in A H 865 (A D 1460) after a reign of 16 years In Firishta (II, 628) and the *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* (I, 268) the date of his death is given as A H 874 (A D 1469), but the account of the latter is confused as it agrees simultaneously with the TA in respect of the date of Rāi Sahra's accession as well as the duration of his reign.

A further probe into the question, however, discredits the view that Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī ever became the ruler of Multān The statement of the *TA* and the *Tārīkh-i-Sind* that the affairs of Multān were neglected during the latter part of the Sayyid period and that in the absence of a duly appointed governor, the people chose Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī as their ruler, is belied by the contemporary account of the *TM* (231) according to which Sultān Mubārak Shāh went to Multān in A H 836 (A D 1432) about 9 months before his death. It was probably during this visit that he bestowed the governorship of Multān on Khān-i-Khānān whom the *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* has described as his brother Again, Sultān Muhammad Shāh set out for Multān in A H 838 (A D 1434) (*TM*, 243) and is believed to have confirmed Khān-i-Khānān in his appointment. Three years later, in A.H 841 (A D 1437), Budhan Khān Sindhī, chief of the tribe of Lankāhs, marched from Uchh, and after overthrowing Khān-

i-Khānān established himself as Sultān Mahmūd Shāh. He reigned for 17 years, and in A.H. 858 (A.D. 1454) was succeeded by his son, Qutb-ud-dīn, whose reign lasted 16 years till A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469). The latter was followed by Sultān Husain Lankāh who occupied the throne of Multān for three decades. This account, which appears to be most acceptable, is given in the *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* (Camb. MS. pp. 128-9) and is supported by Nūr-ul-Haq's *Zubdat-ut-Twārīkh* Lindesiana MS. fol. 257. Through the copyist's error, the date of Mahmūd Shāh Lankāh's death is written as A.H. 850 (A.D. 1446) although the length of his reign is correctly described as 17 years). Abu-'l Fazl has also corroborated the account of the *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* from the accession of Mahmūd Shāh Lankāh onwards, but his earlier references to Rāi Sahra and Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī are incorrect. (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, text I, 554 See also *Mujmal-i-Mufassal* A.S.B. Calcutta MS. fol. 215b wherein the account of the *TA.* as well as of *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* is reproduced.)

It will be seen, therefore, that Qutb-ud-dīn was the second Lankāh ruler and not the first one as described by Nizām-ud-dīn, Mīr Ma'sūm and even by Firishta who otherwise correctly assigns to him a reign of 16 years ending in A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469) It may also be observed that Rāi Sahra is rather an unusual name and the prefix, Rāi, suggestes a Rājput origin whereas the Lankāhs, according to Firishta, were Afghāns.

The error into which Nizām-ud-dīn, Mīr Ma'sūm and some other writers have fallen, is probably due to the fact that Buhlūl gave his daughter in marriage to Shaikh Abdullāh, son of Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī This has apparently led these writers to assign to the Shaikh a political role as well. There is no doubt that Buhlūl as a pious Muslim held in great esteem the Muslim saints (see above p 152 n 9d) and he must have gladly married his daughter to the son of Shaikh Yūsuf who happened to be a descendant of the renowned Muslim saint, Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyā Quraishī of Multān. This is confirmed by 'Abdul Haq as well as by another contemporaneous writer, Ghausī Shāh Hārī, but neither of them refers to Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī's elevation to the throne of Multān. (See *Akhbār ul-Akhyār* p 209. *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, Lindesiana MS. fol. 124b, A S B Calcutta MS fol. 64b)

CHAPTER XI

THE BAHMANĪ KINGDOM

1. THE ORIGIN OF BAHMAN SHĀH

Reference has been made above[1] to the successful revolt in the Deccan, in A.D 1345, during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, and the accession, two years later, of an *amīr*, named Hasan Gangū bearing the title Zafar Khān, to the throne at Daulatābād as Abu-'l Muzaffar 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahman Shāh.

As usually happens, various stories were current regarding the early life and family history of the parvenu king Even at the time when Firishta wrote, there were too many of them and the one that he gives as the most credible may be summarised as follows:

"Hasan, a native of Delhi, was a servant of a Brahman named Gangū. Once Hasan, while tilling the field, chanced to discover a copper pot full of gold coins, which he carried to his master Impressed by his honesty, the Brahman brought the fact to the notice of the Sultān, who appointed him to the command of one hundred horse. The Brahman, who was an astrologer, prophesied his future greatness, and made him promise that if he ever became a king he would assume the title Gangū."

Tabātabā and Nizām-ud-dīn, the authors respectively of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, both of whom wrote earlier than Firishta, give credit to the story that Hasan was descended from the hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, and therefore the dynasty is called Bahmanī. Firishta disbelieves the story and makes an emphatic assertion to the following effect: "It has been asserted that he was descended from Bahmun, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and I, the author, have even seen a pedigree of him so derived, in the royal library at Ahmudnuggur; but it was probably only framed, after his accession to the throne, by flatterers and poets, for I believe his origin was too obscure to admit of being traced The appellation of Bahmuny he certainly took out of compliment to his master, Gungoo, the bramin, a word often pronounced bahmun The King himself was by birth an Afghan " It is to be noted that though neither Tabātabā nor Nizām-ud-dīn refers to the Brahman episode, the latter as well as Yahyā, an earlier authority, calls the king Hasan Gangū or Kankū. The attempt to explain away Kankū as a scribe's corruption of Kaikāūs is hardly satisfactory.[2] The story given by

Firishta, therefore, cannot be dismissed off-hand as 'absurd',[3] nor is it incompatible with epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as many have held. The title Bahman Shāh is mentioned in the Gulbarga Mosque Inscription and is also found on the coins of the dynasty. It seems to be the most appropriate appellation which the courtiers of 'Alā-ud-dīn could suggest to him, taking into consideration the king's sense of gratitude to the Brahman, Gangū, and the identity of the Persianized form, Bahman, of the caste name Brahman, with the name of the great Persian King Bahman, son of Isfandiyār. In Gulbarga there is, to this day, a street called Baihmanipurā, where the majority of the residents are Brahmans, and some of them describe themselves as descendants of Gangū.[3a] On the whole, it seems much safer to leave open the question of the origin and early history of Hasan and the real significance of the dynastic appellation Bahmanī. The story of Firishta cannot be set aside or even regarded as less probable than the descent from an ancient Persian hero. In any case we may reasonably hold that Hasan was born in humble life and was by his own efforts elevated to the throne.

The dynasty he founded became famous in history as the Bahmanī dynasty and it ruled the Deccan for the next two hundred years.

2 THE GULBARGA PERIOD (1374-1422)

Soon after the ceremony at Daulatābād, Bahman Shāh selected Gulbarga as his capital It remained the seat of the Bahmanī government till about 1425 when, during the reign of Ahmad Shāh Valī (1422-1436), the capital was shifted to Bīdar A great city grew in place of the old provincial town of Gulbarga with palaces for the Sultān and the grandees of his court, mosques, bazars and other public buildings Situated centrally in the new kingdom, Gulbarga was able to command its Marāthī, Kannaḍa and Telugu areas effectively

The first task of Bahman Shāh was to impose his sovereignty over the many dissident elements that had grown up in the Deccan during the period of upheaval preceding his elevation to the throne He sent his first expedition towards the Nāsik area to drive out the remnants of the Tughluq army in the Deccan and to show the flag of the new dynasty to the Hindu chiefs of Baglāna His armies are said to have gone as far as the Dangs[4] beyond Baglāna Another expedition was directed to places near the capital, such as Akalkot, Bhum and Mundargī. "Each of the zamīndārs of that district (Mundargī) who submitted to his rule he left in undisturbed possession of his feudal lands. .. but any who disputed his authority,

their country and goods were plundered, and they and those under them put to death".[5] Isma'il Mukh, who had abdicated in favour of Bahman Shāh, was given a *jāgīr* near Jamkhandī in the hope that he would subdue that area and bring it under submission. But Nārāyaṇa, a Hindu chieftain of this area, succeeded in turning Isma'il against his king. This disaffection was shortlived, as, soon after, Isma'il was poisoned by the Hindu chief. The vigorous measures taken by Bahman Shāh for the punishment of Nārāyaṇa also enabled him to consolidate his rule in the present Bijāpur district. The Sultān then turned his attention towards Karhād and Kolhāpur and the passes leading to the Konkan ports of Dabhol and Kharepatan. It may be noted that the ports on the Konkan coast and the roads and passes leading to them were controlled by Gulbarga, and that much of the Konkan territory did not come into Bahmanī possession till Mahmūd Gāvān organized campaigns for this purpose in the next century. In the north-east, the territory up to Māhūr (19° 49′ N and 77° 58′ E) was brought under Bahmanī sway, and in the south, portions of western Telingāna including the strong fortress of Bhongīr (17° 31′ N and 78° 53′ E) were occupied. These expeditions also resulted in considerable material benefit by way of tributes in cash, jewellery and elephants and helped the Sultān in building a strong army. Thus was the newly created kingdom consolidated.[6]

Bahman Shāh's dominion had two Hindu neighbours, which, like itself, had emerged on the break-up of the Tughluq empire. One was Warangal, under Kāpaya Nāyaka,[7] on the south and south-east, and the other, Vijayanagara, a more modern but more powerful State than Warangal, on the south and south-west This proximity of two powerful Hindu kingdoms to an equally powerful Muslim kingdom explains the chronic warfare of the next hundred years that characterizes the history of the Deccan. The Bahmanī kingdom was determined to advance as far south as Madurā, the limit of the Tughluq empire, and the Hindu kingdoms were as determined to prevent this advance

Bahman Shāh led his first campaign against Warangal in 1350 when he compelled its ruler Kāpaya Nāyaka to cede to him the fortress of Kaulās (18° 50′ N and 77° 80′ E) as the price of peace, and imposed on him an annual tribute. Henceforward, all wars between the Bahmanīs and Warangal can be traced either to Kāpaya's neglect to pay the stipulated tribute or to his demands for the restoration of Kaulās According to Firishta, Bahman Shāh invaded the Carnatic, but it is doubtful whether it brought him into conflict with Vijayanagara itself But the war certainly began in the next reign

Bahman Shāh created an aristocracy by bestowing titles like *Khān* and *Malik* on the majority of his officers, while the more influential and powerful among them were decorated with special distinctions like Qutb-ul-Mulk, Khvāja Jahān etc. The highest title was Amīr-ul-Umarā' and this was given to Isma'īl Mukh in recognition of the royal position he had occupied The dignity of a royal court and royal palace also demanded many officials or *dīwāns*, and so positions of treasurer (*khazan*), superintendent of elephants (*shahnah-i-fīl*), keeper of the seals (*dawāt-dār*), lord chamberlain (*sayyid-ul-hujjāb*), royal taster (*chāshnīgir*) etc. were created and bestowed on trusted servants.[8] Two other positions were the royal secretary (*dabīr*) and constable of the city (*hājib-i-qasabah*) which in course of time were conferred upon persons with the rank of a minister rather than upon ordinary court officials.

The Sultān found a ready made pattern of administration which he could adopt Two years before the Deccan became independent, Muhammad Tughluq had divided it into four *shiqs*. Bahman Shāh accepted this idea and continued to have four divisions to each of which he appointed a governor with an appropriate title He, however, discontinued the term *shiq* for these divisions.[9]

*'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh died in A D. 1358 at the age of 67 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shāh.

*The reign of Muhammad Shāh saw the beginning of that long-drawn struggle with Vijayanagara which continued, with intervals, till the final breakdown of the latter kingdom According to Firishta, the king's father, 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan, "sent a considerable force into the Carnatic" which returned with a rich booty exacted from "several rājas" In the absence of any specific reference to Vijayanagara, it can only mean a successful raid into the borderland between the two kingdoms. The actual war between the two newly founded succession states of the Sultanate broke out in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. It was a defensive war which Muhammad had to wage against the combination of the two Hindu States of Vijayanagara and Telingāna. It may be pointed out that the rivalry between the Bahmanī kingdom and Vijayanagara was primarily due to those political and economic factors which led, even in the Hindu period, to age-long struggles between the powers who occupied the two sides of the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā line such as the Chālukyas and the Pallavas, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Cholas, etc

*The ruler of Telingāna, Kāpaya Nāyaka, formally demanded the fortress of Kaulās which 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan had wrested from him; while Bukka, the king of Vijayanagara demanded the Krishnā-Tuṅgabhadrā-*doāb*, presumably on the ground that it had always be-

longed to the southern State. As these two demands were presented almost simultaneously, there was hardly any doubt in the mind of Muhammad, that the two Hindu States had entered into an alliance against him, and this was really the case.

*After temporizing for some time, Muhammad Shāh not only refused the demands but made counter-demands upon the two Hindu kings. Thereupon Kāpaya sent his son Vināyaka Deva with a large army to seize the fortress of Kaulās, while Bukka sent twenty thousand men to his help and invaded the Rāichur *doāb* (A.D. 1362). The allied force was defeated near Kaulās and Kāpaya, being pursued up to Warangal, was forced to buy peace by offering a large amount of money and over twenty-five elephants Soon after this agreement was reached, quarrel broke out again and Muhammad Shāh, by a surprise attack on Palampet, seized the young prince Vināyaka and put him to death with barbarous cruelty. In course of his return, the Sultān suffered a great deal from the guerilla tactics of the enemy. He was himself wounded and of his 4,000 soldiers only 1,500 returned with him. Next year Muhammad Shāh received a report from the secret service, instituted by him at Delhi, that Kāpaya, enraged at the death of his son, had approached Fīrūz Tughluq for assistance against him. He immediately invaded Telingāna (A D 1363) with a large army. Kāpaya was unable to withstand the force and concluded a treaty by paying a large amount of money and ceding Golconda which was fixed as the perpetual boundary between the two kingdoms Kāpaya also presented a turquoise throne which henceforth was used as the royal throne of the Bahmanīs. This account is based almost entirely upon Firishta, and it is difficult to say whether we may accept it as unvarnished truth. As will be shown later, in the chapter on Vijayanagara, Firishta gives a similar account of the successive victories won by Muhammad Shāh against that kingdom. But the terms of the treaty which ended the war clearly indicate that Muhammad Shāh had to concede all the major demands of Bukka The cession by Kāpaya of the fortress of Golconda is an undoubted fact, and indicates his discomfiture in the war On the other hand, according to Firishta himself, when Muhammad Shāh began the campaign he was "resolved on the entire conquest of Telingāna",[9a] and yet he concluded a treaty, fixing Golconda as the perpetual boundary between the Bahmanī kingdom and Telingāna This certainly indicates that perhaps the small Hindu principality of Telingāna did not fare as badly as Firishta would have us believe Equally doubtful is Firishta's statement, that being reproached by the ambassadors of Vijayanagara for indiscriminate massacre of Hindu women and children, Muhammad Shāh "took an oath, that he would not, here-

after, put to death a single enemy after a victory and would bind his successors to observe the same line of conduct"[9b] But Firishta exceeds all limits when he observes. "From that time to this, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects".[9c] The account of Firishta himself gives a direct lie to this statement.

The last campaign in Telingāna lasted for about two years and was immediately followed by a protracted war with Vijayanagara which will be described in the next chapter. After this campaign was over Muhammad Shāh reigned in peace and prosperity. He turned his attention to the improvement of administration and consolidation of authority over his extensive kingdom till his death in A.D. 1375. Muhammad Shāh indulged in wine and other vices, but a story is told how in deference to the wishes of a pious *shaikh,* Muhammad Shāh abjured the use of wine in public and ordered the closure of distilleries in the kingdom. This enforced temperance proved to be a shortlived reform and seems to have passed away towards the close of the Sultān's reign The reign of Muhammad Shāh marks the beginning of an independent Deccan architecture to which reference will be made later. He was also the first to organize the artillery and to use it in fights against Vijayanagara [9d]

Muhammad I was succeeded by his son 'Alā-ud-dīn Mujāhid (1375) whose short reign is chiefly remembered for his Gargantuan appetite and physical prowess which earned him the sobriquet of '*balawant*' The chief event of his short reign of about three years was his campaign against Vijayanagara as will be related later While returning from this campaign, Mujāhid was murdered by his cousin Dāūd[9e] (1378) who then ascended the throne. Within about a month, however, Mujāhid's partisans avenged his death by assassinating Dāūd, and setting on the throne Dāūd's brother, Muhammad II, in preference to Dāūd's son, Sanjar, who was blinded

The king of Vijayanagara took advantage of these political troubles to wrest a large slice of territory on the western coast, including the port of Goa. But barring this, the long reign of Muhammad II was on the whole peaceful, and he put an end to palace and court intrigues and the regicide atmosphere that had grown in the capital. The Sultān was, however, no match for his rival, the king of Vijayanagara, who consolidated his authority in the eastern regions in defiance of him, as will be related later Muhammad Shāh II was essentially a man of culture, and he tried to attract to his kingdom men of piety and erudition. He made Fazullāh Anjū, one of the learned divines of the time, *Sadr-i-Jahān* or Chief Justice and Minister for Religious Endowments, and invited the great Hāfiz

to his court. But the poet, on being caught in a storm on embarkation at Ormuz, decided to abandon his voyage. He sent an ode to the king instead, for which a rich present was returned to him by the royal patron. The Sultān himself was a very learned man and was nick-named Aristotle by his subjects. With learning he combined an abiding interest in the welfare of his subjects. When his kingdom was ravaged by a famine he made prompt and efficient arrangement for the transport of grain from Gujarāt and Mālwa and its distribution among Muslims only at cheap rates. He established orphanages in various centres in the kingdom two of which were at the Konkan ports of Chaul and Dabhol.[10]

Muhammad II died in April 1397, and was succeeded by Ghiyās-ud-dīn. Malik Saif-ud-dīn Ghūrī, the powerful and able Bahmanī minister who had rendered distinguished and loyal services to the new dynasty since the reign of its founder and had a large share in setting up the Bahmanī administrative machinery, died the very next day after Muhammad II. A Turkish faction now raised its head in Gulbarga under the leadership of Taghalchīn, an unscrupulous adventurer. The king had incurred Taghalchīn's wrath by refusing to appoint him to the governorship of Gulbarga and to the position of *Vakīl-us-saltanat* rendered vacant by the death of Saif-ud-dīn Ghūrī. Unfortunately, the king, infatuated by the beauty of Taghalchīn's daughter, put himself in his power and was seized, while alone, and blinded (June 1397). Taghalchīn then raised to the throne Ghiyās-ud-dīn's younger half-brother as Shams-ud-dīn Dāūd Shāh. He had won over to his cause the young king's mother, who had been a maid-servant of Ghiyās-ud-dīn's mother, and with her support he became the regent of the kingdom. This degradation of the royal family and the dominance which the upstart Taghalchīn had acquired, excited the wrath of the late king's cousins Fīrūz and Ahmad, who were married to his sisters, daughters of Muhammad II In the palace revolution that now followed Taghalchīn was overpowered, Shams-ud-dīn was deposed, and Fīrūz Khān ascended the throne as Sultān Tāj-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh on November 16, 1397. Ghiyās-ud-dīn, the blinded and deposed king, who had been kept in confinement at Sāgar, was brought to Gulbarga, and Taghalchīn was produced before the monarch whom he had so basely treated. The blind Ghiyās-ud-dīn with a sword struck at Taghalchīn and slew him.[11]

*Fīrūz Shāh had an eventful reign of tweny-five years (1397-1422). It was marked by three distinct campaigns against Vijayanagara in 1398, 1406 and 1417 In spite of Firishta's grandiloquent description of the brilliant successes of Fīrūz in his first campaign

culminating in the siege of Vijayanagara, the silence of other Muslim chroniclers seems to indicate that Fīrūz did not probably invade the Rāichur *doāb*, far less advance up to the capital city Vijayanagara. The campaign does not seem to have brought any conspicuous success on either side, as will be related later.

*But far more important were the two subsidiary campaigns waged by Fīrūz. The first was against the Gond Rājā Narsing Rāi of Kherla, about four miles north of Betul in Madhya Pradesh. According to Firishta, he had invaded Berar at the instigation of the neighbouring Muslim rulers of Mālwa and Khāndesh, and on the advice of the Rājā of Vijayanagara. After concluding treaty with Vijayanagara, Fīrūz proceeded against Narsing who offered a stubborn resistance but not having received any help from outside, as he hoped, offered submission.

*Far different was the state of affairs in Telingāna where the two rival factions, the Vemas and Velamas, were actively supported, respectively, by the rulers of Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī kingdom. Here, again, Firishta speaks of the uniform success of Fīrūz, but in reality he could achieve very little. At first when the main army of Fīrūz was occupied on the banks of the Krishnā fighting against Vijayanagara, the forces of the latter won complete victory in Telingāna. After the conclusion of treaty with Vijayanagara and the submission of Kherla, Fīrūz advanced in full force to Telingāna He obtained some successes at first, but was forced to retreat when Kāṭaya Vema's lieutenant, Allāḍa Reḍḍi, defeated the Bahmanī commander, 'Alī Khān.

*Firishta's account of the second Bahmanī campaign against Vijayanagara begins with a romantic love episode of Devarāya, and ends with his daughter's marriage with the Muslim Sultān, which was a unique event in those days But the omission of all reference to this marriage by Nizām-ud-dīn, and a very different account of the whole campaign by a still earlier author throw doubt on the entire account of Firishta about the success of Fīrūz.

The third campaign (A.D 1417-20) centred round the siege of the fort of Pāngal by Fīrūz and ended in his total discomfiture by the army of Vijayanagara Fīrūz, being defeated, escaped from the field, and his territory was laid waste with fire and sword Thus the net result of the long-drawn struggle between the Bahmanī kingdom and Vijayanagara was a stalemate The *status quo* was maintained and the Rāichur *doāb*, the bone of contention, remained in possession of Vijayanagara

The defeat and discomfiture of Fīrūz weighed so heavily on his mind, and undermined his prestige to such an extent that the forces

of unrest once again reared up their head. Added to this was the rift between him and the famous Khvāja Gīsū Darāz, the saint openly declaring that the Sultān's brother, Ahmad, should be the next ruler instead of Hasan, the son of Fīrūz. Attempts were made by two courtiers of Fīrūz to imprison Ahmad Khān, but the partisanship shown towards him by the saint influenced the army which declared for Ahmad. The royal force was defeated by Ahmad and he besieged the capital. The old and sick Fīrūz was carried into the battlefield, but he swooned, and the citadel surrendered. Fīrūz realized his position and wisely offered the throne to his brother, himself abdicating. Ahmad ascended the throne at Gulbarga on September 22, 1422, and on October 2, Fīrūz died.

Fīrūz was an enlightened ruler, but not a rigid Muslim Though fond of wine and music, he delighted in holding learned discourses with philosophers, poets, historians and other learned men whom he gathered round him. He encouraged the pursuit of astronomy and built an observatory near Daulatābād He constructed the new city of Fīrūzābād on the Bhīmā and occasionally used it as his capital. He devoted much attention to the two principal ports of his kingdom, Chaul and Dabhol, which attracted trading ships from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and poured into the kingdom articles of necessity and luxury not only from Persia, Arabia and the African coast, but also from Europe. It is said that he was an accomplished linguist and a good calligrapher, and that he used to copy sixteen pages of the *Qur'ān* every four days Though nominally an orthodox Sunnī, he was not averse to make use of the license, given by later theologians, for contracting many temporary marriages. He thus collected a large harem consisting of women of many nationalities and it was his boast that he could speak to each of them in her own tongue.

3. BAHMANĪ ADMINISTRATION

The reign of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī saw the end of the Gulbarga period of the dynasty. In spite of regicides and internal troubles this was a period of expansion, consolidation and struggle against external powers which began soon after Zafar Khān had founded the Bahmanī kingdom. The Bahmanī administrative system was modelled on the Islamic pattern. The king was the supreme power in the State. He was ruler, judge, administrator, military leader, sometimes even preacher and leader of public worship His duties were as all-embracing as his authority The king was the shadow of God on earth. But only Mujāhid Shāh Bahmanī (1375-78) seems to have claimed this distinction.[12]

Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty, was content to acknowledge the theoretical supremacy of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate; he had a black canopy over his throne in the 'Abbāsid fashion[13] and on his coins he styled himself as "right hand of the Caliphate".[14]

Though in theory the king's authority was unlimited, in practice he depended on the advice of his ministers in deciding questions of State policy. The chief duty of the ministers was, of course, implicit obedience to the king's wishes. They were responsible to him in the smallest matters and held office during his pleasure.

The chief minister was called *vakīl-us-sultanat*. All orders issued by the king passed through him and bore his seal. The minister for finance was the *amīr-i-jumla*. The *wazīr-i-ashraf* was in charge of external affairs. Two other ministers were the *wazīr-i-kull* and the *peshwa* with somewhat undefined duties. The *sadr-i-jahān* was the chief judicial authority and was in charge of religious matters and religious endowments.[15] There were various other junior ministers like the *nāzir* and the *kotwāl*[16] on the civil side and *qūr beg-i-maisarah* (commander of the left wing) and the *qūr beg-i-maimanah* (commander of the right wing) on the military side.[17]

The provincial administrative system of the Bahmanīs owes its origin to the founder of the kingdom. 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahman Shāh had divided his kingdom into four divisions, each of which was entrusted to an officer During the reign of his son Muhammad, these divisions were named *tarafs*, and the officers in charge of them, called *tarafdārs*.[18] These provincial governors were supreme in their respective divisions "They collected the revenue, raised and commanded the army and made all appointments both civil and military, in their provinces"[19] Naturally they tended to become powerful But during the early days of the Bahmanīs, they were held in check by the strong personality of the king himself, who, every year, spent some time in touring the various divisions and in supervising the administration of his officers. Moreover the *tarafdārs* could be, and were indeed, transferred from one province to another.[20] The Bahmanī kingdom slowly grew in extent and in the reign of Muhammad Shāh III (Lashkarī) reached its furthest limits Mahmūd Gāvān, the famous minister of Muhammad Shāh Lashkarī, redivided the kingdom into eight *sarlashkar*ships[21] This arrangement and the system of transfers were intended to control the power of the *tarafdārs* But they failed to cure the evils which were further accentuated by civil war.

Usually one, and some time more, of these *tarafdārs* were also ministers at the Bahmanī court. Mahmūd Gāvān was the *vakīl-us-*

sultanat to Humāyūn Shāh (1458-1461) and also *tarafdār* of the Bijāpur division. Similarly during the succeeding reign, Khvāja Jahān, who was *vakīl* to Nizām Shāh Bahmanī (1461-1463), was also the governor of Telingāna; and Mahmūd Gāvān, who was made both *amīr-i-jumla* and *wazir-i-kull*, was retained in charge of Bijāpur.[22] Each of the *tarafdārs* was, *ipso facto,* a military officer and held the rank of a commander of 2,000 horse.[23]

The sub-division of a *taraf* was known as *sarkār*, which in its turn was further divided into *parganas* A *pargana* consisted of a certain number of villages, the village being the smallest unit of administration.

4. THE BĪDAR PERIOD (1422-1538)

Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, the successor of Fīrūz and famous in history as the *Valī* or saint, seems to have shifted the Bahmanī capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar some time about 1425.[24] After the conquest of Warangal, the Bahmanī kingdom extended in the east and Bīdar was the most central point for this augmented dominion. The three linguistic areas of the kingdom converged on this city, it had moreover a far better climate than Gulbarga and strategically a far stronger situation. But there was perhaps a political motive behind this change to which reference will be made in the chapter on Vijayanagara.

Almost immediately after his accession, Ahmad Shāh decided to carry out the unfulfilled wishes of his brother, and declared war on Devarāya II of Vijayanagara Firishta, in his usual manner, describes how the Bahmanī king forced Devārāya II to sue for peace by laying his country waste and besieging his capital. The Rājā of Warangal, who had joined Devarāya II and then deserted him, soon paid the penalty for his folly After the close of his campaign against Vijayanagara, Ahmad Shāh marched towards Warangal in 1425. The Rājā was defeated and slain, and Warangal was finally annexed to the Bahmanī kingdom.

It was during Ahmad Shāh's reign (1422-1436) that the Bahmanī kingdom first came into conflict with the kingdoms of Mālwa and Gujarāt which like itself had risen out of the Tughluq empire. In the conflict against Mālwa, Ahmad Shāh carried the victorious Bahmanī flag into that dominion and overawed it with his might so that during the rest of his reign there was no further trouble between the two kingdoms.

Ahmad's conflict against Gujarāt was of his own seeking He took sides with a Hindu chieftain of the Gujarāt kingdom who had risen in revolt against his overlord, the Sultān of Gujarāt, and had

come to Ahmad Shāh Valī *via* Khāndesh. In A.D. 1429, Bahmanī troops were sent to help the rebel and they raided the Nandurbār district of the Gujarāt dominion only to be expelled from there and to be driven out of Khāndesh back into Bahmanī territory. Next year (1430) another Bahmanī army, under Khalaf Hasan Basrī, was sent to occupy the island of Salsette. It encamped on the Mahim creek with the Gujarāt army facing it on the opposite (Bandra) side. But this attempt to occupy Gujarāt territory also proved futile. In this campaign we see the beginning of the Deccani-*pardesi* rivalry. The Deccani officers under Khalaf Hasan treacherously quitted his camp with the result that the Gujarātis were able to gain an easy victory over Khalaf Hasan It was most probably in this campaign that the islands of Mahim and some territory south of it were annexed to the Gujarāt kingdom The hostilities against Gujarāt made Ahmad seek the alliance of Khāndesh which was achieved by the marriage of the Sultān's son, 'Alā-ud-dīn, with the daughter of Nasīr Khān Farruqī.

After the death of Ahmad Shāh Valī his son, 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad, who succeeded him, built a magnificent dome over the grave of his father on the outskirts of the new capital. The ceiling and walls of this tomb were decorated with paintings composed of calligraphic devices or floral designs The colours of these paintings, especially of those on the ceiling, are still fresh and bright as if they were done only a few years ago These paintings are considered unique in India for their beauty and elegance. From one of the inscriptions in the tomb we get the correct date of Ahmad Shāh's death, 29th Ramzan, 839 (April 17, 1436) A very interesting practice connected with this tomb is that an annual fair is held near it, in honour of the Valī, by the priests of the Lingāyat sect, a ceremony which, legend claims, started when the tomb was built

The reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad (1436-1458) opened with a campaign against Vijayanagara, and there was another struggle in A D 1443-4. Both were confined to the Rāichur *doāb* and will be described later. 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad subdued the chiefs of the Konkan region. In the year of his accession an army was sent against the Rājā of Sangameśvar (17° 16′ N and 73° 33′ E) who not only offered submission but gave his beautiful daughter in marriage to the Sultān This lady, known to history as *Parī-chehra* or *Zībā-chehra* (Fairy face), was the Sultān's favourite queen, and the cause of much jealousy and annoyance to the first queen, the daughter of Nasīr Khān of Khāndesh Nasīr Khān, partly instigated by his daughter and partly encouraged by the Sultāns of Gujarāt and Mālwa, declared hostilities against his son-in-law and marched with

an army into his dominion. Khalaf Hasan Basrī was once again entrusted with the charge of the Bahmanī army which consisted exclusively of *pardesīs*. With the defeat at Mahim due to the treachery of the Deccanis, still fresh in his mind, Khalaf Hasan was able to persuade the king and the Deccani *Vakīl-us-Sultanat* Miyān Minullāh to agree to such a step. He inflicted a defeat on the Khāndeshis on the battlefields of Berar and drove them back into their territory. But this new policy of exclusion rankled in the minds of the Deccanis, and finally led to the massacre of the *pardesīs* at Chākan, as will be described in the next section.

The last years of 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad's reign were marked by the rebellion of his brother-in-law, Jalāl Khān, who proclaimed himself as king of Telingāna (1455). The Sultān himself marched against the rebel who took refuge in the fortress of Nalgondā (17° 3′ N and 79° 16′ E) and sent his son, Sikandar, towards Mālwa to beseech the help of that kingdom. Sikandar gained support of Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa by representing that 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad was dead and disorder had broken out in the Bahmanī dominion 'Alā-ud-dīn at this juncture placed Mahmūd Gāvān in charge of the siege of Nalgondā, and proceeded to the north to meet the danger created by the conduct of Sikandar Mahmūd Khaljī, finding that he had been misled by false information about the death of the Bahmanī Sultān, relinquished his campaign and retired to his kingdom. Mahmūd Gāvān secured royal pardon both for Jalāl Khān and his son and their rebellion was over. This is the first occasion when Mahmūd Gāvān, the great Bahmanī minister and one of the greatest figures of medieval India, comes first into notice He had arrived at Dabhol in 1453 as a merchant and finding his way to Bīdar and attracting royal notice, had been enrolled in Bahmanī service and entrusted with the siege of Nalgondā. In this very first task Gāvān had acquitted himself creditably, his rise henceforth at the Bahmanī court was rapid.

'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad's reign is notable for the large hospital he established in his capital early during his reign. A number of villages were endowed to this institution from the revenues of which were paid the cost of medicine and food of the patients and possibly also the salaries of the staff. Both Hindu and Muslim physicians were employed in this hospital[26] and it can be inferred from this that it was open to patients irrespective of caste and religion In this connection it may be mentioned that for about the last four years of his life the Sultān suffered from a festering wound in one of his shins, and, if the account of the Marāṭhī *Gurucharitra* written in c. A.D. 1550 is to be believed, the Sultān got some relief from the ministrations of Nṛisiṁha Sarasvatī, famous in his time as a saintly

person and revered by people to this day. It is said that the Sultān, despairing of cure for his ills, as a last resort went to the Svāmī who himself visited the royal patient in his capital and cured him. Some of the present day scholars attribute the death of the king to his wound, but neither Firishta nor Tabātabā make any statement to that effect, and the latter merely states that the Sultān died in Jamadi 1, 862 A.H. (April, 1458).

The short reign of Humāyūn (1458-1461) was marred by constant unrest and rebellions in the kingdom and among its Hindu vassals. The stern and ruthless attempts of the Sultān to put down these forces of disorder seem to have earned for him the sobriquet Zālim (cruel) at the hands of Firishta. This chronicler records the most horrid deeds of cruelty perpetrated by Humāyūn.[25a] Nor does the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* spare the king. But the picture of his reign as given by both these chroniclers appears to be overdrawn, when we read the sentiments of the minister Mahmūd Gāvān towards his royal master as expressed in his letters.[26]

Humāyūn's son and successor, Nizām Shāh Bahmanī, a boy of eight years, also had a short reign of about two years during which the administration of the kingdom remained in the hands of a council of three consisting of the Queen-mother, assisted by two of the ablest men in the Bahmanī Court, Mahmūd Gāvān and Khvāja Jahān Turk The Queen-mother herself was one of the few remarkable women that have appeared in the ruling dynasties of medieval India. Though she did not appear in public, she kept herself in close and constant touch with her colleagues of the council from whom and from her personal agents she received daily reports of the affairs of the kingdom She directed that her son, the boy king, should sit every day in the hall of audience and preside over the royal *darbār* so that he should gain full knowledge of current affairs and familiarity with the details of administration The Council of Regency also declared a general amnesty in favour of those who had been imprisoned during the harsh rule of Humāyūn, a wise measure, the credit for which goes mainly to Mahmūd Gāvān

While the internal condition of the kingdom was being thus strengthened by the Council of Regency, the king of Orissa, Kapilendra, in the belief that a State ruled by a child was likely to prove weak in war, made an alliance with the king of Telingāna and marched against the Bahmanī kingdom. He made his way to the very outskirts of the capital Bīdar, but the military leadership of Mahmūd Gāvān and Khvāja Jahān triumphed and the invaders were repulsed. Hardly had this affair ended when Mālwa made war on the Bahmanī kingdom Mahmūd Khaljī, the Sultān of Mālwa,

marched through the northern territories of Bahmanī dominion and occupied Bīdar from which the king had been removed to Fīrūzābād. In this distress Mahmūd Gāvān appealed to Gujarāt for help and Mahmūd Begarha marched with an army to the Deccan. The combined efforts of the Bahmanī forces and the Gujarāt allies resulted in the enemy withdrawing towards Mālwa. Next year (1463) Mahmūd Khaljī again invaded the Bahmanī dominion, but retreated when he heard that Gujarāt was ready once again to help the Deccan kingdom.

Young Nizām Shāh Bahmanī died on July 30, 1463, on the very day of his marriage, and was succeeded by his younger brother Muhammad Shāh III (1463-82). The Council of Regency, which had guided the affairs of the Bahmanī kingdom during the earlier reign, continued to function till 1466. Khvāja Jahān Turk had about this time come under suspicion of disloyalty, and in that year the Queen-mother contrived his murder in open court. Mahmūd Gāvān was now appointed *Vakīl-us-Sultanat* (Deputy of the kingdom) or the Prime Minister, and he remained in supreme authority till his murder in 1481. During the fifteen years that Mahmūd Gāvān was at the helm of administration, he successfully fought against Orissa and Vijayanagara and enlarged the boundaries of the kingdom from Orissa to Goa. His most important military achievements were the conquest of Hubli, Belgaum and Bagalkot which brought the whole of the former Bombay-Karnātak under Bahmanī sway, the complete subjugation and consolidation of the Konkan, and the occupation of the important port of Goa This port, which was jealously guarded by the Vijayanagara kings, had for long been coveted by the Bahmanīs, and is described by Gāvān himself as "the envy of the islands and ports of India" The Sultān himself showed great military leadership in all these campaigns which earned for him the title *Lashkarī*

These new conquests enriched the resources of the kingdom and Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller who visited Bīdar about 1470, describes it as "the chief town of the whole of Muhammadan Hindustan". The nobles and people of the city and its buildings gave him an impression of great luxury, well-being and wealth Nikitin describes the royal palace as wonderful to behold, and on an 'Īd day he saw the Sultān in a dress studded with precious stones and with a large diamond in his head-dress, riding on a charger with a golden saddle To this wealth of the city, Gāvān added the dignity of scholarship by founding a *madrasah* or school equipped with a library and housed in a glittering building with glazed tiles on its outside. But Gāvān and his administrative reforms had excited the envy and jealousy of the Deccanis which finally culminated in

his murder. Before proceeding further it is necessary to discuss fully the causes and results of this base and melancholy tragedy.

5 PARTY STRIFE IN THE BAHMANĪ KINGDOM

As stated above, Hasan, the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty, had divided his kingdom into four provinces, which, under his successors, were known as *tarafs* and were placed under governors known as *tarafdārs*. These provincial governors enjoyed great powers. In their respective dominions they were supreme. The *tarafdārī* system worked smoothly as long as it had behind it the momentum of a strong personality,—either of the king himself, or of an able minister like Mahmūd Gāvān. But when it became rigid and the *tarafdārs* acquired local prestige, it became difficult to cope with its separatist tendencies.

The progress of these centrifugal forces was further accentuated by the fact that, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the ruling Muslim aristocracy had split itself into two rival groups, the Deccanis and the *pardesīs* or 'foreigners'. The Deccanis were the domiciled Muslims. No doubt they had originally come from outside the Deccan, but a stay in the Deccan extending over generations had changed their manners, ways of living and outlook on life, and had even altered their complexion. The descendants of the Muslims whom Hasan, the first Bahmanī king, entertained in his service, had also, a century later, become natives of the country, and had no longer any extra-territorial interests. Many of them had native blood in their veins, for a number of Muslim invaders originally coming into the Deccan had married women belonging to the country This class also contained Hindu converts to Islām Fathullāh 'Imād Shāh, the founder of the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty of Berar, and Ahmad Nizām Shāh, who established the Sultanate of Ahmadnagar, were both originally Brahmans Naturally, therefore, the Deccanis looked upon their native land as their particular preserve, and viewed with suspicion every foreigner entering the Deccan as a future rival and a possible competitor for a position at court and a place in the king's favour

The *pardesīs,* as their name implied, were not natives of the Deccan; year by year they came into the country from abroad in increasing numbers. The Bahmanī kings made it a matter of policy to employ these *pardesī* adventurers freely in their army, and a continuous supply of foreigners, mostly soldiers, poured into the country A number of *pardesīs* came for trade and, like the traders of a later age, found it to their advantage to take part in the politics of the country To those soliders of fortune from Persia, Turkey,

Central Asia, Arabia and Afghānistān, the Deccan in those days was the land of adventure and promise, a land where valour was recognized and statesmanship rewarded.

From the very beginning of the Bahmanī kingdom, the 'foreigners' wielded considerable influence in the politics of the country. Bahman Shāh himself had persuaded many Afghān and Mughul *amīrs*—fresh recruits in the Tughluq service from abroad—to join his standard. This policy was continued by his successors, who, by their patronage, attracted and ensured a continuous supply of 'foreigners'. Mujāhid Shāh Bahmanī (1375-78), in particular, showed a conspicuous preference to Persians and Turks.[27] It was this policy of preference and exclusion that created in the Deccanis a feeling of grievance and ill-usage.

At first the 'foreigners' were few in number and the Deccanis did not feel their competition But with the lapse of time the former gained in strength and formed a distinct party. This also checked the process of assimilation When, at first, the *pardesīs* were few in number, they intermarried with the native Deccanis and were soon merged into the bigger community. But with the growth of the *pardesī* party the 'foreigners' became conscious of their separate entity and this hindered the process of assimilation Thus came into being the two distinct parties—the Deccanis and *pardesīs*. As a rule the *pardesīs* were more energetic and enterprising than the native-born Deccanis. They were employed in preference to their less active and hardy rivals, and seldom failed to acquit themselves well Many rose to the highest offices in the State to the great annoyance of the native Deccanis, who found themselves surpassed in the battle-field as well as in the council chamber. This resulted in recriminations and quarrels, and ultimately brought about the internecine struggle which followed and weakened the power of the Bahmanī kingdom, and utimately led to its dissolution

Moreover, the ill-feeling between the parties created by opposing interests was complicated by religious differences. A majority of the 'foreigners' were Shiahs, while most of the Deccanis were Sunnis Ahmad Shāh Valī showed preference for the Shiah creed, donated money to Shiah holy places, and invited Shiah saints to his court.[28] Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and Sultān Qulī, two of the *pardesī* provincial governors, who in the later Bahmanī period declared their independence, were Shiahs, whereas their two Deccani colleagues, Fathullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, were Sunnis. The religious factor brought to the side of the Deccanis one class of foreigners, the Abyssinians, who were mostly Sunnis. In competition with the fair, handsome, cultured *pardesīs* from Persia, Turkey,

etc. the dark-skinned, illiterate, unprepossessing Abyssinians were at a great disadvantage and were treated with contempt by the fair *pardesīs* The religious factor and the contempt shown towards them by the other foreigners had the effect of throwing the Abyssinians into the arms of the Deccanis. Thus, in the feuds that followed between the Deccanis and *pardesīs*, the former party consisted of the Deccanis and Abyssinians, while the latter was composed of Turks, Mughuls, Persians and Arabs.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the Deccanis realized that they were being gradually displaced from power and place by their successful rivals, the *pardesīs*, and waited for an opportunity to gain the upper hand at the Bahmanī court. This came during the latter half of the reign of Ahmad Shāh Valī (1422-36) when the king suffered a decline alike in his mental and in his physical powers By well-calculated flattery, judicious self-praise, and subtle insinuation against their rivals, the Deccanis manoeuvred themselves into the Sultān's favour During A D 1430-31, the Bahmanī army was defeated on three successive occasions by the Gujarātis Khalaf Hasan, the *pardesī* minister who had been honoured with the title of *Malik-ut-Tujjār*[29] by Ahmad Shāh, attributed these reverses to the cowardice and treachery of the Deccanis. But the latter seems to have convinced the king of the incompetence of his *pardesī* adviser. The result was that the Deccanis were raised to power, and the administration of government was entrusted to a member of their faction, Miyān Minullāh Dakhānī, who was invested with the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk.[30]

On coming to power, the Deccanis openly manifested their desire to suppress the foreigners, and in 1446 treacherously massacred a large number of them. In that year an army of Deccanis and *pardesīs* was sent against Rājā Śankar Rao Shirke, a chieftain with his headquarters at Khelna in south Konkan The Rājā of Saṅgameśvar, who earlier had professed submission to the Bahmanī Sultān, made common cause with the Shirke These two stalwarts once again showed that the spirit of the Konkan was yet unsubdued The invaders, lured by them into the fastnesses of the hilly tracts of this region, suffered a crushing defeat with the result that the survivors retreated to the fort of Chākan (18° 45′ N and 73° 32′ E) Taking advantage of this, the Deccanis, "who from olden times had been deadly enemies of the foreigners", misrepresented this affair to the Sultān, 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh, and ascribed the defeat to the treacherous and inefficient conduct of the Konkan campaign by Khalaf Hasan and his *pardesī* colleagues. The only punishment for the foreigners, the Deccanis averred, was extirpation The Sultān, not knowing the perfidy, concurred with the nobles that the

surviving foreigners should be put to death.[31] The unfortunate *pardesīs* were lured out of Chākan and slaughtered, victims of their rivals' jealousy.

After the massacre of Chākan, a few foreigners, who, with great difficulty, effected their escape, represented to the king the deception which had been practised on him and gave him the correct version of what had taken place. Inquiries were set on foot which exposed the duplicity of the Deccanis and their desire for the extermination of the foreigners, with the result that they were severely punished and degraded in the court and the 'foreigners' regained their ascendancy.[32]

6 MURDER OF MAHMŪD GĀVĀN THE DISSOLUTION OF THE BAHMANĪ KINGDOM

The massacre of Chākan had set the final seal on the bitter mutual hatred between the Deccanis and the *pardesīs* that had been steadily increasing for fifty years. Matters at length had gone too far; compromise was now unthinkable, and each party wanted to destroy and uproot the other In 1481, by a perfidy reminiscent of the massacre of Chākan, the Deccani party contrived the murder of one of the greatest statesman in the history of India, Khvāja Mahmūd Gāvān, the *pardesī* minister of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī III (Lashkarī) The false accusation and violent death of this upright minister constitute one of the tragedies of medieval India

The Khvāja, who in the reign of Muhammad Shāh III (1463-1482) had risen to the highest office in the State, was by birth a Persian. He was honoured by the king with the title of *Malik ut-Tujjār*, and he and his followers were permitted to take precedence at court over Hasan Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahrī, the leader of the Deccani party and *tarafdār* of Telingāna With the welfare of the kingdom at heart and with a strict sense of justice, Gāvān tried to maintain the balance between the Deccanis and *pardesīs* by an equal division of offices between the rival parties But Hasan Nizām-ul-Mulk was jealous of the position of Gāvān and was waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the popular minister

Mahmūd Gāvān initiated many reforms He subdivided each of the four main divisions into two and framed regulations for their government which curtailed the powers of the provincial governors[33] These excellent reforms were made for administrative efficiency, but became extremely unpopular among the Deccanis and caused widespread resentment against their originator. The crafty and unscrupulous Hasan instigated his followers to put an end to

the author of these reforms. So a number of Deccanis, although they owed their high offices entirely to Gāvān, entered into a conspiracy against their patron and hatched a nefarious plot for his destruction. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the right-hand man of Gāvān, having been dispatched on an expedition to Telingāna, the field was left clear for the conspirators. A forged letter with the minister's seal, purporting to invite the King of Orissa to invade the kingdom, was suddenly unearthed, and Mahmūd Gāvān, thus falsely accused, was put to death by the order of Muhammad Shāh[14] (April 5, 1481) This great crime was the immediate cause of the dissolution of the Bahmanī kingdom. The *pardesī amīrs* refused to stay in the capital, and returned to their provinces without the formality of obtaining the king's permission. Even responsible members of the Deccani party openly expressed their disapproval of the conspirators and joined the camp of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān. Deserted by the foreigners and some of the Deccanis, the king was forced to throw himself into the arms of the conspirators. Hasan Nizām-ul-Mulk was exalted to the dignity of Malik Nāib and all the affairs of the kingdom were placed in his hands But Muhammad Shāh could not forget that he had shed innocent blood, he tried to drown his remorse in wine and died from its effects within a year of his minister's death, crying with his last breath that Gāvān was tearing out his heart.

Muhammad's son and successor Mahmūd (1482-1518) being a minor authority remained in the hands of Malik Nāib. On the eve of the coronation ceremony, when all the *amīrs* had gathered in the capital, the crafty Deccani formed a plot to assassinate Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and to extirpate his followers But the foreigners were put on their guard by some of their well-wishers in the opposite camp For no less than twenty days Bīdar was a scene of conflict between the rival factions and when peace was restored, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān agreed to retire to Bijāpur and Malik Nāib was left at the helm of affairs in the Bahmanī capital [15]

The regency of Malik Nāib did not last long He was disliked by some of his followers for his share in the murder of Mahmūd Gāvān, and his subsequent policy towards the foreigners made him intensely hated by a section of the Deccanis The usual intrigues followed and Malik Nāib, fleeing for safety, was put to death by the Abyssinian governor of Bīdar [16] Thus the Deccani minister shared the fate of the great *pardesī* noble whose death he had so basely contrived.

Once again the swing of the pendulum brought the *pardesis* to power. Once again their rivals conspired to destroy the influence

which they still possessed, going to the length, this time, of forming a conspiracy to murder the king and to place another prince of the royal family on the throne[37] They suddenly attacked the royal palace one night in October 1487, but were repulsed by the valour of the Turkī guard. The king assembled his foreign troops and next morning ordered the conspirators to be put to death. The slaughter lasted for three days and the foreigners took a terrible retribution on the Deccanis for the wrong they had suffered.

*After these events, Mahmūd Shāh took no interest in the affairs of State and the responsibility of government passed into the hands of Qāsim Barīd, a Turkī *amīr* of Sunni persuasion The power and prestige of the Bahmanī kingdom were gone for ever, and the provincial governors refused to acknowledge the authority of Qāsim Barīd. The defection of Malik Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, the son of Malik Nāib, started the process of disintegration. Two expeditions were sent against him, but they were of no avail. He had the full sympathy of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpur and Fathullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk of Berar. In June 1490, Ahmad assumed independence in the city of Ahmadnagar founded by and named after him[38] His colleagues, 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Yūsuf 'Ādil, soon followed suit, with the result that by the end of that year the Bahmanī king had definitely lost his sovereignty in reality, if not in name For the three governors, though exercising full autonomy, still kept up the pretence of nominal allegiance to the phantom Sultān, and did not exercise the sovereign's prerogatives of issuing coins and reading the *Khutba* in their own names

*Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī continued to reign as a nominal sovereign till A.D. 1518 Even in this helpless state he rallied round him all the *amīrs* of the kingdom with a view to prosecuting the war against the "infidels" of Vijayanagara. In the year 907 A.H. (A D. 1501), it was resolved at Bīdar that "once in each year the whole of the *amīrs* and *wazīrs* should come to the royal court, and join in a *jihād* against the idolators of Vijayanagar, and, hoisting the standards of Islām, should use their utmost endeavours to eradicate the infidels and tyrants".[39] In pursuance of this resolution, Mahmūd Shāh exhausted the resources of the decaying Bahmanī kingdom by launching expeditions against Vijayanagara, and brought repeated disasters upon it, as will be related in the chapter on Vijayanagara.

*The sentiments of unity or fellow-feeling among the nobility of the Bahmanī kingdom did not, however, extend beyond the common desire to extirpate the idolators of Vijayanagara There were continual dissensions and struggles among themselves which were

mostly caused by the desire to get hold of the person of the nominal sovereign. The Bijāpur forces captured Gulbarga and drove away its governor, who fled to Bīdar Qāsim Barīd received him cordially and led an army accompanied by the Sultān against Bijāpur. But the royal army was routed and the Sultān was taken prisoner by Kamāl Khān, the *de facto* ruler of Bijāpur. The Sultān was confined to his palace and a Bijāpurī noble was appointed to keep close guard over him But this enhancement of the power of Bijāpur brought about a combination of other nobles against that principality. There were also factions and dissensions in the Bijāpur court as a result of which Kamāl Khān was assassinated.

*These forces of disintegration were at full work when Mahmūd Shāh died in A.D. 1518. He was succeeded by four kings who were kings in name but really puppets in the hands of Amīr Barīd, son of Qāsim Barīd, who was in control of the Bahmanī capital With the death of Kalīmullāh, the last of these titular kings, some time in A.D. 1538, the Bahmanī dynasty came to an end, and the kingdom was split into five independent Sultanates, namely, the 'Ādil Shāhī of Bijāpur, the Qutb Shāhī of Golconda, the Nizām Shāhī of Ahmadnagar, the Barīd Shāhī of Bīdar, and the 'Imād Shāhī of Berar

1 Pp 79-80
2 Cf Briggs, II, 284-5 297, *TA*, III p 2 and f n 1; *BK*, 1-2; *TMB*, 116; Cf also *JPASB*, V p 463, JASB, LXXVIII extra number, 1904 Sherwani, 48-9 *J of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, I, 65
3 This is the view of Sir Wolseley Haig, *CHI*, III, 372
3a *EIM*, 1931-32, 11, Bidar, 5 147
4 *BK*, 7
5 *BK* 8
6 *BK*, 10-21, Firishta I, 530-531
7 Above p 75 For a discussion of the correctness of the name Kāpaya, and not Kanaya as stated by Firishta, see *Further Sources* p 48
8 *Burhān*, 145-46, Briggs, II, 293, *BK*, 6 7.
9 The Bahmanī administrative system has been discussed in detail in section 3
9a Briggs, II, 305
9b ibid , 319
9c ibid , 319
9d. For the history of fire-arms in medieval India cf Ch XIV, App. 1
9e According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Daūd was the uncle of Mujāhid and a son of Bahman Shāh (CHI, III, 384) The reason for this conclusion is advanced by Sir Wolseley Haig in his article "Some Notes on the Bahmani Dynasty" *JASB*, LXXIII, part i, extra number (1904) p 5, where he states "Although Firishta is generally an untrustworthy genealogist his account of Dāūd's parentage must be preferred to that of other authorities" We cannot share this view and prefer to follow the more reliable Tabātabā with whom Nizām-ud-dīn agrees to some extent (Ed)
10 Firishta I, 564-580, *BK*, 28-33, *CHI*, III, 385 (Ed)
11 Firishta I, 581-586, Briggs, II, 361, *BK*, 34-36
12 *N C* 1898, 264-265, *JASB*, 1923, 26
13 Firishta, Briggs, II, 290-291
14 *N C* 1881, III, *JASB*, 1909, 309-310, 1923, *N* 23
15 *CHI*, III, 377
16 ibid , 377

17. *BK*, 6
18. Firishta, I, 532-33, 536, Briggs, II, 299
19 *CHI*, III, 383
20 Firishta, I, 562, 565
21. Firishta, I, 689-90. Briggs, II, 502 For details see Sherwani. *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, 323
22. Firishta, I, 655, 663; see also 576
23 Firishta, I, 616
24 For a discussion of this date see Ch XII, f n 12
25 Firishta, I, 643.
25a Firishta records that after Humāyūn's rebel-brother Hasan was captured, he (Humayun) had stakes set up on both sides of the market and brought there elephants and various wild beasts; cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also kept ready Humāyūn, sitting on a balcony, first ordered his brother to be thrown before a ferocious tiger who tore the unfortunate prince into pieces The rest of the rebels were then put to death in various manners, some being flayed by scalding oil or boiling water The female members of the family of some of the principal rebels were "dragged from their houses, were violated and ill-treated in the public square by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate Tortures were now invented by the King, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zohak and the tyrant Hijjaj About seven thousand persons, including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions and others, were put to death" (Briggs, II, 462-3)

Tabātabā also states that Hasan was thrown to a tiger and adds "After that Sultān Humāyūn Shāh opened the hand of tyranny and oppression, and overthrew the foundations of mankind with the sword of injustice, and used to murder whole families at once" (BK, 87) Tabātabā adds that on the death of Humāyūn the following chronogram was composed giving the date of his death

"Humāyūn Shāh has passed away from the world
"God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humāyūn
"On the date of his death the world was full of delight
"So 'delight of the world' gives the date of his death"

(*Zūq-i-jahan* which means 'delight of the world' is equivalent to 586, the Hijra year of Humāyūn's death BK, 88). It should be noted that Mahmūd Gāvān owed his high position to Humāyūn and served under his son, so that he had very good reasons for referring to that monarch with respect (Ed)
26 H K Sherwani *Mahmud Gavan* (Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942), 94-96
27 Firishta, I, 564, Briggs, II, 328
28 Firishta, I, 632-33 For details see H K Sherwani *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, 194
29 This title meaning "chief of the merchants" was highly esteemed by the foreigners, many of whom first came to the Deccan in the capacity of merchants
30 Firishta, I, 638
31 *Burhan*, 83
32 Firishta, I, 651, Briggs, II, 446
33 See above, p 257
34 Firishta 690 93 Briggs, II, 59, *Burhān*, 128-130 For a different account see Ch. XII, Section 9
35 Firishta, I, 703-04 Briggs, II, 527
36. *Burhān*, 137, Firishta, I, 708-09, Briggs II, 531-32
37 Firishta, I, 709, Briggs, II 532-34
38 Firishta, II, 186, Briggs, II, 536
39 *BK*, 137

* The editor alone is responsible for the paragraphs marked with an asterisk

CHAPTER XII

THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGARA

1. THE FOUNDATION

Reference has been made above to the growing Hindu resistance against Muslim aggression in Deccan and South India during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq,[1] and of his policy of subduing it by appointing, as governors, renegade Hindus who once held positions of authority in those regions. The policy, as we have seen, failed in Warangal, but succeeded in Kampilī. The two fugitive brothers from Warangal, Harihara and Bukka, who became ministers in the old Hindu kingdom of Kampilī but were taken captive by Muhammad Tughluq and embraced Islām, were entrusted by the Sultān to restore the Muslim authority in that region. In spite of reverses and failures at the beginning, they ultimately succeeded in their task as has been mentioned above. Their subsequent conduct, however, belied the expectations of Muhammad Tughluq, and in view of the obscurity surrounding it and the important consequences which followed, the whole matter requires a somewhat detailed consideration. All the relevant facts are not known with absolute certainty and widely different views have consequently been held on the subject, but the following appears to be the most reasonable reconstruction of the chain of events leading to the foundation of the king dom of Vijayanagara

The victories of Kāpaya Nāyaka and Ballāla III and the liberation of the Andhra and Draviḍa countries appear to have affected the province of Kampilī profoundly. The spirit of independence must also have stirred the minds of the people there, and made them restive under the rule of their Muslim governor. Harihara and Bukka, who must have followed closely the course of the war of independence, realized that it was impossible for them, under the changed circumstances, to maintain the authority of the Sultān in the province They had, however, no desire to follow the example of Malik Maqbūl, the governor of Tiling, nor did they consider it wise to declare their independence and set up a Muslim dynasty at Kampilī. Hemmed in on three sides by the two powerful Hindu kingdoms of Karnātaka and Andhra, and with no prospect of getting any help from Delhi, the chances of establishing an independent Muslim State on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā were remote They decided, therefore, to throw in their lot with their Hindu subjects

Islām, which they were compelled to embrace, sat lightly on them, and they still cherished fondness for the faith of their fathers. Under the influence of sage Vidyāraṇya, whom they accepted as their guide both in temporal and spiritual matters, they came to believe that it was their duty to renounce Islām and champion the cause of the ancient Hindu *dharma*. Their path was not free from obstacles The Hindu society was chary in re-admitting within its fold those who were forced to embrace Islām. Moreover, they were treated with suspicion on account of their connection with the Musulmāns. They, however, got over these difficulties with the help of Vidyāraṇya, who arranged for their reconversion to Hindu religion He convinced Vidyātīrtha, his own *guru* and the chief pontiff of the Advaita-maṭha at Śṛiṅgerī, that the reconversion of his disciples was necessary for saving the Hindu *dharma*, and secured his approval Harihara and Bukka were then taken back to Hinduism; and to mitigate any suspicion that might still lurk in the minds of the people, it was declared that Harihara was not ruling the kingdom in his own right but as a vicegerent of the god Virūpāksha to whom it actually belonged To lend colour to this declaration, Harihara was persuaded to adopt the name of the god Śrī Virūpāksha as his sign manual with which he had to sign all the state documents. Harihara was crowned in A D 1336 as the king of the new kingdom of Hampi-Hastināvatī; and to commemorate the event he laid the foundations of his new capital, Vijayanagara, on the same day.[1a]

2 HARIHARA I (A D 1336-1356)

At the time when Harihara I, son of Saṅgama, declared his independence and celebrated his coronation, he was the master of a kingdom extending from Nellore in the south-east to Dharwar and Bādāmi in the northern Karṇāṭaka. His position, however, was not yet secure, as he was surrounded by powerful neighbours who were not well disposed towards him His kingdom marched in the north-east and the north along the frontiers of the nascent Andhra confederacy which Kāpaya Nāyaka, after his final victory over the army of the Sultān of Delhi, was attempting to convert into a kingdom Though Kāpaya had no grievance against Harihara, he was an ally of Ballāla III, recently discomfited by Harihara on the battlefield. Moreover, Prolaya Vema, an important member of the confederacy, who was driven out of the lower Pennar valley, his ancestral home, by Harihara and his brothers, was not certainly friendly to them. The struggle between the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and the Reḍḍis of Addanki and Koṇḍavīdu, which was terminated by the absorption

of the territories of the latter by the former, seems to have commenced already. In the north-east, on the further bank of the Krishnā, lay the territory, which still remained under the authority of the Sultān of Delhi. Qutlugh Khān, the governor of Devagiri, who was entrusted with the administration of this province, was an able officer; he was naturally expected to make an effort, as soon as possible, to recover the lost Deccan possessions of the Sultān. More dangerous than Qutlugh Khān was Ballāla III, the king of Karṇāṭaka, whose territories bounded Harihara's kingdom on the west and south. Ballāla was not a friend of Harihara; he cast greedy eyes on this small State on the Tungabhadrā, the conquest of which had been one of his long-cherished ambitions. He led several unsuccessful attempts to subjugate it in the days of Kampilīdeva but could make no headway against that doughty warrior. The revolt of the Andhras against Muhammad bin Tughluq, and the consequent dissolution of his empire in the south gave him another chance, but the astute statesmanship of Vidyāraṇya not only frustrated his attempt, but revived under a new dynasty the old kingdom of Kampilī However, he did not give up his designs. His preoccupations with the affairs of the Tamil country and his entanglements with the Sultān of Madurā left him no time to make a fresh effort to overthrow Harihara, but he was expected to renew his attempt the moment he settled with the Sultān of Madurā Harihara's first task was to consolidate his position, and organize his kingdom for effective defence It was an age when the security of a kingdom depended on the strength of its forts Anegondi, his capital, was, no doubt, perched on the top of a hill in a mountainous tract on the northern bank of the Tungabhadrā; but it was not impregnable It fell easily into the hands of the enemy twice within a decade, it was captured by Muhammad bin Tughluq in A.D 1327, and by the Chālukya chief Somadeva some four or five years later Harihara wanted to shift his capital to a place much more inaccessible to an enemy, where he could take refuge in times of danger Acting upon a suggestion of Vidyāraṇya, he selected the opposite bank of the river in the neighbourhood of the temple of Virūpāksha, surrounded by the Hemakūta, the Matanga, and Mālayavanta hills He laid the foundations of the new capital which he called Vijaya or Vidyānagara, on the auspicious occasion on which he celebrated his coronation The hills were linked together by strong walls of Cyclopean masonry and a deep ditch surrounded them According to one of the *Kāla-jñānas*, it took full seven years to complete the construction. Harihara shifted to his new capital, when it was ready for occupation, and administered the kingdom from his palace on the Hemakūṭa hill.

Vijayanagara was not the only fortress built by Harihara. To safeguard the kingdom from any possible attack by the armies of the Delhi Sultān from Devagiri, he strengthened the fortifications of the old Chālukyan capital Bādāmi, and posted there a strong garrison under a capable officer. He also made the famous fort of Udayagiri in the Nellore district the headquarters of his eastern province, and entrusted its administration to his younger brother Kampana.[16] He appointed his second younger brother, Bukka, his *Yuvarāja* and co-regent and placed him in charge of the fortress of Gooty in the Anantapur district to keep a watchful eye on the activities of Ballāla III and protect the western frontier Having completed his arrangements for the defence of the realm, Harihara next turned his attention to internal administration. Two important measures adopted by him to increase the resources of his dominions and improve the character of local administration deserve special notice He encouraged the farmers to cut down the forest and bring fresh land under cultivation by leasing it to them on easy terms. He divided the country into *sthalas*, *nāḍus*, and *sīmas* and created a hierarchy of officials to collect the revenue and carry on the local administration. These measures increased the income of the State and improved the character of local government.

The reign of Harihara I marks the beginning of a great era of conquest and territorial expansion. The small kingdom which at the beginning comprised a few Telugu and Kannaḍa districts had grown considerably in size and was fast developing into an empire during the last years of his reign This was due mainly to the conquest of the Hoysala kingdom which seems to have commenced after A D. 1338 during the last years of Ballāla III A few border incidents between the forces of Bukka and Ballapa Daṇḍnāyaka, the chief minister and commander-in-chief of Ballāla III, soon developed into a general conflict which seems to have gone from the first against the Hoysalas Some time after A D 1340, Bukka wrested from Ballāla the important fortress of Penugoṇḍa in the Anantapur district to which he shifted his headquarters from Gooty This was a valuable acquisition, as it served him later as a convenient base of operations against the Hoysala kingdom The success of Bukka was not due to the weakness of the Hoysala military force Ballāla III was, as stated already, preoccupied with the affairs of the Tamil country Not satisfied with the liberation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and the establishment of Sambuvarāya on the throne of Kāñchī, he set out on an expedition to conquer the entire south and bring it under his hegemony This naturally involved him in a conflict with the Sultān of Madurā (Ma'bar), and all his attention was absorbed in prosecuting war against him Ballāla, therefore,

was not able to take effective steps to check the aggressions of Vijayanagara, and as a consequence lost some territory along his eastern frontier. What might have happened, had Ballāla succeeded in his enterprise against Madurā it is not possible to surmise. The course of events in the south, however, took an unexpected turn, quite favourable to Vijayanagara, by the sudden disappearance of the enemy who was blocking her path of expansion Though Ballāla was successful at first in his war against the Sultān of Madurā, disaster fell upon him towards the close of A.D. 1342. The Sultān of Madurā, under the cover of a truce which Ballāla granted him, suddenly made a treacherous attack on his camp, destroyed his army, and having taken him prisoner murdered him after extorting from him all his wealth.[1c]

This disaster sounded the death-knell of the Hoysala monarchy Though Virūpāksha Ballāla or Ballāla IV, the son of Ballāla III, was crowned king in June, 1343, he was utterly helpless and had no power to maintain his authority. The flower of the Hoysala army was annihilated in the campaign of Ma'bar; his treasury was emptied in the vain hope of purchasing the liberty of his father, and many of the nobles including the commander-in-chief, Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka, deserted him like rats in a sinking ship and joined the king of Vijayanagara. Therefore, when he was attacked by the armies of Vijayanagara, he was unable to offer any effective resistance, and was obliged to abandon his kingdom and seek safety in flight within three months after his coronation[1d] The flight of Ballāla IV was not, however, followed by the immediate submission of the Hoysala dominions to Vijayanagara Though abandoned by their king and some of the leading nobles, local chieftains in various parts of the kingdom stoutly opposed the invaders; and it was not until A D 1346 that Bukka could reduce them to subjection. The conquest of the Hoysala kingdom was the most notable military achievement in the reign of Harihara I There was great jubilation in Vijayanagara To commemorate the victory, a grand festival under the aegis of Vidyātīrtha was celebrated at Śṛingerī in 1346, which was attended not only by Harihara and his brothers but also by all the chief generals and noblemen of his court

The conquest of the Hoysala kingdom seems to have involved Harihara I in war with two of his neighbours The Kadambas who were ruling the small kingdom of Banavāsi on the coast of Konkan, incurred his displeasure, probably on account of the shelter which they offered to Ballāla IV in their territory Mārapa, one of Harihara's younger brothers, set out from Kalasa in the Kadur district in A D. 1347, and having defeated the Kadamba king and annexed his territories, established himself at Chandragutti in the Shimoga

district. More important than this was the expedition against the Sultān of Madurā. The circumstances under which Harihara had to send an army against Madurā are not quite clear. It is, however, certain that he embarked on this expedition to rescue the Sambuvarāya who seems to have been defeated and taken prisoner by the Sultān. Two armies were despatched simultaneously in A.D. 1352-3 against the Sultān, one from Udayagiri in the east coast under Prince Sāvaṇṇa, son of Kampa I, and another from Mulbagal in the Kolar district under Kumāra Kampana, son of Bukka I, with instructions to unite on the frontiers of Madurā and compel the Sultān to set the Sambuvarāya at liberty. The Vijayanagara generals successfully accomplished the task with which they were entrusted. The Sultān of Madurā was defeated and taken prisoner and the Sambuvarāya was freed from captivity and re-established upon his throne

Though the victory of Vijayanagara was complete and the road to Madurā was open and undefended, the Sultanate was perhaps saved from destruction by the activities of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Gangū or Bahman Shāh, the ruler of the newly founded Bahmanī kingdom, who was hostile to Vijayanagara from the beginning The Bahmanī Sultān, himself a rebel against Delhi, appears to have claimed some sort of suzerainty over Vijayanagara His claim was rejected with scorn and as a consequence the relations between the two kingdoms were always strained As mentioned above, Firishta credits Bahman Shāh with some conquests in the Karnātak, though he does not refer to any conflict between him and the king of Vijayanagara. Bahman Shāh's success, probably over some local chiefs, must have been a source of anxiety to Vijayanagara It seems that Harihara I had to give up for the time being his designs over the Sultanate of Madurā and devote his attention exclusively to the defence of his northern frontier

The latest known date of Harihara is A D 1356[7] As he is not mentioned in the records of the subsequent years, he probably died in the course of the same year Harihara's reign was a period of great political activity Though he did not directly participate in the wars, he took keen interest in organizing the defence of the realm. He was a great administrator, and with the help of his trusted minister, Anantarasa Chikka Uḍaiya, he laid the foundations of a strong and stable system of civil administration which, with few modifications, lasted until the very last days of the empire.

3. BUKKA I (A D. 1356-1377)

Harihara I died without issue, and Bukka I succeeded him as the sole sovereign of the kingdom. The first step which he took

after assuming control of the State was to unify the kingdom and strengthen his position. Harihara I had entrusted the administration of some of the outlying provinces to his younger brothers, who, though they acknowledged his supremacy, regarded themselves as virtual masters of the territories under their control. Kampana I, the Governor of Udayagiri, died about A D. 1355, and on his death, his two sons, Sāvaṇṇa and Saṅgama II, divided the province between themselves, as if it were their family property. Mārapa, who conquered in A D. 1347 Male-nādu and Banavāsi, became its first governor, and most probably he was succeeded by his sons, Sovanna and Hariappa. Though the arrangement was working satisfactorily at the time, Bukka I realized that it contained the seeds of disintegration which would, in course of time, lead to the disruption of the kingdom and defeat the purpose for which it was founded. To check the power of his nephews, and bring them more effectively under the control of the central government, Bukka appointed his own sons as the governors of the provinces and made them responsible for the maintenance of the royal authority. Bhāskara Bhavadūra was made the governor of Udayagiri, Kumāra Kampana of Mulbāgal and Padaivīḍu, Virūpanna at first of Penugoṇḍa and later of Āraga, and Chikka-Kampana, Mallapa, and Harihara (II) of the Hoysala-rājya

The affairs of the Tamil country soon engaged Bukka I's attention Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya, whom Harihara I had restored to the throne in A D 1353, ruled the country undisturbed until A D 1359-60 Either because he had asserted his independence or for some other reasons not known, Bukka sent a military expedition against Rājanārāyaṇa who was not able to hold his own Rājanārāyana died in the early stages of the war; Venrumankoṇḍān II, his son and successor, held out for some time, but was ultimately killed in A.D 1360 With the death of Venrumankoṇḍān, the shortlived kingdom of the Sambuvarāyas came to an end and Vijayanagara became the mistress of the Tamil country extending as far south as the southern Pennār and the Kollaḍam rivers

Shortly after this Bukka was involved in a war with the Bahmanīs On the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Gangū (A.D. 1358), his son, Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I, ascended the throne. His position, on the throne, however, was not quite secure Dangers threatened him on every side Some of his nobles were disaffected towards him, and were ready to make trouble for him. Bukka I and the king of Telingāna, with whom he seems to have entered into an alliance, sent Muhammad Shāh an ultimatum threatening war in case he failed to satisfy their demands The former claimed

that the forts of Raichur and Mudgal with their dependent territory extending as far as the river Krishnā should be returned to him. The latter similarly demanded that the fort of Kaulas with the dependent territory which 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan had unjustly wrested from him should be restored to him Muhammad Shāh, after temporizing for a time, declared war on the Hindu kings. Bukka I immediately despatched twenty thousand men to support his ally, and invaded the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-*doāb* with a large force.

The account of the war given by Firishta is inaccurate and one-sided. According to him, Muhammad Shāh I defeated Bukka I on every battlefield, chased him from place to place, and when at last Bukka crept back into his capital, the Bahmanī Sultān lured him out of his stronghold and, having crushed him in a battle, dictated to him the terms of peace which he had no option but to accept Though some of the facts mentioned by Firishta might be true, the Vijayanagara army did not fare so badly in the war as he would have us believe. They contended with the Bahmanīs on equal terms, and struck blow for blow In the end, the Bahmanī Sultān had to sign a treaty which left Bukka I master of the whole of the Krishnā-Tuṅgabhadrā-*doāb* excepting some *mahals* on the southern bank of the Krishnā which were to be governed jointly by the two monarchs.[3] The terms of this treaty, to which Firishta himself alludes indirectly, clearly show that the war ended practically in a victory for Vijayanagara As the war had commenced on account of the refusal of Muhammad Shāh I to recognize the river Krishnā as the boundary between Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī kingdoms, and as the river Krishnā, according to the terms of the treaty, was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms, though a few *mahals* on the southern bank of the river were subjected to the joint authority of the two governments, it is obvious that Bukka I got the better of his rival

The Bahmanī war came to an end in A D 1365 Shortly after this Bukka I was engaged in a war with Koṇḍavīḍu. Very little is known about the causes and incidents of this war with the Reḍḍi kingdom. Prolaya Vema, the founder of the kingdom, died in A.D 1355 and his successor Anapota or Vīra-Anapota was defeated by Bukka The Reḍḍis lost Ahobalam and Vinukonda with their dependent territories which were permanently annexed to the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

When the affairs of the northern and eastern frontiers were thus settled to his satisfaction, Bukka I turned his attention to the south. The overthrow of the Sambuvarāyas and the annexation of

Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam had brought Vijayanagara directly into contact with the Sultanate of Madurā. A clash between the two kingdoms was inevitable; and the miserable plight to which the Hindus were reduced by the Muslim rulers of Ma'bar loudly called for intervention. Most of the Hindu shrines were destroyed; good many of them were converted into mosques. The people were killed by hundreds and thousands; their properties were confiscated; religious practices were forbidden; cows were butchered, and terror reigned supreme. Bukka, as the head of a Hindu State which was founded specially to protect the Hindu society and re-establish the Hindu *dharma,* could not remain indifferent, and launched an attack some time about A D 1370 He entrusted the supreme command of his army to his son, Kumāra Kampana, who had been governing the Tamil districts of the kingdom as his viceroy since the overthrow of the Sambuvarāya in A.D 1360-61

The army set out about the beginning of A D 1370 from Gingee in the South Arcot district and inflicted a crushing defeat on the forces of Madurā at Samayavaram near Śrīraṅgam Kannanur-Kuppam, the chief stronghold of the Musulmāns in this region, fell into the hands of the invaders who, after having restored god Śrīraṅganātha at Śrīrangam and Hoysaleśvara at Kannanur-Kuppam to their respective shrines marched against Madurā A severe engagement took place somewhere between Trichinopoly and Madurā in which the Sultān was defeated and killed The death of the Sultān, however, did not put an end to the war. Some of his followers appear to have shut themselves in the capital and declined to submit Kumāra Kampana laid siege to Madurā, and took it by storm Thus ended the Sultanate of Madurā after a brief but bloody existence of nearly forty years during which the Hindus of the country were subjected to inhuman tyranny [34]

With the conquest of Madurā, the whole of South India, extending up to Setubandha Rāmeśvaram, came under the sway of Vijayanagara, and it thus rapidly grew up into an empire. The conquered territory, together with the remaining parts of the Tamil country, was placed under Kumāra Kampana who proved as great an administrator as he was a soldier Unfortunately, however, he died prematurely, about the beginning of A D 1374, plunging the kingdom in grief His death brought the question of succession to the forefront Bukka I had several sons who distinguished themselves on the field of battle as well as in the civil administration of the kingdom, but he chose as heir-apparent and successor, Harihara II, his son by queen Gaurāmbikā, a prince who took little or no part in the affairs of the kingdom until the time of his selection. The rea-

sons which prompted Bukka to nominate Harihara as his crown prince, ignoring the claims of his more distinguished sons and grandsons, are not quite apparent.

Bukka I did not long survive his son Kampana and died in A.D. 1377 He was one of the greatest monarchs of the age, and was the real architect of the Vijayanagara empire. He was a great soldier and achieved conspicuous success on the field of battle, specially against the Muslims. In an age marked by religious bigotry and fanaticism, special reference must be made to the policy of tolerance adopted by Bukka I in dealing with the religious sects in his kingdom. Taking advantage of the dispute between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas, he issued an edict, copies of which were set up in important centres, proclaiming that from the standpoint of the State, all religions were equal and entitled to protection and patronage. The policy of religious concord, indicated in this edict, was followed by all his successors All religious communities of the kingdom including the Jews, Christians and Muslims, looked upon the Rāya as the guardian of their religious rights and privileges

Bukka I took an active interest in the revival of the Vedic *dharma* He assumed the title of *Vedamārga-pratishṭhāpaka* or the establisher of the path of the Vedas, and gathered together all the scholars learned in the Vedic literature Having placed them under his *kula-guru,* Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāranya and his famous brother Sāyanāchārya, he commanded them to compose fresh commentaries and expounded the meaning of the Vedas and the allied religious texts He also encouraged Telugu literature and was a patron of Nachana Soma, the greatest Telugu poet of the age

4 HARIHARA II (A D 1377-1404)

Bukka I died about the beginning of February, 1377, and Harihara II immediately ascended the throne. His authority, however, does not seem to have been acknowledged in all parts of the kingdom at once There were insurrections in Konkan and other provinces. A wide-spread rebellion broke out in the Tamil country, in which the chiefs of Tuṇḍīra, Chola and Pāṇḍya countries were involved It is not unlikely that the sons and some of the officers of Kumāra Kampana, who were dissatisfied with the late king's arrangements about succession, should have made a common cause with the rebels Harihara II, however, succeeded in putting down the rebellions and enforcing his authority. His son, Virūpāksha or Virūpanna Uḍaiyar, whom he appointed as the viceroy of the Tamil country, put down the rebels with a stern hand and brought the Tamil country back to subjection by the middle of A D 1377.[4] It

was probably on this occasion that Virūpaṇna Uḍaiyar crossed over to the island of Ceylon and exacted tribute from its ruler

A greater danger than the internal disturbances threatened the stability of Harihara's position on the throne. The Bahmanī Sultān invaded his kingdom in large force. Muhammad Shāh I died in 1375, and was succeeded by his youthful and warlike son, Mujāhid Shāh. He sent an envoy to the court of the Rāya demanding the abrogation of the treaty of A.D. 1365, and the recognition of the Tungabhadrā as the southern boundary of his dominions Harihara II naturally turned down this demand, and Mujāhid invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom by way of reply in the spring of A D. 1377

Firishta has given an elaborate account of this war, but most of the incidents described by him are not noticed by other Muslim historians, and even in places where they refer to them, their narrative differs from his in important respects. According to Firishta, the Rāya of Vijayanagara, whom, by the way, he calls Kṛishṇa Rāya, massed his troops on the bank of the Tungabhadrā, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Adoni, but took to flight at the approach of the Sultān's army. Mujāhid thereupon laid siege to Vijayanagara, and though he achieved some measure of success at first, he was obliged ultimately to raise the siege On his way back he besieged Adoni, an important fort, guarding the road from Gulbarga, for nine months His attempts to capture the fort, however, ended in failure, and while returning to his capital, having achieved nothing in the war, he was assassinated in his tent (A.D. 1378). Of the three important events of this war described by Firishta, the first two, namely, the flight of the Rāya and pursuit by Mujāhid, and the siege, by the latter, of the city of Vijayanagara, are not mentioned by other Muslim historians Though the flight of the Rāya and pursuit by the Sultān may be dismissed as exaggerated, there is nothing improbable in his attempt to besiege Vijayanagara The invasion, even taking Firishta's account at its face value, must be regarded as an inglorious failure The war, however, did not come to an end with the defeat of Mujāhid Shāh at Adoni and his retreat towards his kingdom. It had an interesting sequel which is not noticed either by the Muslim historians or modern scholars who have dealt with the subject The defeat of the Bahmanī army at Adoni and the subsequent assassination of the Sultān on his way home presented a great opportunity to Harihara II for retaliation The Bahmanī kingdom was defenceless and there were dissensions in the royal family Harihara II took full advantage of the situation and invaded Konkan and Northern Karṇāṭaka at the head of a large army. Though the details of the campaign are not definitely known, two or three incidents stand

out clearly. Mādhava *mantrin,* who was in charge of the Banavāsi country, defeated the Turushkas, captured the port of Goa and reduced the seven Konkanas to subjection (A D. 1380) The Turushkas, from whom Mādhava *mantrin* wrested Goa and the neighbouring territories, must have been the officers of the Bahmanī Sultān.[5] It must have been during the campaign in which Mādhava *mantrin* reduced the *sapta-Konkanas* that the important ports of Chaul and Dabhol on the coast of Northern Konkan were acquired by Harihara; and the possession of these ports, besides Goa, must have made him master of the entire west coast of the Deccan[6]

Harihara II, now firmly established on his throne, next sought to make himself the lord of the east coast so that he might establish his control over the eastern as well as the western sea. The idea of the conquest of the east coast was not new Bukka I, it may be remembered, attacked the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu which blocked the expansion of Vijayanagara towards the sea, and seized some outlying districts of Koṇḍavīdu between A D. 1365 and 1370. The appointment of Devarāya as the governor of Udayagiri in A D. 1370, however, marks a new epoch in the relations between Vijayanagara and Koṇḍavīḍu. He resolved from the first to annex the Reḍḍi territories and pursued his object with unwavering zeal The internal dissensions in the kingdom of Koṇḍavīdu, on the death of king Anavema in A D 1382-3, gave him an excellent opportunity to attack the Reḍḍi dominions, and he occupied at once the Addanki and the Śrīśailam districts adjoining the Vijayanagara frontier The occupation of the Reḍḍi territories, especially the district of Śrīśailam which abutted on the kingdom of Rāchakonda, brought in its train another war with the Velamas and their ally the Bahmanī Sultān

After the death of Anapotā Reḍḍi of Kondavīdu, the Velamas had seized Śrīśailam and the neighbouring territory Their king, Anapotā Nayaḍu I, is even credited with having built steps to the Śrīśailam hill Anavema Reddi, the younger brother and successor of Anapotā Reddi, dislodged the Velamas from Śrīśailam and reconquered the lost territory After the death of Anavema, the Velamas naturally desired to re-establish themselves in this region, but the prompt action of Devarāya baulked them of their prey The Velama ruler Anapotā Nayadu I appealed to his ally, the Bahmanī king Muhammad Shāh II, for help and prepared himself for war. To counteract the warlike activities of Anapotā Nayaḍu, Harihara II despatched an army under the command of his son Immadi Bukka, against the Velamas The army penetrated as far as Warangal, and defeated the Muslim cavalry at Kottakoṇda, a fort to the north-west of Warangal.

The Velama king did not, however, give up the hope of conquering Śrīśailam. With the help of the Bahmani Sultān Muhammad Shāh II, in A.D. 1390-91, he attacked 'Udayagiri-rājya', that is the province governed by Devarāya. The last-named made a counter-move by invading the Bahmanī kingdom. The Bahmanī forces accompanied by the Velamas seem to have made an attack upon Udayagiri, but Rāmachandra Uḍaiya, the son of Devarāya, whom he left in charge of his capital and province, is said to have subjugated hostile kings and vanquished by his skill the Musulmān king.[7] Though the final result of the war is not known, the Velamas did not achieve their object and the Bahmanī Sultān won no victories which the Muslim historians could boast of.

The conflict was renewed seven years later (A.D. 1398), when Harihara II planned another attack on the Velamas and their ally the Bahmanīs. He evidently took advantage of the confusion following the usurpation of the Bahmanī throne by Fīrūz Shāh to invade that kingdom, and captured the fort of Sagar. According to Firishta, Fīrūz not only recaptured the fort, but crossed the Krishnā, looted the camp of his enemy, besieged Vijayanagara, laid waste the surrounding territory, and compelled Harihara II to buy peace by payment of a large sum of money. Though according to the terms of the treaty, the boundaries of both the kingdoms remained as they were, Fīrūz is said to have directed Fūlād Khān to assume the government of the Raichur *doāb*, which, as shown above, belonged to Vijayanagara. Other Muslim authorities do not refer to the invasion of the *doāb* or the siege of Vijayanagara. They all, however, ignore the part played by the Velama allies of the Sultān, as well as the reverses sustained by him. The Muslim accounts of the sweeping victories of Fīrūz Shāh are contradicted by Hindu sources, both literary and epigraphic. An inscription at Pangal, in the Nalgonda district of the old Hyderabad State, clearly proves that an expedition sent by Harihara II against the Velamas defeated them as well as their Bahmanī ally near that place, almost at the very time when, according to Firishta, Fīrūz was dictating a most humiliating peace treaty to his enemy. This treaty, however, practically recognized the *status quo*. On the whole the fact seems to be that in spite of some initial successes gained by Fīrūz, he was ultimately forced to retreat and lost some territory to the north of the *doāb*.

The last years of the reign of Harihara II were peaceful, undisturbed by foreign invasions or internal troubles. He fell ill in the latter part of A.D. 1403 and died on August 16, 1404, having ruled for a period of twenty-eight years. During his reign of nearly

three decades, the kingdom extended in all directions, and assumed the proportions of a mighty empire. His conquest of the west and east coasts made him the master of many ports through which flowed the wealth of Europe and Asia into his dominions. In the internal administration of the kingdom, he followed in the footsteps of his father Though he entrusted the government of some of the provinces such as Mangalore, Barakur, and Goa on the west coast to his nobles, he appointed only his sons as governors of the important provinces in the interior and the east coast As already noted above, Virūpāksha succeeded his uncle Kumāra Kampana as the viceroy of the Tamil country. Immaḍi Bukka, the heir-apparent, became the governor of Āraga and Hoysala regions, and Devarāya I, the most capable of Harihara's sons, assumed the government of Udayagiri, the premier province of the empire Though this arrangement worked efficiently in the lifetime of Harihara, it fostered disintegrating tendencies which led immediately after his death to the outbreak of the first civil war in the Vijayanagara history.

On the death of Harihara II, the succession to the throne was disputed. His three sons Virūpāksha I, Bukka II, and Devarāya I laid claim to the throne, and attempted to take forcible possession of it Though the struggle for succession lasted for two years, much is not known about the course of events during the period. Virūpāksha I appears to have crowned himself immediately after the death of his father, but his rule came to an end after one year. He was probably overthrown by Bukka II who proclaimed himself king He, in his turn, yielded place to Devarāya I, who ascended the throne in A D 1406 and ruled for sixteen years until his death in A D 1422

5 DEVARĀYA I (A D. 1406-1422)

Devarāya I, who emerged victorious from the war of succession, ascended the Diamond Throne, and celebrated his coronation on November 7, 1406 His reign was a period of incessant military activity, and during the sixteen years of his reign he was, more or less, continuously engaged in waging war with the Bahmanī Sultāns, the Velamas of Rāchakonḍa and the Reddis of Kondavīḍu In spite of the powerful forces arrayed against him, he not only held his own but succeeded in increasing the extent of his kingdom by the annexation of fresh territories.

Immediately after Devarāya's accession his kingdom was invaded by Fīrūz Besides the Velamas, the traditional allies of his family, the Sultān secured also the friendship of Peda Komaṭi Vema, the Reḍḍi king of Konḍavīdu Apart from the frequent encroachment by Vijayanagara on the Reḍḍi territory, Peda Komaṭi Vema

resented the family and political alliance into which Harihar II entered with his rival Kāṭaya Vema who had usurped the government of Rājahmundry. The Sultān invaded the *doāb* with the main body of his army, while his Velama and Reḍḍi allies, supported by a strong contingent of his troops, attacked the Rāya in the eastern provinces of his kingdom. Devarāya massed most of his forces in the *doāb* to check the advance of the Sultān, and left the eastern provinces comparatively weakly defended

According to Firishta, Fīrūz Shāh marched unopposed to Vijayanagara, and made an unsuccessful attempt to take the city by storm. Though wounded and repulsed, the Sultān lay encamped in the environs of the city and harried the country-side Devarāya sued for peace, but the Sultān demanded, in addition to other treasures, the hand of the Rāya's daughter in marriage, and the cession of the fort of Bankāpūr as the price of peace Devarāya agreed to the Sultān's conditions, a treaty was concluded, and marriage performed, and the Sultān returned triumphantly to his capital The account of Nizām-ud-dīn is in close agreement with that of Firishta, but he does not refer to Fīrūz Shāh's demand for the hand of, and his marriage with, Devarāya's daughter Tabātabā, however, gives an entirely different account of the expedition from which it would appear that the Sultān's campaign was confined to Bhānūr and Musalkal, places situated in the Deodrug *taluk* in the north-west of the Raichur district, from which he returned to his capital, having, of course, reduced them to subjection. In view of the conflicting evidence of the Muslim historians it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the events of the campaign. Nevertheless it is hard to believe that Fīrūz could reach the city of Vijayanagara without any opposition Nor is it at all likely that Devarāya would have agreed to a humiliating treaty, especially when he succeeded in repulsing the Sultān's attack on his capital and compelled him to retreat to a respectable distance from it In the absence of corroborative evidence of a more trustworthy character, one would also hesitate to believe that Devarāya offered the hand of his daughter in marriage to Fīrūz Shāh as the price of peace, a fact stated only by Firishta

More reliable information is available about the war in the east. The Sultān's army, accompanied by his Velama and Reḍḍi allies, appears to have descended on Udayagiri and obtained several notable victories But what happened after these victories is not definitely known. One important result of the expedition was the Reḍḍi occupation of Pottapi-nāḍu and Pulugula-nāḍu in the south-east of the Cuddapah district, which continued for seven years until

their final expulsion by Devarāya I in A.D. 1413-14. The victory of the allies was, however, not complete; for they failed to dislodge Devarāya from Pangal which in his hands became a standing menace to the safety of the Velama kingdom.

Reference has been made elsewhere[4] to the dissensions in the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. On the death of Kumāragiri Reddi in A.D. 1402, Peda Komaṭi Vema, his cousin, succeeded him at Koṇḍavīḍu, while Kāṭaya Vema, the brother-in-law and minister of the late king, made himself master of the northern districts of the Reḍḍi kingdom with the city of Rājahmundry on the Godāvarī as his capital. Peda Komaṭi Vema, however, allied himself with the Velamas, and Kāṭaya Vema was driven out of his capital. It is true that Devarāya I, who was related to him by marriage alliance, was his friend, but so long as he was engaged in the war with Fīrūz Shāh and his allies, could not be expected to render any help. Kāṭaya Vema was, therefore, obliged to bide his time and look forward to the termination of the war. When at last Devarāya successfully repulsed his enemies and consolidated his power, Kāṭaya Vema paid a visit to Vijayanagara in A.D. 1410 and solicited his help. Devarāya, who fully realized the value of an independent Reḍḍi State on the Godāvarī as a counterpoise against the Bahmanī Sultān and his allies, promised help, and promptly despatched troops to enable him to recover his power.

The Vijayanagara army arrived at their destination none too soon. The situation was indeed grave. Peda Komaṭi Vema had already invaded the Rājahmundry kingdom and crossed the Godāvarī. Encouraged by the arrival of help from Vijayanagara, Kāṭaya Vema took the field and inflicted a crushing defeat on Peda Komaṭi Vema at Rāmeśvaram and put him to flight. But the arrival of Fīrūz Shāh and the Bahmanī army changed the situation. He won a number of victories, and Kāṭaya Vema was killed in one of these battles. On hearing of these disasters, Devarāya sent reinforcements. Doddaya Alla, the Commander-in-Chief of Kāṭaya Vema, rallied his late master's forces, and within a short time scored some success against the enemy.[8]

The war, however, did not come to an end. It moved westwards from the delta of the Godāvarī to the Velama dominions on the north bank of the Krishṇā, and the Bahmanī Sultān and the Rāya of Vijayanagara, who had hitherto played a subsidiary role, became the chief combatants. As noted above, the fort of Pangal or Nalgonda-Pangal, as it was known to Firishta, was in possession of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara since the time of its conquest in A.D. 1398 by Bukka II. It was considered the strongest and most

celebrated fort in that region and commanded the route from Vijayanagara to the Godāvarī delta. Fīrūz Shāh, who realized the strategic importance of the fort, resolved to wrest it from Devarāya and sent his forces in A.D. 1417 to capture it According to one authority, Devarāya attempted to intercept the expedition but was defeated and driven away. The siege lasted for two years, but it defied all attempts to take it The besiegers were reduced to great straits on account of famine and pestilence which devastated their camp. Devarāya gathered together fresh forces, and having secured the help of a number of Hindu chiefs including the Velamas, surrounded the besieging force. The garrison, which had bravely held out for two years, encouraged by the distressed condition of the Muslim army and the arrival of the succour from Vijayanagara, sallied out of the fort and fell upon the camp of the enemy. Caught between the two Hindu armies, the Bahmanī forces were cut to pieces and the Sultān fled precipitately from the field Devarāya I took full advantage of his victory and re-established his authority over the entire Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-*doāb* [9]

Devarāya's intervention in the affairs of the kingdom of Rājahmundry brought in its train war with the king of Orissa The Gajapati Bhānudeva IV, for some reasons unknown at present, invaded the kingdom of Rajahmundry To drive away the Gajapati and protect his ally, Devarāya had to despatch a military expedition to the Godāvari delta Before fighting could actually begin between the Gajapati and the Rāya, Doddaya Alla, or Allāda as he was more commonly known to his contemporaries, brought about, by means of his skilful diplomacy, a friendly understanding between the two rulers and persuaded them to return peacefully to their respective kingdoms Though war was thus averted, its significance cannot be underrated For it opens a new chapter in the history of the foreign relations of Vijayanagara, and marks the beginning of that rivalry between the Gajapatis and the Rāyas which was to involve the whole of the east coast into a war lasting for nearly a century and quarter

The remaining years of Devarāya's reign were peaceful The kingdom was undisturbed by wars Devarāya probably spent his last years in retirement, seeking diversion in the company of the learned whom he greatly cherished He was a great organizer of armies. For a period of 50 years (A D 1372-1422) during which he participated in the administration of the kingdom, he endeavoured to increase the efficiency of his army He was the first king of his family to realize the value of cavalry which contributed greatly to the success of medieval armies By purchasing on a large

scale horses from Arabia and Persia and recruiting suitable troopers to man them, he enhanced the strength and the fighting capacity of his forces. Devarāya was also the first ruler of Vijayanagara to employ in his service Turkish bowmen whom he attracted to his court by liberal grants of land and money. Under the fostering care of Devarāya I, the Vijayanagara army became an efficient instrument for victory, and enabled him to emerge successfully from the long-drawn contest with the Bahmanī Sultān Firūz Shāh.

Devarāya I was an ardent Śaivite, and was specially devoted to the worship of the Goddess Pampā of the Tāmpī-tīrtha. He built several temples at Vijayanagara some of which still remain in dilapidated condition. Devarāya was fond of learning, and extended his patronage to men of letters, philosophers and artists. He invited them to his court and discoursed with them on the arts and sciences in which they were proficient The 'Pearl Hall' of the palace where he honoured distinguished poets, philosophers and artists by bathing them in showers of gold coins and gems is immortalized in literature and is still remembered in the Telugu country. Under Devarāya I, Vijayanagara became the chief centre of learning in the whole of South India to which gravitated all seeking public recognition and fame. Vijayanagara had indeed become Vidyānagara, the city of learning and the abode of the Goddess Sarasvatī

6. RĀMACHANDRA AND VIJAYA I

The order of succession of the kings who immediately followed Devarāya I on the Diamond Throne is not definitely known. The evidence of inscriptions is perplexing, as two of his sons, Rāmachandra and Vijaya I, as well as his grandson Devarāya II are found to have been ruling simultaneously at Vijayanagara in A.D. 1422, the year in which he breathed his last According to a mnemonic verse preserved in the *Vidyāraṇya-Kālajñāna*, Devarāya I was followed by kings bearing names beginning with *Rā* (Rāmachandra) and *Vi* (Vijaya I) respectively. This order of succession is probably correct and may be adopted, at least tentatively

Rāmachandra, who had been associated with his father in the government of Udayagiri since A.D. 1390-91, appears to have ascended the throne on the death of his father and ruled for a period of six months.

Rāmachandra was succeeded by Vijaya I, who also known as Vijayabhūpati, Vijaya Bukka or Vīra Bukka There is considerable difference of opinion about the duration of his reign Tradition embodied in the chronicle of Nuniz assigns to Vijaya's reign a

period of six years, but this has been reduced by modern scholars to a much shorter period varying from six months to two years. An analysis of Vijayanagara inscriptions of this time clearly shows that Vijaya's reign lasted from A.D. 1422 to A.D. 1430.[10] Vijaya appears to have been a weak monarch, for, during the eight years of his rule, he seems to have taken little or no active part in the government of the kingdom, and left the administration in the abler hands of his son and co-regent, Devarāya II The reign of Vijaya I was not, however, uneventful It witnessed the outbreak of two important foreign wars, one with Bahmanī Sultān and the other with the Gajapati of Orissa; but as Devarāya II was the actual hero of these wars, the facts connected with them may be more conveniently dealt with while describing the events of his reign

7 DEVARĀYA II (A.D 1422-1446)

Though Devarāya II was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom since A D 1422, the exact date of his coronation is not known. It is true that in an epigraph at Manigarakeri in the South Kanara district, it is said that Devarāya II began to rule from the summer of Śaka 1343 (March, 1421); but he could not possibly have been crowned at that time, as not only his father and paternal uncle but also his grandfather were still alive, governing the kingdom. The record probably refers to the initial date on which Devarāya II was placed in charge of the affairs of Tulu, and his coronation as the co-regent of his father must have taken place some time later.

Like all his predecessors, Devarāya II was involved in a series of wars with the Bahmani Sultāns. The first of these broke out immediately after Vijaya I assumed the reins of his government Sultān Ahmad Shāh invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom on the first Nauroz after his accession (December 15, 1422)[11] In the initial stages of the war, the Vijayanagara troops penetrated as far as Etgir in the Gulbarga district, but the Vijayanagara army suffered defeat, owing to the desertion of the king of Warangal on the battle-field Moreover, Bhānudeva IV, the king of Orissa, invaded the coastal Andhra country and wrested from Vijayanagara the former territories of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu Though Ahmad Shāh must have taken advantage of these unexpected happenings, and marched towards Vijayanagara, it is doubtful whether he was able to penetrate to the capital and force Devarāya II to sue for peace, as stated by Firishta. An important fact, missed by all the historians of Vijayanagara, must be noted in this context Ahmad Shāh changed his capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar, while he was still engaged in war with Vijayanagara[12] The transfer of his capital from Gul-

barga, near Vijayanagara frontier, to Bīdar, situated in the hilly tract farther north in the interior of his dominions, is not without significance. Ahmad Shāh's war on Vijayanagara did not perhaps end as favourably to the Sultān as the Muslim historians would have us believe. Some unrecorded Vijayanagara attack on Gulbarga probably compelled the Sultān to remove the seat of his government to a safer distance. That the war did not end in an absolute victory for the Sultān is made clear by an epigraph from South Kanara district dated A.D. 1429-30, which refers to the defeat of the large and powerful Turushka cavalry by Devarāya II.[13] As there was but one war between Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī kingdoms in the time of Ahmad Shāh (A.D. 1422-1436), Devarāya II's victory over the Turushkas mentioned in the record must have been won during the Bahmanī invasion of A.D. 1423.

Two other victories against the rulers of Andhra and Orissa are attributed to Devarāya II in the epigraph cited above. There is reason to believe that these two kings were allies and that Devarāya II's victories over them were not independent but interconnected events. Although Devarāya II might have been prompted by a desire to chastise the Velama ruler for his treachery in the recent Bahmanī war, he had weightier reasons to launch an attack upon the Velamas. For they had joined the Gajapati Bhānudeva IV, invaded the coastal Andhra country, and established themselves there having dispossessed the nobles and officers of Vijayanagara whom they found in that region For a period of about five years the country remained under their sway, and it was not until A D 1428 that Devarāya II succeeded in dislodging them.

Very little is known about the events of this war. Bhānudeva IV led an expedition to the south, and from the side of the Velamas, Linga, the Chief of Devarakoṇḍa, joined him. They attacked at first the Reddi kingdom of Rājahmundry. Allāḍa, who with the help of Devarāya I had revived the power of Kāṭaya Vema's family in A D. 1417, died in A D 1422 or a little later; and his second son Vīrabhadra, who married Anitalli, Kāṭaya Vema's daughter and heir, was crowned king of Rājahmundry. He was assisted by his elder brother, Vema, who became, on account of his great skill both as a general and an administrator, the real ruler of the kingdom Vema inherited none of the moderation of his father, Allāḍa, but followed vigorously the policy of expansion into Orissa favoured by Kātaya Vema and the early Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu Bhānudeva probably undertook the expedition to the south only to check the growing aggression of the Reḍḍis of Rājahmundry but, with the successful prosecution of the war, he seems

to have not only extended the field of his operations but also contemplated the annexation of the coastal Andhra country to his kingdom. Though Vema and Vīrabhadra might have held their own against Bhānudeva, they were helpless against the combined forces of the Gajapati and the Velamas. They were therefore obliged to submit to Bhānudeva IV, acknowledging him as their sovereign and overlord. After the subjugation of the Rājahmundry kingdom, Bhānudeva IV cast his eyes upon the territories of the erstwhile kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. Racha Vema was assassinated in A D. 1424, and the kingdom was left without a ruler. Though some of the Vijayanagara officers and nobles seized large parts of the country, the Rāya was not yet able to enforce his authority effectively, owing to the invasion of the Bahmanī Sultān. Bhānudeva, therefore, crossed the Krishnā, and having, with the help of Linga, overpowered the Vijayanagara nobles and officers, made himself the master of the country.

As soon as Devarāya II freed his kingdom from the Muslim invaders, he launched an attack on the Gajapati and the Velamas Though the incidents of this war are lost more or less in obscurity, the results are definitely known. The territories of the old Reḍḍi kingdom of Kondavīḍu were reconquered and incorporated with the empire of Vijayanagara, and the power of the Reḍḍis of Rājahmundry, which was in abeyance between A D. 1424 and A D. 1427, was completely restored.

For six or seven years after the conclusion of the war with the Gajapati, the kingdom of Vijayanagara enjoyed peace undisturbed by any foreign wars and internal disorders. With the death of the Bahmanī Sultān Ahmad Shāh and the accession to the throne of his son 'Alā-ud-dīn II, however, the tranquillity of the kingdom was broken, and Devarāya II became once again involved in wars with the Bahmani Sultān. Two wars are recorded by the Muslim historians, one in A H 839 (A D. 1435-36), and another in A.H. 847 (A D 1443-44). Both wars were confined to the Krishnā-Tuṅgabhadrā-*doāb* and centred round the forts of Mudgal and Raichur In the first war 'Alā-ud-dīn was certainly the aggressor, but the conflicting accounts of the Muslim historians are hard to reconcile The discrepancies, which throw doubt on their veracity, seem to be the result of an attempt to cover the failure of the Sultān's invasion and convert defeat into victory Taking all facts into consideration, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn II's invasion of Vijayanagara was a failure.

The second war broke out, as stated already, in A D 1443. The causes of this war are thus described by Firishta: Devarāya II,

having instituted in A.D. 1437 an inquiry about the causes of his frequent defeat in the wars with the Bahmanī Sultāns, was told that it was due in the first place to the inferior quality of the horses in his army, and secondly to the excellent body of the archers in the service of the Bahmanī Sultāns. To improve the fighting quality of his forces, he enlisted in his service Muslim archers to give instruction to his Hindu soldiers; and having soon mustered two thousand Muslim and sixty thousand Hindu archers, eighty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry, he invaded the Bahmanī kingdom with the intention of conquering it. This is very far from the truth. There was no need for Devarāya II to institute a special enquiry about this time; for Muslims were entertained in the service of Vijayanagara monarchs at least from the time of Devarāya I;[14] and there were as many as ten thousand Turkish troopers in the employ of Devarāya II as early as A.D. 1430, six years before the accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn II The real cause of the war was not Devarāya's determination to conquer the Bahmanī kingdom, but the desire of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn II to take advantage of a misfortune that befell Devarāya II, and exact from him a large sum of money. Fortunately, the evidence of a contemporary Muslim writer, who was present at the time of the outbreak of this war in Vijayanagara, enables us to find out the truth, and get one more evidence of the totally unreliable character of Firishta's account of the Bahmanī-Vijayanagara struggle.

In A D. 1443, while Abdur Razzāk, the Persian ambassador, was sojourning in Calicut, one of the brothers of Devarāya II, having invited the king, the prince, and nobles of the kingdom to a feast in a palace which he built, massacred all who attended the function Though Devarāya II did not accept the invitation on account of indis position, the treacherous brother paid him a visit in the royal palace, obviously to persuade him to go to the feast, and finding him alone, stabbed him with a poignard in several places. Believing that the king was dead he then appeared on the portico of the palace and proclaimed himself king. Meanwhile, Devarāya II recovering consciousness dragged himself on to the portico, and commanded the people not to recognize the traitor but to seize him and put him to death. A crowd of people, who had assembled in the palace, fell upon the prince and slew him on the spot. This unfortunate incident, which involved the slaughter of all those who had any name or rank in the State, naturally created chaos and confusion But it also roused the cupidity of the Bahmanī Sultān who demanded the payment of seven lakhs of *varāhas* and threatened to invade Vijayanagara in case his demand was not met. Devarāya II re-

fused to comply with the Sultān's demand; and as a consequence war broke out between the two kingdoms.

Firishta gives an elaborate account of this war and furnishes details not known from other sources. According to him Devarāya II invaded the *doāb*, captured Mudgal, and plundered the Sultān's territory as far as Sagar and Bijāpur The Sultān came against him with an army of 50,000 horse and 60,000 foot Three severe engagements took place between the main forces of the Sultān and the Rāya In the first battle, which was obviously fought under the walls of Mudgal, Devarāya II was victorious, and the Sultān sustained heavy losses In the third battle, which was also fought under the walls of Mudgal, the eldest son of Devarāya II was killed; and the forces of Vijayanagara fled panic-stricken into the fort. A treaty was concluded according to which Devarāya agreed not to molest the Sultān's territories in future, and to pay annually a stipulated tribute.

Though Firishta's account of the war is generally accepted as genuine, its authenticity is not above doubt. The Muslim historians, who describe at some length the terms of the treaty, are silent about Mudgal, which was one of the most important strongholds in the Krishnā-Tuṅgabhadrā-*doāb* and was wrested, according to Firishta, from the Sultān by Devarāya at the beginning of the war If the Sultān left the fort in the possession of the Rāya even after the conclusion of the treaty, it is certain that notwithstanding his boasted victories he could not retake it. At the very time when Devarāya II is said to have sued for peace with the Sultān, his forces were engaged in a victorious campaign in the east coast against the powerful king of Orissa Having a powerful army flushed with victory in the east coast in reserve, it is absurd to suppose that Devarāya II would have sued for peace and concluded a treaty with the Sultān, who was not even strong enough to retake the fort of Mudgal which belonged to him There is also reason to believe that the authority of the Sultān did not extend as far south as the Krishnā-Tuṅgabhadrā-*doāb*; for according to a Persian epigraph of the Sultān, the boundary (obviously southern) of his kingdom passed through the village of Halsangi in the Indi *taluk* of the present Bijāpur district.[15] Having regard for these facts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Firishta's account of the war is, as usual, grossly exaggerated and one-sided, and must be utilized with great caution in the reconstruction of Vijayanagara history

Two other expeditions which Devarāya II had undertaken about this time deserve mention. At the time when Abdur Razzāk arrived in India in November 1442, Lakkana Dannaik, the *Diwān* and

Commander-in-Chief of Devarāya II, is said to have gone on a naval expedition to the frontier of Ceylon. The expedition which must have started some years earlier, as it is referred to in inscriptions as early as A.D. 1438, was completely successful. The Ceylonese were defeated and compelled to pay tribute; and Lakkana re-established the power of the Rāya over the southern ocean.

Devarāya II was also called upon to intervene once again in the affairs of the kingdom of Rājahmundry. The Reḍḍi rulers, Allaya Vema and Vīrabhadra, embarked on a policy of aggression and conquest, and by constant encroachments on the territories of the Gajapati pushed forward the frontier of the kingdom to the shores of the Chilkā lake. Bhānudeva IV was succeeded by the Gajapati Kapilendra, one of the most powerful and ambitious monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of Orissa Kapilendra, who was determined to put an end to the Reḍḍi aggression, formed very early in his reign an alliance with the Velamas, the inveterate foes of the Reḍḍis, and seems to have launched an attack upon the kingdom of Rājahmundry in A D 1443, taking advantage of the preoccupation of Vijayanagara with the invasion of the Bahmanī Sultān. Devarāya II did not, however, leave his allies in the lurch; he sent a strong army under Mallappa Uḍaiyar to drive away the Gajapati and re-establish the power of the Reḍḍis firmly in the Godāvarī delta. Here, as in the case of the expedition against Ceylon, no information about the incidents of the campaign has come down to us, though there is no doubt about its ultimate result Kapilendra was defeated and was compelled to return to his kingdom. Mallappa Uḍaiyar remained for some time at Rājahmundry to restore, in accordance with the instructions of his master, the power of the Reḍḍis.[16]

Though Devarāya II ruled for nearly two years more after the eastern campaign, no more wars seem to have disturbed the peace of the kingdom According to an epigraph at Sravana Belgola, he died on Tuesday, May 24, 1446, after a rule of 25 years. Devarāya II was a great monarch. He was the master of an extensive empire which extended from the river Krishnā to Ceylon and from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal Besides the taxes collected from his dominions, he gathered much revenue from the numerous ports of his empire. His fleet scoured the seas, and levied tribute from Quilon, Ceylon, Pegu and many other countries He had under him one thousand war elephants and an army of eleven lakhs of men Although Devarāya II was frequently at war with enemies, he found time to patronize men of letters in Sanskrit and vernaculars and rewarded them by liberal grants of land and money He loved to

organize literary and philosophical debates in his court and presided over them personally Devarāya promoted fine arts and adorned his capital with new temples

8. VIJAYARĀYA II (A.D. 1446-47) and MALLIKĀRJUNA (A D. 1446-65)

The political situation at Vijayanagara immediately after the death of Devarāya II is not definitely known. Though it is generally assumed that his son, Mallikārjuna, succeeded him on the throne, there is reason to believe that Vijaya II, more commonly known as Pratāpadevarāya, younger brother of Devarāya II, ascended the throne and ruled for a short period.[17] It is evident from literary and epigraphic evidence that both Vijaya II and Mallikārjuna for some time ruled the empire simultaneously. How Vijaya II came to be dispossessed of it cannot, however, be ascertained at present He was probably obliged to come to terms with Mallikārjuna, as a result of which he had to renounce his claim to the throne and retire to his estate, where he continued to rule until at least A.D. 1455 [18]

The reign of Vijaya II, short as it was, is important on account of an attempt made by him to put down ministerial corruption and purify the administration of the empire The ministers of the state used to exact presents and collect certain communal taxes in exorbitant manner which caused considerable distress in the kingdom Vijaya II resolved to put an end to the practice, and issued orders accordingly As the reign of Vijaya II came to an end soon after the issue of this edict, it is not likely that his attempt to reform the administration produced any permanent result

Mallikārjuna was probably a mere youth at the time of the death of his father He is also spoken in the inscriptions as Mummadi Devarāya (Devarāya III) or Mummadi Prauḍha Devarāya, (Prauḍha Devarāya III) [19] Mallikārjuna was a weak monarch, and his accession marks the beginning of the decline in the fortunes of the Saṅgama dynasty The rivalry between the Rāyas and the Gajapatis of Orissa for the possession of the coastal Andhra country came to a head; and in the struggle that ensued, the Rāya lost considerable territory besides the coastal Andhra for which the fights began

According to the contemporary playwright, Gaṅgādāsa, the war began with the joint attack of the Gajapati and the Bahmanī Sultān.[20] This took place probably in A D 1450, for in that year Mallikārjuna is said to have won a victory over the Mussulmāns Though Kapilendra, the Gajapati king, is said in one of the records

of his grandson, Pratāparudra, to have levied on this occasion a heavy tribute from the Karṇāṭa king, the statement is not supported by any other evidence. No trace of Gajapati rule is found anywhere in the Telugu country during the next four or five years, and Mallikārjuna's authority was recognized until A.D. 1454-55 in the coastal region including the old kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. The silence of the Bahmanī historians on the subject coupled with Mallikārjuna's claim of victory over the Muslim forces, seems to point to the same conclusion Mallikārjuna, therefore, appears to have succeeded in repulsing the invaders, as stated by Gaṅgādāsa, and maintaining his hold over the whole extent of his empire

The Gajapati invasion of Vijayanagara kingdom began, however, in right earnest four years later. Between A.D 1450 and 1454 Kapilendra reduced the Reddi kingdom of Rājahmundry, and sent an army under his cousin Ganadeva across the Krishnā into Koṇḍavīḍu province of the Vijayanagara empire. The expedition was completely successful. Vijayanagara armies were defeated and driven out of Koṇḍavīdu: and the important forts of Kondavīdu, Vinukoṇḍa and Addanki together with territories dependent on them passed into his hands For four or five years there was complete lull Kumāra Hamvīra, one of Kapilendra's sons, was appointed the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu in the place of Ganadeva, and was commissioned to invade and conquer Vijayanagara territories

Hamvīra was a great warrior and capable general He led a grand army in A.D. 1463 into the southern provinces of the empire and was ably assisted by his son Kumāra Kapileśvara Mahāpātra The Orissan army seems to have met with little or no opposition and captured almost all the important forts on the east coast; Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Padaivīdu, Kāñchī, Valudulampaṭṭi-Usāvadi, Tirāvarūr and Tiruchchirāpalli rapidly fell one after another The expedition was a grand success and Hamvira won great glory by his advance up to the Kāverī Kapilendra evidently intended to annex the whole territory, for he appointed his grandson Kapileśvara Mahāpātra governor of the extensive area and also made other administrative arrangements. But, for some reasons not known at present, the Orissan forces were obliged to retrace their footsteps within two years They lost all the forts which they had conquered with the exception of Udayagiri in the Nellore district Thus though the expedition caused considerable confusion, it did not lead to any permanent result, so far as Orissa was concerned But it had a considerable effect upon the political and economic condition of Vijayanagara The loss of the two strategic forts of Koṇḍavīḍu and Udayagiri, together with their dependent territories, weakened the

empire; and the failure to offer successful opposition to the Oriyas lowered the prestige of the Rāya.

Mallikārjuna did not long survive the disastrous Gajapati invasion, and died about the middle of A.D. 1465. The end of Mallikārjuna was not probably peaceful. Tradition preserved in the Śrīvaishṇava work *Prapannāmṛitam* states that his own cousin Virūpāksha II assassinated him together with the members of the royal family and usurped the throne. This is not unlikely; for, though Virūpāksha II was the cousin of Mallikārjuna, he could not have had any claim to the throne, as the latter had a son to succeed him Whether Virūpāksha had actually murdered his cousin or not, there can be no doubt that he laid violent hands upon the throne and took forcible possession of the empire.

9 VIRŪPĀKSHA II AND THE FALL OF THE SAṄGAMA DYNASTY (A.D. 1465-1485)

Though Virūpāksha succeeded in establishing himself on the throne, he was not able to enforce his authority over the empire The eastern seaboard extending from the Guṇḍlakamma to the Kāverī, the southern Karnātaka, and the bulk of the Western Andhra districts, were under the sway of the Sāluvas who nominally acknowledged his overlordship, but governed their possessions virtually as independent princes The successors of Mallikārjuna seem to have retired to the banks of the Kāverī in the south, and ruled over parts of the Tanjore, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore, Salem and Madurā districts in their own right, without any reference to the authority of Virūpāksha Similarly, on the west coast the Tuluva and the Konkanī nobles, who were busy with their local feuds, paid little or no attention to his behests His authority was thus confined mostly to Karnāṭaka and portions of the Western Andhra country, although he seized the Diamond Throne of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.

The first few years of the reign of Virūpāksha II were uneventful With the death, however, of the Gajapati Kapilendra in A D 1470,[20a] the political conditions in the Deccan began to change rapidly The Bahmanī Sultān, who was held in check until that time by the fear of an attack from the Gajapati, invaded Vijayanagara possessions in Konkan on the west coast. Muhammad Shāh III, at the instance of his Prime Minister, the famous Mahmūd Gāvān, sent him at the head of a large army. The first target of his attack was Śankara Rāo of Khelna. The fort was impregnable and Mahmūd Gāvān succeeded in capturing it after two years, more by judicious distribution of bribes than by prowess. Next he planned

an attack on Goa both by land and sea, and succeeded in making himself master of the place before Virūpāksha could think of concerting measures for its defence. The loss of Goa was indeed a severe blow to Vijayanagara. As the principal port on the west coast, it commanded the trade with Western Asia, Africa, and Europe which brought much money into the treasury. The loss of the port cut off not only a lucrative source of income to the State but also the traffic in horses which was essential for keeping up its military strength Virūpāksha did not easily reconcile himself to the loss of Goa He made at least two attempts to recapture the port. Some two years after the loss, Birkana Rāy (? Vīra Kanna Rāya), the ruler of Belgaum, with the help of the chief of Bankapur, attacked Goa at his instance. On hearing this, Sultān Mahammad Shāh III, accompanied by Mahmūd Gāvān, marched at the head of a vast army and laid siege to the fort of Belgaum. Though Birkana Rāy offered stout resistance for simc time, he was ultimately obliged to submit and enter into the order of nobility of the Bahmanī court With the defeat of Birkana Rāy, the expedition against Goa collapsed, and the Bahmanī Sultān kept his hold on the city. Another attempt was made in 1481 Immediately after the execution of the great minister and the consequent confusion in the Bahmanī kingdom, Virūpāksha sent an expedition against Goa to drive away the Bahmanī garrison and recapture the port. Muhammad Shāh who was at that time in Belgaum, directed Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān to march with his force to rescue the garrison, and he appears to have been successful in repelling the Vijayanagara attack The success of 'Ādil Khān at Goa opened the way for an invasion of Vijayanagara possessions in Tulu-rājya Gopradāna Keśarī (Go Faridun Kaisar Khān), the Sultān of Bidire, sent an army under his commander Nijām-ud-dīn Maluka (Malik Nīzām-ud-dīn) against the territories of the chiefs of Nagire and Honnāvūr in the Tulu-rājya. The results of the expedition are not definitely known The Nagire chiefs appear to have been successful in driving back the Musulmāns As a consequence of the operations of Mahmūd Gāvān in Konkan and the west coast, Virūpāksha II lost not only the seaboard of northern Konkan but also the bulk of northern Karnāṭaka.

The death of Kapilendra plunged the coastal Andhra country into the throes of civil war, and offered an excellent opportunity for the Rāya of Vijayanagara to win back his lost dominion; but Virūpaksha did not rise to the occasion. He failed to take advantage of the situation to recover the prestige of his government and the affection of his subjects. His failure, however, provided Sāluva Narasiṁha, one of the prominent noblemen of his kingdom, a splen-

did opportunity to emerge as the saviour of the kingdom, and the custodian of the power of the Rāyas.

Sāluva Narasiṁha was the eldest son of Sāluva Guṇḍa, the chief of Chandragiri in Chittoor district. He seems to have succeeded to the family estate about A.D. 1456. At the time of his succession, his authority could not have been great, though besides his family fief of Chandragiri, he seems to have held an estate in the neighbourhood of Nagar, in the Tirukkoyilur *taluk* of the South Arcot district. The weakness of the central government at Vijayanagara subsequent to the defeat of Mallikārjuna at the hands of Gaṇadeva in A.D. 1454, and the loss of the Koṇḍavīḍu-rājya enabled him to enlarge his territory. The frequent attacks of the Gajapati on Vijayanagara culminating in the invasion of 1463, created anarchy and confusion in the kingdom The assassination of Mallikārjuna and the usurpation of the throne by Virūpāksha II gave a further impetus to the forces of disintegration; and the nobles and the captains, though they outwardly acknowledged the supremacy of the Rāya, acted pretty much as they liked. It must have been during these years of anarchy that Sāluva Narasiṁha laid the foundations of his power He had already made himself master of Chittoor, the two Arcots, and the Kolar districts by the beginning of Virūpāksha's reign His power was so great that Mallikārjuna's young son, Rājaśekhara, sought refuge at his court.

Sāluva Narasiṁha resolved very early in his career to free his country from the yoke of Orissa. The illness of Kapilendra and the outbreak of dissensions among his sons subsequent to his death in A D 1470 gave him the opportunity he was waiting for. He appears to have begun his campaign against the Gajapati in A D 1469, and after defeating the Oriya force captured the fort of Udayagiri which was the southern gate, as it were, of the coastal Andhra country. The progress of his expedition was checked at this stage by an invasion of the Chola and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam countries by the Pāṇḍya chief Bhūvanaikavīra Samarakolāhala at the head of the Chevulapotu (Lambakarna) forces who are said to have established themselves in the land of the Tigulas, (i e Tamils). Narasiṁha expelled the invaders and pursued them as far as Rāmeśvaram, where he received presents sent by the Buddhist king of Ceylon and the rulers of other islands He then proceeded in a south-westerly direction and reached Anantaśayanam (Trivandrum) where he stayed for some time, conducting operations against the Gurukarnas (i e Lambakarṇas) who probably lived somewhere in the neighbourhood.

Having thus settled the affairs of his southern territories by chastising the Pāṇḍyas and their Lambakarna allies, Sāluva Nara-

siṁha returned to resume the campaign against Orissa, where important changes had taken place in the meantime. Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī had become master not only of Teliṅgāna but also of the coastal Andhra country. But partly by diplomacy and partly by military victories, Sāluva Narasiṁha completely achieved his object. He conquered the whole of the coastal Andhra country to the south of the Krishnā, captured the port of Masulipatam, and took possession of the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu in A.D. 1480. He thus came into possession of the country between the Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī territories in the east coast and became the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Teliṅgāna and Vijayanagara.

The acquisition of Koṇḍavīḍu involved Sāluva Narasiṁha in a war with Bahmanī Sultān, who not only captured this fort but even advanced as far as Kāñchī and sacked it. But the murder of Mahmūd Gāvān, which shortly followed, changed the triumph of the Bahmanīs into a veritable disaster. As mentioned above, in chapter XI, this was brought about by a false accusation against the minister by his enemies. But a different version of the affair is given by Sakhawī who wrote about it between A.D. 1481 and 1497. He knows nothing about the forged letter of Gāvān to the king of Orissa According to him the Sultān was away from the Khvāja for seventeen days on a campaign in Narsing's country. Taking advantage of this opportunity, some of Sultān's favourite ministers came to the Khvāja and warned him that Narsing's army would make a night attack upon his camp He therefore took necessary precautions, and made immediate preparations to ward off the expected attack The ministers of the Sultān then returned to him and informed him that the Khvāja was making preparations to attack the Sultān himself. The latter thereupon summoned the Khvāja to his presence and ordered his execution. This is the account of Sakhawī What probably provoked the Sultān to order the immediate execution of the Khvāja was an incident which happened near Kandukur where the Khvāja was encamped. Īśvara, the commander-in-chief of Sāluva Narasiṁha's army, attacked the Sultān's cavalry and destroyed it in a fierce battle This, coupled with the defensive measures concerted by the Khvāja, appears to have convinced the Sultān that Gāvān was actually in league with his enemies He therefore immediately ordered, without hesitation, the execution of the great minister. However that may be, Muhammad Shāh lost all the spoils of his Kāñchī expedition and was mortified by his defeat at the hands of the infidels It was probably to recover his prestige that he sent an expedition under Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and Fakhr-ul-Mulk against Sāluva Narasiṁha from his camp at Kandukur, and himself marched in person on Masulipatam and

its dependent territory still under Narasiṁha's rule. Though the Sultān succeeded in capturing Masulipatam, the expedition led by Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and Fakhr-ul-Mulk ended in a disaster.

The *Varāha-purāṇam* mentions a number of places which Sāluva Narasiṁha's commander-in-chief, Īśvara Nāyaka, conquered on behalf of his master. Of these, Udayādri (Udayagiri) and Nellore must have been reduced to subjection during his campaign against the Gajapati in A.D. 1469-70 Āmūru (Chingleput) and Kovela (i.e Śrīrangam), as well as Bonagiri and Chenji, mentioned in the *Jaimini-Bhāratam,* must have been conquered during his southern campaign in A.D 1470. Kongu-Dhārāpuri (Coimbatore), Kundāni (Salem), Seringapatam or Śrīrangapaṭṇam, Nāgamangalam, and Bangalore as well as Penugoṇḍa (Anantapur) and Gaṇḍikoṭa (Cuddapah), must have been brought under his control in his campaign against the nobles and Nāyaks, who refused to acknowledge his authority, between A.D. 1481 and 1485 Special mention must be made of the chiefs of Ummattur who offered stubborn resistance to Sāluva Narasiṁha and his successors. They held sway over a large part of the southern and eastern Mysore districts and were masters of the two island fortresses of Śrīrangapaṭṇam and Śivansamudram in the Kāverī Devanna Uḍaiyar, Nanjarāja and Vīra Somarāya, who ruled at this time, acknowledged no overlord, but issued charters in their own right as independent princes To make himself master of the upper Kāverī valley, Sāluva Narasimha had to crush them It was in this connection that he conquered Nāgamaṇḍala (Nāgamangala), Śrīrangapaṭnam and Bangalore. Another powerful enemy whom he overthrew at Penugoṇḍa about this time was the Turushka who allied himself with a powerful Sabara chief called Pikkiḷlu Who Pikkiḷḷu was and why he joined the Turushkas are matters on which no information is available at present. The Turushkas were no doubt the Bahmanī soldiers whom Muhammad Shāh had despatched from Kandukur under the leadership of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and Fakhr-ul-Mulk In the encounter with Narasiṁha's forces they were defeated and sought safety in flight; and Pikkiḷlu lost his life.

Śāluva Narasimha thus became the virtual master practically of the whole of the Vijayanagara empire The measures concerted by Virūpāksha II to check the growth of his powers are not known The Portuguese chronicler Nuniz, who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century, gives little credit to Virūpāksha for anything good. He was a bad king sunk in vice, and the vast kingdom which he seized began to fall to pieces He was murdered about the end of A D 1485 by one of his sons, who, however, renounced his right

to the throne in favour of his younger brother, Padearao i.e. Prauḍha Devarāya.

Prauḍha Devarāya, who thus obtained the kingdom from his elder brother, was a grown up prince who had been associated with his father in the administration of the empire since A D. 1471. He was a feeble dissolute prince utterly unworthy of the throne which he was called on to occupy. He is said to have been totally indifferent to the affairs of the State; but even if he were different in his character, he could not have prevailed against such a powerful vassal as Sāluva Narasimha. The character of Prauḍha Devarāya, however, provided a pretext to Sāluva Narasimha to seize the throne for himself in the interests of the empire. The time was propitious. All the important vassals were subdued and the political affairs in Orissa and the Bahmanī kingdom were such that there was no fear of intervention from these quarters on behalf of Prauḍha Devarāya Therefore Sāluva Narasimha resolved to seize the opportunity. At first he won over the nobles to his side by offering them valuable presents; and when he felt sure of their support, he sent his army under Narasa Nāyaka, the son of Īśvara Nāyaka, to Vijayanagara with instructions to expel Prauḍha Devarāya from the capital and take possession of the throne and kingdom in his name Narasa met with no opposition; and when he entered the capital, Praudha Devarāya fled from it, and took refuge in a foreign country. With the flight of Prauḍha Devarāya, the rule of the Sangama dynasty came to an end Sāluva Narasimha soon followed Narasa Nāyaka to the capital, and celebrated his coronation about the close of A D 1485

10 SĀLUVA NARASIMHA (A.D 1485-1490)

Like most usurpers, Sāluva Narasimha found that it was easier to capture the throne than to enforce his authority in the kingdom. The captains and the chiefs who lent him support in seizing the crown were unwilling to submit to his yoke; and consequently, he was obliged to fight against his erstwhile supporters and friends. Among these the Sambeṭas of Peranipāḍu in the Gaṇḍikota *Sīma* and the Pālaigārs of Ummattur and Talakāḍu in the Hoysala-*rājya* deserve special mention. Sambeṭa Śivarāja offered stubborn resistance, but, as the fortifications of his headquarters Maddigundala could not withstand a sustained artillery attack, the fort fell and Śivarāja perished with most of his followers at the hands of the enemy.

Narasimha had also to carry on a prolonged fight against the Pālaigārs of Ummattur and Sangitapura who held sway over the Mysore district and Tulu-nāḍu respectively. Though he appears to

have succeeded in imposing his authority over Tulu-nāḍu during the last years of his reign, the chiefs of Ummattur remained unsubdued until the time of his death.

The collapse of the Bahmanī power in Telingāna after the death of Muhammad Shāh III in A.D. 1482, and the preoccupation of Sāluva Narasiṁha with preparations for the usurpation of the throne of Vijayanagara, left the field open for the ruler of Orissa, Purushottama Gajapati, who took full advantage of the situation. He seized the coastal Andhra country up to Vinikoṇḍa in the Guntur district as early as A.D. 1484-85, and then attacked the fort of Udayagiri some time after Narasiṁha had usurped the throne. The attack was completely successful. According to some accounts, Sāluva Narasiṁha, who was in the fort at the time, was taken prisoner, and he had to surrender it to the Gajapati as the price of freedom Whether Sāluva Narasiṁha was taken prisoner by Purushottama cannot be verified, but about the loss of Udayagiri, there is hardly any room for doubt.

Sāluva Narasiṁha died early in A.D 1490. His services to the kingdom of Vijayanagara can be hardly over-estimated. It is true that he expelled the old dynasty and usurped the throne. But it is possible to construe his action in a more favourable light and to regard the act of usurpation as due not so much to his ambition to sit upon the Diamond Throne as to a desire to protect the Hindu kingdom and thereby save the Hindu *dharma* from the neighbouring Muslim kingdom. With this end in view he befriended the Arab merchants and purchased the best horses in the market to improve the condition of his cavalry, which, under his successors, contributed a great deal to the military glory of Vijayanagara He also transformed the peace-loving farmers of Vijayanagara into a nation of warriors, and taught them how to contend on equal terms with the Muslims and the Oriyas on the field of battle In short, it may be said that Sāluva Narasiṁha infused fresh vigour into the body politic and rescued the State from destruction.

11. NARASA NĀYAKA (A.D 1490-1503)

As Sāluva Narasiṁha had only two sons who were too young to govern the kingdom, he appointed, at the time of his death, his minister Narasa Nāyaka as the guardian of the princes and the regent of the kingdom, with instruction to hand over the kingdom, after the princes had attained majority, to the one whom he considered more worthy to rule But, on the death of his master, Narasa Nāyaka placed on the throne Timma, the elder son, who had been holding the office of *Yuvarāja* under his father. As Timma

was too young to shoulder the burdens of the State, Narasa Nāyaka became the real ruler of the kingdom.

The task that developed upon the shoulders of Narasa Nāyaka was by no means light. Sāluva Narasiṁha had no time to consolidate his position and establish his power firmly at Vijayanagara. Though most of the nobles and subordinate chiefs submitted to his authority, they showed no disposition to acknowledge the supremacy of his sons and allow themselves to be governed by the protector. Besides, he had to reckon with the two eternal foreign enemies of the kingdom, the Bahmanī Sultān and the Gajapati.

By dint of numerous military campaigns Narasa Nāyaka restored the integrity of the kingdom, and the enemies whom he had conquered during the thirteen years that he governed the empire are enumerated in all the records of his descendants. We learn from them that he not only subdued Chera, Chola, Pāṇḍya and other localities in South India, but also defeated the Gajapati, and took 'Ādil Khān a prisoner. These claims had a good foundation

Reference has been made above to the complete collapse of the authority of the Bahmanī king about the time when Sāluva Narasimha died. The king Mahmūd Shāh was a mere tool in the hands of his Prime Minister Qāsim Barīd, and powerful nobles like Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk and 'Ādil Khān behaved like independent rulers in their own domains. Qāsim Barīd, jealous of the growing power of 'Ādil Khān, entered into an alliance with Bahādur Gīlānī, the ruler of Konkan, and Narasa Nāyaka, who made a simultaneous attack on Bijāpur. Narasa Nāyaka marched into the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā *doāb* and captured the forts of Rāichur and Mudgal 'Ādil Khān was forced to buy peace by ceding these two forts, but as soon as he was free from other troubles, he tried to recover them and declared war against Vijayanagara Narasa Nāyaka composed his quarrels at home, of which 'Ādil Khān hoped to take advantage, and marched with a powerful army to oppose the invader.

In a battle that took place in the course of the campaign, 'Ādil Khān sustained a severe defeat and was obliged to seek shelter under the walls of the fortress of Mānava. Narasa, who followed hard upon his heels, invested the fort and shut out all egress and ingress Realizing his own helpless condition, 'Ādil Khān resolved to get rid of him by means of treachery He invited Narasa and the king, as well as the nobles and officers of their court, for a peace-conference, and when they arrived, he treacherously attacked them, and succeeded in putting most of them to death. Narasa Nāyaka and his young master effected their escape, but apprehending

trouble from his rivals in the capital, Narasa, hurried to Vijayanagara and left 'Ādil Khān free to subdue the doāb.

The Gajapati king Pratāparudra also led an expedition against Vijayanagara and advanced up to the Pennār, but he seems to have been defeated and driven back. Narasa Nāyaka is credited with victory over the Gajapati in all the Tuluva records, and, as the boundaries between the two kingdoms remained unchanged, Pratāparudra's invasion does not appear to have produced any material results.

But Narasa had numerous internal enemies and they were scattered all over the empire They included many of the ministers of the king and nobles, as well as the dependent chiefs subject to his authority. A certain minister, who was not well disposed towards Narasa Nāyaka, slew king Timma and proclaimed that at the instance of the protector his master had been slain, no doubt expecting that the protector would be put to death for that act of treason. To clear himself of the accusation, Narasa immediately placed on the throne the younger son of Sāluva Narasiṁha called Immadi Narasimha or Dhamma Tammarāya. The new king, however, turned against the protector and began to show marked favour to his rival Narasa found it difficult to remain in the capital He, therefore, repaired to Penugoṇḍa on the pretext of going on a hunt and, having gathered forces, marched upon the capital and invested it Immadi Narasimha was obliged to sue for peace and accept him as the guardian of his person and the protector of the empire. Narasa Nāyaka entered the city in great triumph, and his authority was established more firmly than ever. In order to prevent the king from causing him embarrassment in the future, Narasa, under the pretence of securing his safety, kept him under custody at Penugonda and governed the kingdom as if he were its master.

Next, Narasa Nāyaka had to undertake an expedition against the chiefs and nobles in the southern provinces On the death of Sāluva Narasimha the chiefs of the Chola, the Pāṇḍya and the Chera countries seem to have asserted their independence Narasa defeated them all, captured Madurā, and proceeded to Rāmeśvaram at the head of his army These victories secured him effective control over the Tamil provinces of the empire He next turned his attention to Western Karnātaka, where the Pālaigārs of Ummattur and their allies had raised the standard of rebellion He captured the island fort of Seringapatam, the most important of the rebel strongholds, and the Heuna or Hoysala chief, who was the leader of the rebels, was taken prisoner. The fall of Seringapatam and the capture of its ruler broke the back of the rebellion, and Narasa's

authority was as firmly established in Karṇāṭaka as in the Tamil country.

Narasa Nāyaka was the *de facto* sovereign of Vijayanagara during the nominal rule of the sons of Narasimha. He was called the *rakshākartā* (protector) and *svāmī* (Lord); he held the offices of the *senādhipati* (commander-in-chief), the *mahāpradhāna* (Prime Minister), and the *kāryakartā* (agent) of the king. The administration of the empire was carried on by him in the name of the king. He assumed the royal titles, sat upon the Diamond Throne, and was spoken of as *Svāmi* (the lord), a form of address usually reserved for the king. Though Narasa Nāyaka imprisoned the king and usurped the kingdom, he kept up appearances The usurpation of power by him was justified, as in the case of Sāluva Narasiṁha, by the exigencies of the situation The work, left half accomplished by Sāluva Narasiṁha, was continued by him, he practically restored the ancient boundaries of the kingdom by reducing to subjection all the rebellious chiefs who asserted independence during the last days of the Sangama kings He found the State in convalescent condition, imparted fresh strength to the body politic, and left it in full vigour, pulsating with new life Narasa died in A.D. 1503, bequeathing the king and the kingdom to his eldest son, Vīra Narasiṁha.

Narasa Nāyaka was a munificent patron of letters, and several distinguished scholars and poets flourished at his court Like all his descendants, he fondly cherished Telugu; he invited several eminent poets to his court, encouraged them to compose poems, and rewarded them richly by liberal grants of land and money The Telugu literature which was intimately connected with the Vijayanagara court since the days of Harihara I and Bukka I, and was fostered by Sāluva Narasimha, received a fresh impetus from Narasa Nāyaka and bloomed forth in great splendour in the time of his more illustrious sons.

12 VĪRA NARASIMHA (A D 1503-1509)

Narasa Nāyaka was succeeded by his eldest son Vīra Narasiṁha as the regent of the kingdom. Though the king, Immaḍi Narasiṁha, was now a prince grown up in years and capable of managing his own affairs, the new regent showed no inclination to lay down his office and retire into the background He was, on the contrary, resolved to set aside the king and usurp the throne Feeling that the existence of Immaḍi Narasimha was an impediment to the success of his schemes, he caused his ward and master to be assassinated in the fort of Penugoṇḍa where he was confined, and

proclaimed himself king in A D. 1505. Immaḍi Narasiṁha was an unfortunate prince whom fate dealt with unkindly. The death of his father and elder brother, when he was still too young to grasp the reins of government, placed him at the mercy of ambitious men who from the beginning plotted against him and ultimately compassed his death. He chafed in vain against circumstances but gained nothing by it except loss of freedom and death. With him ended the brief rule of the Sāluva monarchs at Vijayanagara yielding place to a new line of kings under whom the empire rose to great magnificence and power.

Vīra Narasiṁha ruled as the king of Vijayanagara for five years. His rule was a period of turmoil. His usurpation of the throne evoked much opposition, and the whole kingdom is said to have revolted under its nobles. He, however, subdued most of them and compelled them to acknowledge his sovereignty. The names of all the enemies conquered by him have not come down to us; but the most important of them are mentioned in the inscriptions and contemporary Telugu literature.

The first that demands attention was Kācha or Kāśappa Uḍaiya, the chief of Ādavani (Ādoni), whose authority seems to have extended from Ādavani on the Tuṅgabhadrā to Penugoṇḍa in the Anantapur district Kācha was not by himself a dangerous enemy, but his alliance with Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and the possible friendship with the rebellious Pālaigārs of Ummattur made him formidable Ever since his treacherous attack upon Narasa Nāyaka in A D 1490, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān had been making attempts to bring the whole of the Krishṇā-Tungabhadrā-*doāb* under his sway At his instance the Bahmanī king Mahmūd Shāh persuaded all the assembled nobles of his court to join him and wage a religious war on the infidels of Vijayanagara The first *jihād*, in accordance with the compact of Bīdar, as it was called, took place in A D. 1502, the last year of the regency of Narasa Nāyaka The Muslim army met with little or no opposition Mahmūd Shāh conquered the *doāb* with its two famous strongholds, Rāichur and Mudgal, and handed over the conquered territory to Yūsuf 'Adil Khān The acquisition of the *doāb* whetted the appetite of 'Ādil Khān for more territory, and the usurpation of Vīra Narasiṁha and the consequent rebellions of the nobles against him, offered a suitable opportunity for realizing his object He entered into an alliance with Kāśappa Udaiya, the governor of the important fort of Ādavani on the Tuṅgabhadrā, and marching at the head of his army into the Vijayanagara territory laid siege to the fort of Kaṇḍanavolu (Kurnool) The object of Ādil Khān was probably to capture Kaṇḍanavolu, and then effect-

ing a junction with Kāśappa Uḍaiya at Ādavani, proceed against Vijayanagara itself along the Tuṅgabhadrā valley. 'Ādil Khān, however, failed to achieve his object The Ārevīḍu chief, Rāmarāja I, and his son Timma, whom Vīra Narasimha sent against 'Ādil Khān, inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and as he was retreating hastily towards Ādavani, destroyed his forces again in a battle somewhere in the neighbourhood of that fort and expelled him from Vijayanagara territory. They next invested Ādavani fort and took possession of it. Vīra Narasimha, who was immensely delighted to see the defeat and destruction of his enemies, bestowed Kaṇḍanavolu and Ādavani on the Ārevīḍu princes as fiefs, and decorated Timma with the anklet of the heroes.

Vīra Narasiṁha next turned his attention to the subjugation of the rebels in the Karṇāṭa and Tulu districts of the empire. He at first besieged the fort of Ummattur but failed to take it He then proceeded against Seringapatam, but the enemy sallied out of the fort and inflicted a defeat on the royal forces with the help of the chiefs of Ummattur and Talakāḍu. Vīra Narasiṁha's attempt to force the Karṇāṭaka rebels to submit to his authority thus ended in total failure. He was, however, completely successful in dealing with the rebels on the west coast. Having crossed the Ghāts, Vīra Narasiṁha reduced the whole of Tulu-nāḍ to subjection and took possession of all its ports He next began to concert measures to renew his campaign in Karṇātaka, but before he could complete these preparations, he fell ill and died, leaving the task of completing his work to his successor

Though Vīra Narasimha was continuously engaged in warfare throughout the short period of his reign, he found time to improve the efficiency of his army by introducing certain changes in the methods of recruitment and training of his forces. To improve the condition of his cavalry, he offered tempting prices to horse-dealers and attracted them to Bhaṭakal and other Tuluva ports which he had conquered The monopoly which the Arab and Persian merchants had enjoyed heretofore was effectively broken by the Portuguese who bore no love for the Muslims Vīra Narasiṁha sent one of his ministers to Almeida, the Governor of the Portuguese possessions, and concluded a treaty with them for purchasing all the horses that they imported from abroad. He also recruited all efficient candidates, irrespective of caste or creed, as troopers and trainers. Vīra Narasimha infused warlike spirit among his subjects by encouraging all kinds of military exercises. Men of every social rank and profession became thoroughly war-minded, and cowardice was condemned as the most disgraceful thing among the Rāya's sub-

jects. They delighted in military exercise and flocked to the standards of the Rāya to fight against the Muslims.

Vīra Narasiṁha took keen interest in the welfare of the *rāyats*. He was ready to listen to their grievances and alleviate their distress as far as possible. One of the important reforms which he introduced to lighten their burden was the abolition of marriage-tax. He was only a pioneer in this respect. The reform which he timidly introduced only in one or two localities was made applicable to almost the whole of the empire by his more illustrious younger brother and successor The credit of initiating this popular reform, however, belongs really to Vīra Narasiṁha, though this fact is ignored by historians

13. KṚISHṆADEVARĀYA (A D 1509-1529)

On the death of Vīra Narasiṁha, his half-brother Kṛishṇadevarāya ascended the Diamond Throne. His coronation was celebrated, in all probability, on the *Śrī-Jayantī* day of Śaka 1432, corresponding to August 8, 1509. Krishṇadevarāya did not succeed to a peaceful kingdom Though Vīra Narasiṁha is said to have destroyed all the rebellious chiefs and confiscated their estates, some of the Pālaigārs were still at large, and the authority of the central government was by no means effective Moreover, the Gajapati was still in possession of the eastern districts of the empire; and though the Bahmanī kingdom had ceased virtually to exist, the Muslim pressure on the northern frontier had lost none of its old vigour. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the founder of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpur, had been persistently attempting to extend the boundary of his kingdom at the expense of the Rāya

(i) *Expedition against the Bahmanī kingdom*

At the very outset of his reign, Kṛishnadeva was involved in war with his neighbours in the north and the north-east The Bahmanī Sultān, Mahmūd Shāh, in pursuance of the compact of Bīdar, and probably at the instance of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, declared a *jihād* on the infidels of Vijayanagara towards the end of A D. 1509,[21] and he was joined by all the chiefs and nobles who nominally acknowledged his supremacy

The Bahmanī Sultān marched from his capital at the head of a vast army accompanied by Malik Ahmad Bahrī, Nūrī Khān, Khvāja Jahān, 'Ādil Khān, Qutb-ul-Mulk, 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Dastūr-i-Mamālik, Mirza Lutfullāh and other nobles of lesser importance. When the Muslim army arrived at Dony on the Vijayanagara frontier, their progress was checked by the Vijayanagara forces. A fierce engage-

ment took place in which the Bahmanī forces suffered a crushing defeat. The Sultān himself was wounded and his nobles and captains, unable to face the victorious enemy, beat a hasty retreat towards Kovelakoṇḍa. Kṛishṇadevarāya did not, however, give up the fight; he pursued the retreating Bahmanī army and forced it to fight another battle in the environs of Kovelakoṇḍa, which resulted once again in a victory to Vijayanagara. The battle of Kovelakoṇḍa, was more disastrous in its consequences than Dony to the Bahmanī kingdom. Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān who, since the declaration of virtual independence, had been fomenting trouble for Vijayanagara, was killed in the fight, and the infant state of Bijāpur was thrown into confusion and disorder.

Taking advantage of the anarchic conditions prevailing in Bijāpur, Krishnadevarāya invaded the Krishnā-Tuṅgabhadrā-doāb and captured Rāichur (A.D 1512). He then advanced on Gulbarga, and captured the fort after a short siege, having inflicted a severe defeat on Barīd-i-Mamālik and his allies, who were holding the place He next set out for Bīdar in pursuit of Barīd, and having defeated him once again in battle, captured the fort Kṛishnarāya then restored Sultān Mahmūd Shāh to power, and assumed, in commemoration of the act, the title of *Yavana-rājya-sthāpan-āchārya*. This was not a whimsical step. Kṛishnarāya was not only a great general but a skilful politician. He set the Sultān at liberty and restored him to power, because he wanted to weaken his Muslim neighbours by throwing an apple of discord in their midst He knew that so long as the shadow of the Bahmanī monarchy persisted, there would be no peace among the Muslim rulers of the Deccan

(ii) *Subjugation of Ummattur*

Krishnadevarāya next set out on an expedition against the Pālaigār of Ummattur, who defied his predecessor and was ruling the upper Kāverī valley as an independent prince The strength of the Pālaigār lay in his possession of the forts of Seringapatam and Śivansamudram, which, situated on islands between two branches of the Kāverī, were considered impregnable Gaṅgarāja, then ruling the principality, anticipated trouble, transferred his headquarters to Śivansamudram, and strengthened it further by collecting forces and stocking it with ammunition

Kṛishnarāya's campaign against Ummattur lasted for nearly two years He first laid siege to the fort of Seringapatam and destroyed it, next he proceeded against Śivansamudram and invested it for more than one year Unable to withstand the siege longer, Gaṅgarāja abandoned the fort and, while fleeing to a place of safety, was drowned in the Kāverī. Kṛishṇarāya then captured Śivan-

samudram and dismantled its fortifications. He subdued the territory under the sway of the rebel chief and constituted it into a new province with Seringapatam as its headquarters, and having made the necessary arrangement to carry on the administration returned in triumph to his capital.

(iii) *War with Orissa*

Kṛishnarāya now felt strong enough to declare war upon the Gajapati who had conquered two provinces of Vijayanagara, namely, Udayagiri and Koṇḍavīḍu, which Kṛishṇarāya's predecessors failed to recover Kṛishṇarāya's war against Orissa falls into five definite stages.

(a) The war opened with an attack upon the fort of Udayagiri in the month of January, 1513. Pratāparudra sent a large army to relieve it, but Kṛishṇarāya inflicted a severe defeat on the Oriyas and pursued them as far as Koṇḍavīḍu. He now tried to capture the fort of Udayagiri by escalade, but failed on account of its inaccessibility. It could only be reached by a narrow road which allowed only one man to pass at a time. As rocks and boulders prevented large bodies of men from approaching the fort, Krishnarāya cut the rocky hills and broke down many boulders so that the narrow road, which had hitherto been the only means of approach, was greatly widened to enable his men to reach the fort As a consequence of these operations, the Vijayanagara forces surrounded the fort and erected a wall of circumvallation around it The Oriyas could hold out no longer and surrendered the fort which was lost to them for ever

(b) After the fall of Udayagiri, Kṛishnarāya returned to Vijayanagara, while the army marched into the Kondavīḍu province, burning the villages and pillaging the country-side. The Oriya garrisons stationed in various places abandoned their posts and fled in panic to Koṇḍavīdu The forts of Kandukur, Addanki, Vinukoṇda, Bellamkoṇḍa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Tangeda and Ketavaram fell rapidly one after another into the hands of the Rāya. Having completed the subjugation of the forts and the territories dependent upon them, the Vijayanagara army proceeded at last against Kondavīdu and laid siege to it Koṇḍavīdu was a strong fortress with lofty battlements perched on the top of a hill Owing to the natural strength of the fort, and concentration of Oriya noblemen and their troops in it, Sāluva Timma, the Vijayanagara general, could not reduce it to subjection, even after three months. It was at this stage that Krishṇadevarāya arrived at the place. The siege operations were pushed on vigor-

ously. The fort was surrounded and egress and ingress were completely blocked. Kṛishṇarāya ordered several *naḍa-chapparams* i.e. wooden platforms to be constructed, and when they were ready, he caused his soldiers to be mounted on them so that they might stand on a level with the defenders and fight with them Kṛishṇarāya's forces demolished the walls of the fort in some places, and ultimately captured it by escalade A large number of Oriya noblemen, including Prince Vīrabhadra, the son and heir of the Gajapati, and one of his queens, were captured and carried away as prisoners of war to Vijayanagara. The fall of Koṇḍavīḍu was followed by the conquest of the coastal region up to the Krishnā.

(c) The army advanced to Bezwada on the Kṛishnā and laid siege to the fort. Kṛishṇarāya having joined the army once again, the pressure on the fort increased, and, unable to hold out, the defenders delivered the keys into the hands of the Rāya He next proceeded against Koṇḍapalli situated on the north bank of the river at a distance of about ten miles to the north-west of Bezwada While Kṛishṇarāya was engaged with siege operations, the Gajapati Pratāparudra advanced against him with a large army with the object of attacking him in the rear while the garrison of the fort would engage him in the front Kṛishnarāya left a part of his forces around the fort and, with the bulk of the army, marched against the Gajapati While Kṛishṇarāya was attempting to cross a small river in the neighbourhood, the Gajapati attacked him but, in the engagement that ensued, he sustained severe defeat and sought safety in flight. Kṛishṇarāya then returned to his camp under the walls of Konḍapalli, and captured it after a siege lasting for two months [22]

(d) The capture of Bezwada and Konḍapalli was a prelude to the conquest of Telingāna and Veṅgī, both of which now formed part of the kingdom of the Gajapati The Velama chiefs dominated Telingāna in the 14th and 15th centuries, but a certain Shitāb Khān (i e. Sītāpati) of Bhogikula, who had recently conquered it from the Muslims, probably with the help of the Gajapati, was ruling over the region Instead of marching along the coast towards Rājahmundry, Krishnarāya turned westwards and reduced at first all the forts in the Nalgonda and Warangal districts Reaching the Godāvarī he turned towards the east and marched along the banks of the river towards Rājahmundry The Gajapati made one more attempt to check the progress of the invader. The Vijayanagara army had to pass through defiles in the hills Shitāb Khān, at the instance of the Gajapati, occupied the passes with 60,000 archers, and attacked the invaders fiercely. Kṛishṇarāya commanded his cavalry to climb the hills on both the sides and attack Shitāb Khān's

men from behind. This manoeuvre produced the desired result Un able to resist this unexpected attack, Shitāb Khān's men fled in confusion, pursued by Vijayanagara forces, until they took refuge in a neighbouring fort. Kṛishṇarāya left 30,000 infantry to guard the passes and marched forward with his remaining forces. He reached Rājahmundry which he captured without difficulty. Then he reduced the whole of Veṅgī to subjection, and having established his authority in all the cities of the land, he proceeded towards Siṁhāchalam, devastating the country all along the route. He set up a pillar of victory at Poṭnur, offered worship to God Siṁhādrinātha, and leaving behind his army there, returned to Vijayanagara

(e) Notwithstanding the series of defeats suffered by him, and the consequent loss of territory, the Gajapati was not inclined to come to terms Kṛishṇarāya therefore resolved to conquer Cuttack, the Gajapati's capital, and his army advanced to the city.[23] According to the *Rāyavāchakam*, which gives a fairly detailed account of the expedition, the Gajapati was induced by a wicked stratagem to sue for peace According to Nuniz, what induced the Gajapati to ask for peace was the suicide of his son and heir Vīrabhadra who was in captivity at Vijayanagara However that may be, a treaty of peace was at last concluded in A D 1518, according to the terms of which, the Gajapati gave his daughter in marriage to Krishnadevarāya, and obtained from him in return all the territory north of the Krishnā conquered by him during the war Thus ended one of the most brilliant episodes in the military history of India in the 16th century

(iv) *War with Qulī Qutb Shāh of Golkonda*

The defeat and discomfiture of the Gajapati brought into prominence a new enemy, the Qutb Shāhī ruler of Telingāna Qulī Qutb Shāh was no friend of the Hindus of Karnāṭaka, he was ambitious and was desirous of making himself the master of Telugu country. While Krishnarāya was busy with his Orissa war, he attacked some of the forts, specially Pangal and Guntur in the Vijayanagara frontier, and conquered them After his defeat at the hands of Kṛishnarāya, the Gajapati lost his power and prestige, and Qulī Qutb Shāh took advantage of it to wrest from Shitāb Khān, mentioned above, Warangal, Kambhammet and other forts in his possession Next he invaded the coastal region, took possession of Koṇḍapalli, Ellore and Rājahmundry and compelled the Gajapati to cede to him the whole of the territory between the mouths of the Krishnā and Godāvarī. After this conquest he could not resist the temptation of making inroads into the Vijayanagara territory Tak-

ing advantage of the departure of Kṛishṇarāya to Chatuir in order to subdue the chief who was in revolt for fifty years, Qulī Qutb Shāh marched at the head of an army to Koṇḍavīḍu and laid siege to the fort. Sāluva Timma, whom Kṛishṇarāya had appointed the governor of the place, was absent at Vijayanagara, and Nādindla Gopa, his nephew, who was in charge of the place, was not able to repel the enemy. As soon as Krishṇarāya returned to his capital, he despatched Sāluva Timma, with 200,000 men to Koṇḍavīḍu to drive away the invader. On his arrival at Koṇḍavīdu, Sāluva Timma defeated the Qutb Shāhī army and took the commander, Madar-ul-Mulk, and his officers prisoners and sent them to Vijayanagara. He remained in the province for some time, making arrangements for its defence and administration, and then returned to the capital.[24]

(v) *War with Bijāpur*

It has been mentioned above, that Kṛishnadevarāya captured the fort of Rāichur from Isma'īl 'Ādil Khān in A.D. 1512 during his minority when Kamāl Khān was the regent of the kingdom. Isma'īl did not, however, reconcile himself to the loss of the fort and, together with it, the mastery over the Krishnā-Tuṅgabhadrā-*doāb*. Therefore, when he came to power after the overthrow of Kamāl Khān, he took advantage of Krishṇadevarāya's preoccupation with the Orissan and other wars on the east coast, and invaded the *doāb* and captured Rāichur.[25] In A.D. 1520, as soon as Sāluva Timma returned to the capital from Kondavīdu, he set out at the head of a large army and laid siege to Rāichur. Isma'īl 'Ādil Khān hastened towards the *doāb* with all his forces, crossed the Krishnā, and established himself in an entrenched camp near the village of Gobbur. A fierce engagement took place in which the Bijāpurīs sustained a crushing defeat; large numbers were massacred and many were drowned in the river while attempting to escape. Isma'īl 'Ādil Khān fled precipitately from the field, abandoning his camp and war equipment to be plundered by the victorious Vijayanagara forces.

The defeat and flight of 'Ādil Khān from the battlefield did not end the war. The Bijāpur garrison, defending the fort of Rāichur, did not surrender, but held out obstinately, protected by the strong fortifications of the city. Krishnarāya, however, persisted, and with the help of a band of Portuguese musketeers in his service, he succeeded in making a breach in the outer fortifications. There was dismay in the city and people rushed into the citadel for refuge. The commandent of the fort, who came out to pacify the people, was

shot dead while inspecting the breach caused by the enemy, and on the death of their leader the garrison submitted and surrendered the fortress.

As soon as Krishṇadevarāya returned to Vijayanagara after the capture of Rāichur, an ambassador of Isma'il 'Ādil Khān arrived at his court, protesting against the unprovoked attack, as he termed it, upon his master's kingdom and requesting that all that had been taken from him in the recent war, including the fort of Rāichur, might be restored to him. Krishṇarāya promised to comply with 'Ādil Khān's request, provided that the latter would pay homage to him by kissing his feet On being informed of this, the 'Ādil Khān agreed to do so, and it was arranged that the ceremony should take place at Mudgal on the frontier between the two kingdoms But when Krishṇarāya reached Mudgal, he did not find Isma'īl 'Ādil Khān there Enraged at the slight put upon him, Krishṇadeva crossed the frontier and advanced upon Bijāpur to chastise him 'Ādil Khān fled from his capital in panic; and Krishṇarāya entered his enemy's capital without opposition, and occupied the royal palace for several days Though it was not Krishnarāya's intention to sack Bijāpur, the city was considerably demaged by his troops. The Bijāpurīs, in desperation, drained the two tanks supplying water to the city, and owing to the scarcity of water, Krishnarāya was obliged to retire from the city and return to his kingdom

Isma'īl 'Ādil Khān made another attempt to come to an understanding with the Rāya; but the treachery of Asad Khān Larī, the lord of Belgaum, whom he had chosen as his ambassador, frustrated his attempt Asad Khān, who volunteered to go on the mission to secure the ruin of his rival Salābat Khān who was in captivity at Vijayanagara, told the Rāya that the failure of 'Ādil Khān to meet him at Mudgal, as arranged by the former ambassador, was due to Salābat Khān's machinations Krishṇadevarāya, believing the treacherous ambassador, ordered Salābat's execution After accomplishing his real object, Asad Khān fled secretly from the Rāya's camp, lest his treachery should be discovered. Krishnarāya, incensed at the conduct of 'Ādil Khān's ambassador, marched at the head of his army into the Bijāpur kingdom, burning and plundering the country-side as he proceeded He captured Fīrūzābād and Hasanābād, but when he arrived at the city of Sagar, his way was blocked by a large army. A great battle was fought, the Bijāpurīs suffered a crushing defeat, and a terrific carnage ensued Two other sanguinary battles were fought, one at Shorāpur, and another at Kembā, both in the Gulbarga district, and the Bijāpur armies suffered defeat At last Krishṇadevarāya reached Gulbarga, and

laid siege to the ancient capital of the Bahmanīs for the second time. The enemy troops once again gathered strength and attacked the besiegers, but were again defeated. The city was soon captured and, in the words of Nuniz, it was destroyed and the fortress was razed to the ground

Krishṇarāya's victory over Isma'īl 'Ādil Khān was complete. He was personally inclined to continue the war against 'Ādil Khān, but, on the advice of the Council of Ministers which he considered wise and prudent, he resolved to give up hostilities and return to his kingdom. Before he started upon his return march, he placed, on the ancestral throne, the eldest of the three sons of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh II, whom 'Ādil Khān had kept in confinement in the fort of Gulbarga; and took the other two with him to Vijayanagara where he kept them in safety, bestowing an annual pension of fifty thousand gold *paradaos* on each of them This step was prompted by motives of policy. The continuance of the Bahmanī monarchy, even in a shadowy form, was a source of potential danger to the stability of the new Deccani Muslim states; and if 'Ādil Khān or any other Muslim ruler of the Deccan imprisoned or made away with the prince whom he set upon the throne, he held the other two in reserve to make use of them, as he deemed fit, in any new situation that might arise in the future.

(vi) *Rebellion of Sāluva Timma* (Jr.)

With the close of the Gulbarga campaign, Kṛishṇarāya's foreign wars came to an end. He would have ruled in peace during the remaining years of his reign, but for an untoward incident which led to the outbreak of a rebellion in the eastern provinces of the empire Krishṇarāya had no male issue for a long time At last, Tirumaladevī, his chief queen, gave birth to a son called Tirumala-deva-Mahārāya in A D. 1518-19 After his return from Gulbarga, Kṛishnarāya, who was already advanced in years, desirous of ensuring the succession of his young son after his death, abdicated the throne, and having crowned the young prince, assumed the office of the Prime Minister and carried on the administration in the name of the prince This young prince unfortunately fell ill after a reign of eight months and died After the death of the prince, Kṛishṇarāya learnt that the death of his son was due to poison administered to him by Timma Daṇḍanāyaka, son of his great minister Sāluva Timmarasa. In his anger, Kṛishṇarāya believed that the report he heard about the death of his son was true; he seized Timmarasa, his son Timma Daṇḍanāyaka, and his younger brother Sāluva Guṇḍarāja, and immured them in prison where they remain-

ed for three years. At the end of the period Timma Daṇḍanāyaka escaped from prison and, having repaired to Gooty or Koṇḍavīḍu where his cousins Nandendla Appa and Gopa were ruling respectively as governors, set up the standard of rebellion Kṛishṇarāya could not easily suppress the rebellion The royal forces appear to have suffered some reverses. At last Rayasam Ayyaparasa, one of the King's ministers who was sent against him with a large army, defeated Timma Daṇḍanāyaka and carried him away to Vijayanagara as a prisoner. Krishṇarāya then ordered that Sāluva Timma rasa, and his son Timma Doṇḍanāyaka should be blinded and sent back to their prison. The king's orders were promptly carried out Timma Daṇḍanāyaka died, and his father and younger brother both languished in prison.

(vii) *Selection of Achyuta as Successor*

The problem of succession seems to have engaged the attention of Krishṇadevarāya during the last years of his reign Though he had a son, eighteen months old, and a nephew, the son of his elder brother, Vīra Narasimha, he passed over both of them because he considered that neither was fit to sit upon the throne Of his two half-brothers, Raṅga and Achyuta, the former predeceased him, leaving behind a son called Sadāśiva. He ignored Sadāśiva, and set free Achyuta from his prison at Chandragiri and selected him as his successor Kṛishnadevarāya seems to have fallen ill about the end of A D. 1529 and died soon after, deeply mourned by his subjects all over the empire He was, according to his wishes, succeeded by Achyuta, whose coronation was celebrated early in the next year

(viii) *Kṛishnadevarāya and the Portuguese*

Kṛishṇadevarāya maintained friendly relation with the Portuguese He found it advantageous to cultivate their friendship, because it enabled him to secure horses for his army without which he could not have waged war successfully on the Bahmanī kingdom The Portuguese, having defeated the Arab and the Persian merchants and destroyed the Egyptian navy, established virtual monopoly over the trade in Arab and Persian horses on which depended the strength of the medieval Indian armies [26] It was of utmost importance that Kṛishnadevarāya should obtain their goodwill and persuade them to sell him all the horses which they imported from abroad The Portuguese, on their side, were equally anxious to secure Kṛishnarāya's favour so that they might obtain facilities for trade in the numerous towns and cities of the empire With the accession, therefore, of Kṛishṇadevarāya, there ensued a

period of intimate intercourse between Vijayanagara and Portugal, and large numbers of Portuguese travellers, merchants and adventurers flocked to the Hindu capital and sought favours from the Rāya and his courtiers. In spite of his desire to cultivate the friendship of the Portuguese, Krishṇadevarāya never lent support to their political designs Though he congratulated Affonso d' Albuquerque on his conquest of the fort of Goa from the ruler of Bijāpur, he declined to enter into an alliance with them against the Zamorin of Calicut When in A.D. 1523, the Portuguese conquered the mainland near Goa, he sent a small force under his minister Sāluva Timma against them. The expedition was a failure, and Sāluva Timma, being repulsed, had to beat a hasty retreat. Krishṇarāya was not unaware of the fighting qualities of the Portuguese. Why he sent against them only a small force, quite inadequate for the purpose, is far from clear Krishṇarāya probably had no intention to wage war seriously on the Portuguese. He seems to have despatched the expedition not so much to effect any territorial conquest as to notify his protest against the Portuguese aggressions on the mainland. The short interlude of war, however, was soon forgotten, and as soon as the war clouds lifted away, normal relations of friendship were resumed.

(ix) *Krishṇadevarāya as a warrior and general*

Krishṇadevarāya was famous both as a warrior and general He believed like most of his contemporaries, that the proper place of a monarch on the battlefield was at the head of his forces His prowess was well known, he led his armies personally, fought in the front line of the battle, and won the respect of his friends and foes alike He was a great general, who knew how to win victories under the most discouraging circumstances He knew no defeat Whenever he took the command of his armies in person, he was uniformly victorious, and he invariably swept away the forces arrayed against him on the battlefield. His triumphant armies entered the capitals of his enemies, and planted the boar-standard on the battlements of Cuttack, Bidar, Gulbarga and Bijāpur. His success must be ascribed to his capacity for organization and the extraordinary skill which he displayed in leading his forces. He showed amazing resourcefulness in overcoming obstacles besetting his path. He smashed rocks and boulders for making a road for his soldiers to reach the fort of Udayagiri, set up movable wooden platforms around Koṇḍavīdu to enable his men to fight on an equal footing with the garrison defending the fort, cut canals to drain the waters of a river swollen with floods to seize the stronghold of the rebel chief of Chatuir, and put to the sword his own soldiers who

turned their backs on the enemy at Raichur, and converted a disaster into a brilliant victory. But even more than his personal bravery or his skilful management of troops, what enabled him to overthrow hostile forces was the devotion and attachment of his soldiers to his person. Kṛishṇarāya was accustomed, after the conclusion of every battle, to go about the battlefield, looking for the wounded, he would pick them up and make arrangements to give them medical help and other conveniences needed for their recovery. Those that specially distinguished themselves in the fight were placed directly under his supervision so that he might bestow particular attention on them and help them to regain their health as quickly as possible. The care with which Kṛishṇadevarāya nourished the wounded soldiers and warriors did not go unrewarded It won him the affection of the rank and file of his army. The soldiers as well as officers were prepared to throw themselves into the jaws of death in executing his commands.

(x) *Kṛishṇadevarāya as an administrator*

In spite of his incessant military activities, Kṛishṇadevarāya paid considerable attention to the civil administration of the empire The field of the executive authority in a Hindu State was, of course, limited by the activities of the local and communal institutions. Nevertheless, the Rāya and his ministers had much to do by way of check and supervision. The maladministration of the provincial governors and officials and the capacity of the *Amaranāyakas* demanded considerable vigilance To redress the grievances of the *ryots* and punish the evil-doers, Kṛishṇarāya, following the practice of his predecessors, was in the habit of touring the empire of Vijayanagara every year, when he came into personal contact with his subjects and listened to their complaints and petitions. He took considerable interest in constructing irrigation tanks and digging canals to provide water for agricultural operations. He also abolished some of the vexatious taxes such as the marriage fee, and this gave immense relief to all classes of his subjects He ordered deforestation in many parts of the country, and augmented the revenue of the State by bringing fresh land under cultivation

Kṛishṇadevarāya was a great builder Much of his building activity was confined to Nāgalāpur, a new town founded by him near Vijayanagara, where he built many beautiful mansions and temples Besides some temples in the capital, he was also responsible for the construction of many new structures in the provinces The thousand-pillared *mantapas* and the *rāya-gopurams*, which characterize the country-side in south India, were largely built during his reign.

(xi) *Krishṇadevarāya as a patron of art and letters*

Kṛishṇadevarāya was a munificent patron of art and letters All the famous artists were in his employ to decorate his palaces and temples. His fame as a patron of letters spread far and wide. He was known as the Andhra-Bhoja, and, true to his name, he never failed to load with presents the numerous scholars, poets, philosophers and theologians that flocked to his court in search of patronage. Though Kṛishṇarāya extended his patronage to the writers in all languages, Sanskrit as well as the South Indian vernaculars, he specially favoured Telugu, and contributed much to the development of its literature. The Augustan age of Telugu literature, which began with the accession of Sāluva Narasimha, burst forth in full splendour in the reign of Kṛishṇadevarāya, and his court became the centre of light and learning in the country. Himself a poet, the author of the *Amukta-mālyada,* one of the greatest poems in the language, he loved to surround himself with poets and men of letters. His literary court was adorned by a group of eight eminent Telugu poets called the *Ashṭadiggajas* or the elephants supporting the eight cardinal points of the literary world. Apart from his great encouragement to the Telugu poets and men of letters of his day, Krishṇadevarāya rendered an important service to the cause of Telugu literature which had far-reaching consequences. He created the ideal of a scholar-king, one of whose important duties was to protect poets and men of letters and foster the growth of language and literature It was recognized ever since by all the Telugu monarchs that one of their principal duties as rulers was to patronize Telugu poets and learned men and encourage the growth of literature As a consequence, notwithstanding the numerous political changes through which the country passed, learning flourished without hindrance, and Telugu literature became what it is at present, owing to the patronage of the generations of princes and chiefs who bore sway over the land

APPENDIX

Two problems in connection with the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagara call for a detailed notice The first pertains to the national affiliations of the founders of the Vijayanagara empire. Scholars who had hitherto worked on this subject may be divided into two groups sharply opposed to each other. Some are of opinion that Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the empire, were refugees from Tiling, who fled from the court of their sovereign, Pratāparudra of Warangal, when that monarch was taken prisoner by the armies of the Sultān of Delhi They established themselves at Anegondi on the banks of the Tungabhadrā, and with the help of a sage called Vidyāraṇya laid the foundations of a new city, Vijayanagara or Vidyānagara, on the opposite bank of the river This view is based on tradition derived exclusively from Kannaḍa sources Though unsupported by direct contemporary evidence, it is not inconsistent and unworthy of credence Others reject the tradition completely and hold that the founders of Vijayanagara were Karnāṭakas, subordinates of the Hoysala monarch Ballāla III, who were posted to the northern marches of his kingdom to defend it against the attacks of Musulmāns, a task which they are said to have discharged to the satisfaction of their master, and stood forth as the champions of the Hindu civilization. On the death of Ballāla III and his son Ballāla IV, they are supposed to have quietly ascended the vacant throne, and ruled the erstwhile Hoysala dominions without opposition Though espoused with enthusiasm by some eminent South Indian epigraphists and historians, this view seems to be based not on facts but on gratuitous assumptions and false identifications which need not be discussed here.

The account given in the *Vidyāranya-Kālajñāna* and *Vidyāranya Vrittānta* may be summed up as follows "Harihara and Bukka, who were in the service of the Kākatīya monarch Pratāparudra as the custodians of the royal treasury, fled from Warangal to Kampilī, when the army of the Sultān of Delhi carried their master away to his capital as a prisoner of war, and took refuge with Rāmanātha, the heroic son of the Rāya of Kampilī. A few years later, when Sultān Muhammad captured Kampilī, putting to death the Rāya and his son, they were taken prisoners and carried away to Delhi. The Sultān impressed by their upright conduct, soon set them at liberty and, appointing them as rulers of Karṇataka, sent them over to the South with an army to suppress the rebellion of Ballāla and take possession of the country from him They crossed the river Krishnā by means of boats, but suffered a defeat at the hands of Ballāla whom they encountered somewhere on the southern bank of the river They wandered southwards, and met the famous sage Vidyāranya at Hampi on the Tuṅgabhadrā Following the advice of the sage they gathered together a force and, having defeated Ballāla in battle, they established themselves at Anegondi and began to rule the kingdom of Karṇātaka " An important detail

left out in these two works is furnished by *Keḷadinṛipavijayam*, *according to which Harihara and Bukka, during their sojourn at the court of Kampilirāya, contracted marriage alliances with the Kurubas, the tribe to which the Rāya himself belonged.*

So much about tradition. The contemporary Muslim historians Ziyā-ud-din Baranī and 'Isāmī briefly allude to what happened at Kampili after its annexation by Muhammad bin Tughluq. A relation of the Rāya of Kampili, whom the Sultān appointed the governor of the province, rose up in rebellion at the time of Kanya (Kāpaya) Nāyaka's attack on Warangal, and having apostatized from Islām, declared his independence, he then set out on an expedition of conquest and reduced the whole of Karṇāṭaka from Gooti to Ma'bar to subjection. This apostate, according to Firishta, was originally converted to Islām from Hinduism by Sultān Muhammad himself. Inscriptions of the period also throw considerable light on the subject. The earliest record, which demands notice here, is an epigraph dated A.D. 1314 from Gozalaviḍu in the Nellore district in the south of the Andhra coastal country, in which Bukka, one of the founders of Vijayanagara, is referred to as the ruler of the locality. Though this record does not mention any superior to whom he was subordinate, the date and the locality where it is found clearly indicate that he must have been a subject of the Kākatīya Pratāparudra whose sway extended all over the east coast down to Kāñchī in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The inscriptions of Harihara's reign show that he was ruling the territory comprising south-eastern Telugu country and the northern Karṇāṭaka as an independent monarch from A.D. 1336, and that his brother and co-regent, Bukka, defeated Ballāla IV within a few months of the death of his father, Ballāla III, in A.D. 1344, and annexed the Hoysala dominions to his new kingdom.

Now, taking into consideration the evidence of tradition, the Muslim historians, and the inscriptions, it may be stated that the founders of Vijayanagara were at first in the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal, and that when that monarch was defeated by Muhammad bin Tughluq and taken prisoner, they fled to Kampilī and took refuge in the court of Kampilideva. They were, however, captured by the Sultān after the sack of Kampilī in A D. 1326, and were carried away to Delhi where they were forcibly converted to Islām. On the outbreak of a rebellion in Kampilī and the collapse of the provincial government, they were released by the Sultān from prison and sent with an army to Kampilī to reconquer it from the rebels and rule the province as his deputies. This they successfully accomplished; but they did not long remain loyal to the Sultān. They came under the influence of Vidyāraṇya who persuaded them to renounce Islām, and throw in their lot with the Andhra nationalists who had just then succeeded, under the leadership of Kāpaya, in expelling the Musulmāns and re-establishing their national independence. Harihara and Bukka then reverted to their ancient faith and, having declared their independence, assumed the leadership of the Hindus of Kampilī in their fight against the Musulmāns.

The second problem concerns the origin of the city of Vijayanagara. The evidence on the subject is divergent Tradition,

embodied in the *Vidyāraṇya-Kālajñāna* and works of this description, attributes the foundation of the city to Vidyāraṇya, and Vidyānagara, the alternative name by which the city was known, lends colour to the tradition. The inscriptions of Harihara I and his successors, which narrate the circumstances in which the city was founded, do not at all mention Vidyāraṇya in this connection. They refer either to Harihara I or Bukka I as the builder of the city of victory.[27] The conflicting character of the evidence has, no doubt, given rise to much speculation; and several theories have been put forward to explain the circumstances under which the city was founded. Tradition has been, as usual, rejected as utterly untrustworthy, and Vidyāraṇya is treated as a person of no consequence. All the inscriptions which refer to the city as Vidyānagara are declared to be spurious, being forged by the wily monks of the Advaita-maṭha at Śṛiṅgeri. The part played by Harihara I in the construction of the new city is also discounted; and the credit of building it is exclusively given to Bukka I. Such a theory ignores the following facts, clearly established by a careful examination of the contemporary records:

(1) Vijayanagara was functioning as the capital of the new kingdom from at least A.D. 1344, some ten years before the death of Harihara I; (2) Bukka I was associated with his brother in the administration of the kingdom as his co-regent at least from A.D. 1344· and (3) Vidyāraṇya was the adviser, in spiritual as well as temporal affairs, of the first three kings of Vijayanagara, namely, Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II. It is highly improbable that Vidyāraṇya, Harihar I, and Bukka, who were responsible for the foundation and the government of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, should have built the new capital without consulting one another. On the whole the following seems to be the most logical inference from facts known so far on reliable authority:

The idea that a new city should be built around the Hemakūṭa hill had originated in the mind of Vidyāraṇya. He commanded his royal disciples, Harihara and Bukka, to give material shape to the idea. They obeyed his command. Harihara entrusted to his brother the task of constructing the city Accepting the orders of his *guru* and his sovereign, Bukka erected the new city The testimony of tradition and inscriptions is not only not contradictory but complementary. Vidyāraṇya supplied the idea; Harihara gave the necessary sanction; and Bukka carried it into execution The city of Vidyānagara was thus built by all the three, Vidyāraṇya, Harihara and Bukka [28]

1 See above pp. 75-77.
1a. See appendix at the end of this chapter
1b The name is also spelt as Kampana.
1c See above, p 234.
1d Though nothing is known of Ballāla IV subsequent to his coronation from the epigraphic sources, the contemporary Deccan Muslim historian, 'Isāmī, refers to a Balāl who was living at Pattan on the west coast at the time of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Gangū's invasion in A D 1348 'Balāl' mentioned in the couplet must have been identical with Ballāla IV, as there was no other person bearing that name at that time
2. 115 of 1901, *SII* VII. 303.

3 N. Venkataramanayya, 'Muslim Historians on Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I's war with Vijayanagara' *ABORI*, XXVIII, 1-13.

3a For the date and details of the campaign against Madurā cf pp. 235-6

4. The Alampundi grant of Virūpāksha refers to his reconquest of Tuṇḍīra, Choḷa, and Pāṇḍya countries (*ARE*, 1899, Para 55, *EI* III, pp 224-30). In the prologue to his two Sanskrit plays, the *Nārāyanivilāsam* and *Unmattarāghavam*, he calls himself the lord of Karnāṭa, Tuṇḍīra, Choḷa and Pāṇḍya monarchs, and the planter of victory in Simhala (*Sources*, p 35)

5. The Vīragal set up at Goa on Wednesday, 29 August, 1380, by Mudda Nāyaka, a servant of Mahāpradhāna Mallappa Voḍya, the governor of Haive (*Jr Mythic Soc* XIX, pp. 27-28) shows clearly that Goa must have been conquered by Vijayanagara some time before that date

6 No other king of Vijayanagara is known to have conquered Sapta-Konkanas This is corroborated by the evidence of Nuniz who states that Ajarao (i e Harihara II) 'was always at war with the Moors, and he took Goa, and Chaul, and Dabull, and Ceilao, and all the country of Charamamdell' (Sewell. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 301)

7 *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Copper plate. No 1.

7a Chapter XIII, E

8 *EI*. XXVI. p. 14 ff

9 Firishta, no doubt, states that Fīrūz Shāh's brother Khān-i-Khānān, expelled, after repeated battles, Vijayanagara army from the dominions of the Sultān (Briggs, Ferishta, II, 391) This is, however, highly improbable, for in the first place, this fact is not mentioned by other Muslim historians, and secondly, the ill-will that existed between the brothers since the arrival of Gīsū Darāz, and the Khān-i-Khānān's designs upon the throne must have prevented him from lending a helping hand to the Sultān

10 Gopinatha Row believes that Vijaya ruled for a period of six months (*EI* XV p 14), and Venkoba Rao agrees with him (*ARE* 1921, Part II, para 48). Sewell assigns to him a very short reign of a few months (*List Ins* p 214) Hayavadana Row is more liberal, he increases the period of his rule to two years What is more interesting still is that he cites the evidence of a record of the reign of Devarāya II, dated Ś 1325 (A D 1403 4) to prove that Vijaya died in that year (*MYS Gaz* New Edition, Vol II, pt iii, p 1560) The record in question (*EC*, VIII. TL 163) however has no bearing on the subject. The donor of the grant registered therein was not Devarāya II but Vitṭhappa Dannāyaka, one of his officers. who grants a village to Brahmans for the attainment to Śivaloka of his father

11 *TA*, III (Eng Tr), p 44 This is in agreement with Firishta's account (Briggs II, 400) Tabātabā places the invasion before Khalf Hasan's conquests in Konkan and the Sultān's expedition to Kherla to help Narsing Rāya (*IA*, XXVIII, 211)

12 According to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* (*BK*, 51), Ahmad Shāh transferred the capital of his kingdom from Gulbarga to Bīdar, "in the month of Rajab in the second year of his reign (June, 1423)"; but Firishta states that Sultān Ahmad Shāh laid the foundations of his new capital while returning from his Kherla expedition in 830 AH (A D 1426) (Briggs II, 411) In the *Tazkirāt-ul-Muluk* of Rafi-ud-dī Shirāzī it is said that Ahmad Shāh, who ascended the throne in 830 A H , founded in the very same year his new capital of Muhammadābad-Bīdar (*IA*, XXVIII, 218) As Ahmad Shāh's accession took place in 825 A H (A D. 1422), he must have shifted his capital from Gulbarga in that year The latest date for the foundation of the new Bahmanī capital is furnished by Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad Though he agrees with Firishta that Sultān Ahmad Shāh built his capital while returning from his Kherla expedition, he assigns its foundation to 832 A H (A D 1428-29) (*TA*, Eng Tr III, 51-53) The evidence is thus conflicting However as the dates furnished by the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* are more reliable than those of Firishta I am inclined to accept A D 1423 as the correct date for the foundation of the new capital

13 *SII* VII 202.

14 *Further Sources*, I, p 107

15. 26-29 of 1937-38

16 In the *Gaṅgādāsa-pratāpa-vilāsam* (*Sources*, 25), it is said that on the accession of young Mallikārjuna after the death of his father Pratāpadevarāya II, the Dakshina Suratrāna and the Gajapati, both of whom were defeated on a former occasion by the latter, came together and invested the city of Vijayanagara Now, the Gajapati who came with the Dakshina Suratrāna to invest Vijaya-

nagara was Kapilendra. The defeat which he sustained at the hands of Devarāya II was inflicted during Mallappa Udaiyar's expedition in A.D 1443-44 The presence of the Vijayanagara armies in the Godāvarī delta is indicated by an epigraph at Drākshārāmam dated A D. 1444, and as the record registers a gift for the merit of Mallappa Uḍaiyar made by a Vīra Balañja merchant guild at the instance of Allaya Vema and his brother Vīrabhadra, it is certain that he came there to help them (*SII* IV 1375, Mac. Mss 15-4-4, p 164)

17 23 of 1905, 476 of 1921, 161 of 1906, *EC*, III, i, Srirang 107, all dated in A D 1446-47 refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya II He is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the time of Devarāya II. In A D 1441 he was holding some position of responsibility in the Koṇḍavīdurājya (*ARE* 420 of 1915) Earlier he was ruling in the Rāyadurga-rājya from his capital Penugoṇḍa According to a copper-plate grant dated A D 1435, registering the gift of a village made by him to a Vaishnava scholar named Lakshmīdhararārya, he was a younger brother of Devarāya II and was known also as Devarāya, and his capital was the city of Ghanaśaila (Penugoṇḍa). From the fact that the village granted was renamed as Pratāpadevarāyapuram after him, it is certain that Vijaya II was also known as Pratāpadevarāya (*MAR*, 1921, Para 62) It is interesting to note that, according to the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpaksha II, his father, Pratāpadevarāya, who was also younger brother of Devarāya II, obtained from his elder brother i e Devarāya II, the Ghandrirājva (*Sources*, No 26) From this it appears that Pratāpadevarāya alias Vijaya, and Pratāpadevarāya, the father of Virūpāksha, are identical.

18. *Further Sources*, II, No 68

19 This was probably due to the fact that his great-grandfather Devarāya I had the title Prauḍha prefixed to his name in some of his inscriptions

20 See Ch XIII, B, Orissa, note 8a, for a different view

20a It is generally held that the Gajapati king Kapilendra died in A D 1467 when his son Purushottama ascended the throne (cf Ch XIII B) Dr Venkataramanayya the author of this Chapter, who has discussed this question at some length in *PAIOC*, VIII 585-99, holds the view that Kapilendra ruled jointly with his son Purushottama till A.D 1470 when he died (Ed)

21 See *Further Sources*, I, 189-196, and *JOR* Vol X, pp 158 ff, for a discussion of the date and detailed description of the incidents of the war

22 See *Further Sources*, I, 204 note

23 Scholars differ in their opinion as to whether Krishnadevarāya conquered Cuttack or not For discussion of this problem see *Further Sources*, I, 209-211, and P Mukherjee, *Gajapati Kings*, 93-95 (Ed)

24 A different account of this war is given in the *Tārikh-i-Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh*, which was written some time after the death of the monarch in A D 1611 This work is utterly unreliable, as it is contradicted by the inscriptions of Krishnadevarāya and other indubitable contemporary records Some of the incidents mentioned in the *Tārikh-i-Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh* might have been based on facts, but the chronology is false The contemporary evidence of Nuniz has greater claim on our credence than the later chronicle

25 *Further Sources*, I, 211-13

26 See Ch XIII, E

27 One school of Vijayanagara historians, taking their stand on the statement of Firishta that Ballāla III built the city, Bijangar called after his son Bejan Ray, near his northern frontier on the way of the armies of Delhi, contend that Ballāla III was the real founder of Vijayanagara But, Firishta wrote his history in the beginning of the 17th century A D His account of Vijayanagara is not authentic and incorporates into it much of the gossip which he heard in the bazars of Bijāpur As he relates two stories totally opposed to each other about the origin of Vijayanagara, his evidence need not be taken into consideration in the present context

28 K A N Sastri and N Venkataramanayya *Further Sources*, I, 58

CHAPTER XIII

INDEPENDENT STATES DURING THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

A. RĀJPUT STATES

The reign of 'Ālā-ud-dīn Khaljī (1296-1316) forms an important epoch in the history of the Rājputs Within his lifetime nearly all those Rājput kingdoms that had been established on the ruins of the Pratīhāra empire and had so long withstood the ravages of time were one after another annexed to the Sultanate. Thus, so far as the Rājputs were concerned, the medieval order might be said to have been brought to an end. In its extinction however it laid the foundation of the history of modern Rājputāna. For, two important principalities were shortly founded in Mewār and Mārwār, which, with their offshoots, continued till the present century. It is important to note that both of these States were ruled by dynasties that traced their origin to an earlier period

1. MEWĀR

The history of the Guhilaputras till the capture of Chitor by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in A D. 1303 has been referred to above[1] While the siege of Chitor was in progress the ruling prince Ratnasiṁha, who belonged to the elder branch of the Guhila family, was dethroned and another member of a junior or Śiśodiyā branch of the same family was proclaimed as the ruler The prince who thus secured the throne in a very perilous moment was Lakshmaṇasiṁha, who had no other alternative but to die fighting with the enemy in defence of Chitor along with seven of his sons. Only one son, Ajayasiṁha, was allowed to save himself by flight; but so precarious was his position that he had to hide himself in the Aravallis and maintain a miserable existence When he died (1314), his elder brother's son, Hammīr, succeeded to his titles.[1a]

This prince was the real founder of the modern State of Mewār Unfortunately his real history is shrouded in a mass of romantic tales. According to tradition, his father Arisiṁha married a low-born Rājput woman, who was blessed with extraordinary physical strength, and the issue was the hero, Hammīr That this story has no basis in fact is clear from the evidence of Muhanote Nensi, the seventeenth century chronicler, who maintains that Hammīr's

mother came from the royal Soṅgira Chauhān family, as well as from the circumstance that a similar story is narrated in connection with another Rājput hero. Even the date of his accession is difficult to determine from the existing records But from several considerations it appears very likely that it took place about A.D. 1314. It is admitted in all available traditions that his uncle Ajayasiṁha lived for some time after 1303; and it is recorded by Firishta that among the incidents of the year 1314 was a vigorous effort made by the Rājputs to get rid of the Muslims in Chitor. From what we know of Ajayasiṁha, he could not have possibly made such an attempt in which probably are to be traced the hands of a more vigorous personality like that of Hammīr.

Hammīr's initial attempt to oust the Muslims proved a failure but it was not wholly ineffective Khizr Khān, who had been in charge of Chitor since 1303, left the place for Delhi and 'Alā-ud-dīn sent Māldev Chauhān in his stead According to the Muslim records, which are generally supported by the *Khyat* of Nensi, Māldev's administration in Mewār proved a success, so much so that on his death in 1321,[2] his son was allowed to succeed to his position. Nearly a year previously, the Khaljī dynasty had come to an end being replaced by the Tughluqs

Meanwhile Hammīr did not remain idle. From the notices left in the inscriptions, it appears that he proceeded in the task of reconstruction in a most statesmanlike way. The mountain stronghold of Kelwārā in the Aravallis was his principal headquarters His first attempts were directed towards consolidating his authority in the neighbourhood. In pursuance of this object he captured the fort of Jilwārā[3] which occupied a position commanding the narrow mountain defile that connects Mewār with Mārwār across the Aravallis He could now launch his attacks in either directions at his will and harass the Muslims both in the Mewār and the Mārwār regions The next step was the occupation of the fort of Īdar in Sirohi[4] which strengthened his position still further.

He was now in a position to undertake the crowning achievement of his reign, the recovery of Chitor Although the later inscriptions make no direct mention of this incident, there is no doubt that this reconquest of Chitor also be attributed to him. For, all traditions unanimously ascribe it to Hammīr, while in the Ekliṅgajī inscription of 1429, Hammīr is said to have made certain gifts in favour of a temple in Chitor implying thereby the accuracy of the traditional account. One may possibly find a clue to the silence of contemporary inscriptions in this respect from the facts connected with the incident itself.

According to Col. Tod, while Māldev was governing Chitor on behalf of the Sultāns of Delhi, Hammīr began to plunder at random the districts under his charge, so that Māldev considered it prudent to make an attempt to appease Hammīr by offering him his daughter in marriage The latter accepted the offer and Hammīr's wife helped him to win over Māldev's officers. Having thus prepared the way, it became easy for Hammīr to take the city by a surprise attack Here as elsewhere, romance is mixed up with facts Māldev's administration being successful, there was no question of his attempt to appease Hammīr by the prospect of matrimony. Again there is reason to believe that Hammīr's marriage had taken place long before Māldev was placed in charge of Chitor; for, the issue of this marriage, Kshetrasiṁha, died a centenarian about 1405. Although the details about the recapture of Chitor must be regarded as fanciful, the fact remains that it was due to treachery inside that the city was recovered, and not by any creditable deed of arms on Hammīr's part.

The exact date of this incident cannot be ascertained. It seems possible however that it took place during that period of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign when the latter was involved in widespread rebellions in all parts of his empire, that is, after A D. 1338 The story as narrated in the *Annals* further adds that after the loss of Chitor, Māldev's son went to Delhi and returned to the attack on Hammīr with a large Muslim army led by the Sultān "Mahmūd Khaljī" personally. A most sanguinary battle took place at Singoli in which the Muslim army was defeated and the Sultān himself captured. He had to suffer imprisonment for three months in Chitor and was then released on his entering into a treaty with the Rānā on humiliating terms, such as cession of a number of districts and payment of a large war indemnity Dr Ojha is inclined to accept this story as substantially true, although, in his opinion, the name of the Sultān has been given inadvertently as Mahmūd Khaljī in place of Muhammad Tughluq Apart from the fact that the Muslim records make no mention of such an encounter, the story must be regarded as inaccurate on other considerations as well. The name of Hammīr's opponent, Mahmūd Khaljī, and the terms exacted from him are significant It will be noticed later in connection with the reign of Rāṇā Sāṅgā (1509-1528), that the latter actually defeated and took Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa prisoner and released him on the latter signing an ignominious treaty the terms of which resemble closely those said to have been extorted by Hammīr It is clear, therefore, that later chroniclers gave Hammīr the credit of an achievement which really belongs to Sāṅgā [4a]

The uncertainty which clings to many of the activities of this hero of Mewār also follows him to his death. There is no incontestable evidence to fix the end of his life and reign According to at least three different sources, he ruled for 64 years. If, as it has been assumed, he began his reign in 1314, his reign must have come to an end in 1378 Against this however there are two circumstances Firstly, there is a tradition in Mewār that Hammīr died in 1364; and, secondly, Dr. Ojha claims to have noticed an inscription (which has not yet seen the light of the day) in which Hammīr's son Kshetrasiṁha is said to have been ruling in 1366 Of these the first argument is decidedly unacceptable, as the same tradition implies that Hammīr's reign began in 1301 which is improbable With regard to the second, it may be said that until the inscription itself is published, it would be unsafe to base any theory on its contents. The chronology of the period A D 1303 to 1420 in the history of the Rājput states is extremely difficult to follow. The chronicles no doubt are rich in figures, but these are definitely inaccurate inasmuch as they hardly tally with the evidence of contemporary inscriptions The only way out of this difficulty is to follow the latter as well as all synchronistic data whenever available. (See Appendix).

On Hammīr's death his son Kshetrasimha succeeded to the throne and ruled for more than a quarter of a century (c 1378-1405) During his reign the work of reconstruction so well begun by his father continued uninterrupted, thanks largely to the political situation prevailing in North India in this period. The Sultanate of Delhi had been steadily losing its power since the death of Fīrūz Shāh in 1388 and the provincial governors became practically independent The situation was made worse by the invasion of Tīmūr in 1398 Thereafter, in place of one strong government North India was split up into nearly half a dozen States, each quarrelling with its neighbour for authority It was, therefore, easy for the rulers of Mewār to carry on a policy of advancement

One of the earlier incidents of Kshetrasimha's reign was a struggle with the Hādās of Bundi The Hāḍās were a sub-section of the Chauhān clan of Rājputs, the term Hāḍā being adopted after a leader bearing that name but coming from the Songira section of that clan. According to the *Khyat* of Muhanote Nensi, Hādā Devīsiṁha gave his daughter in marriage to Arisimha (father of Hammīr) and received from the latter the help of a band of soldiers by whose help he captured Bundi from an aboriginal people called the Mīnās. It had been already settled that if the venture proved a success, Devīsiṁha was to acknowledge allegiance to the throne of Mewār This was done But shortly after, Mewār itself fell

into 'Alā-ud-dīn's hands and it may be easily surmised that with their existence at stake the Mewār chiefs were hardly able to enforce their authority on the Hāḍās. After the recovery of Mewār by Hammīr (c. 1340) a clash between Hammīr and the Hāḍā *sardārs* became inevitable, although for the time being, on account of Hammīr's many preoccupations, it was avoided. With the accession of Kshetrasiṁha, Mewār turned to enforce its former authority over Bundi. No less than three inscriptions clearly mention that Kshetrasiṁha inflicted a defeat on the Hāḍā *sardārs,* destroyed their fort Manḍalgaḍh and brought under his control the Hāḍā lands [5]

Following close upon this Kshetrasiṁha came to be involved in a struggle with his neighbour Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī, ruler of Mālwa, also known by the name of Amī Shāh [6] Although nominally subject to Delhi, Dilāvar was practically an independent ruler. The causes of this conflict are not mentioned, but we can surmise that in the steady growth of Mewār, Mālwa must have discovered a potential enemy. A sanguinary battle took place near Chitor which implies that the Mālwa ruler was probably the aggressor. Kshetrasiṁha however won a victory, thanks to the help given by his vassal, the Hāḍā chieftain Mahādeva, as mentioned in the Menal inscription of A.D. 1389.[7]

Mewār's rise to prominence is indicated by the successful wars in the eastern and south-eastern frontiers as well as those in the south-west. It has been noted already that early in his reign Hammīr had forced the ruler of Īdar (Jaitrakarna) to acknowledge him as his overlord On Jaitrakarna's death, his son, Ranamalla, succeeded in Īdar but his restless activities brought him into collisions with Muzaffar Khān, the ruler of Gujarāt In this quarrel Raṇamalla appears to have came out successful. Immediately after, however, Kshetrasiṁha undertook an expedition against Īdar and captured Ranamalla An inscription of A D 1460,[8] refers to this incident as follows· "Kshetrasiṁha threw into prison Ranamalla who had been a vassal of Guzerat but who had brought to an end the pride of the Śaka ruler".

It was after this incident apparently that a second encounter between Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī alias Amī Shāh and Kshetrasimha took place. The causes are not clear but it is possible that Kshetrasimha sought to take advantage of a quarrel then going on between Dilāvar and his son (mentioned by Firishta) and take his revenge against the Mālwa ruler for his attack upon Mewār early in his reign. The results were now entirely in favour of Mewār, for, Kshetrasiṁha was able to make an end of his enemy once for all, as a number of inscriptions definitely maintain.[9]

Not very long after, Kshetrasiṁha died (c. 1405). According to a notice in Rāṇā Kumbha's commentary on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* he is said to have died a centenarian.[10] He left behind seven legitimate sons besides a number of illegitimate ones, the most notable among these latter being Chāchā and Merā.

The eldest of Keshetrasiṁha's sons, Lakshasiṁha or Lākhā, succeeded to the throne of Mewār at a fairly advanced age and ruled only for about 15 years till c. 1420. It will be shown later that simultaneously with the development of Mewār, another Rājput State had been founded by the Rāṭhors in Mārwār. Their leader Chuṇḍā (1390-1422), who was a contemporary of Lākhā, thought that an alliance with Mewār would greatly help his advancement, and accordingly offered the hands of his daughter Haṁsabāi to Lākhā's son and heir, also known by the name of Chuṇḍā The extant traditions maintain that the latter refused the offer but the old Rāṇā proposed to marry the girl himself. The Rāṭhor chieftain was unwilling to marry his daughter to the old ruler, specially as any issue born of her person would have no right on the Mewār throne. Lākhā's son Chunḍā now came forward and renounced his rights in favour of any issue that might be born of his father's marriage with Haṁsabāi. The marriage took place and Haṁsabāi's brother Ranamalla came to reside in Mewār It is very likely that this incident happened at the beginning of Lākhā's reign; for, Ranamalla's seems to have been the guiding hands in all the activities of Lākhā's reign of which we have any record

One of the most important events of this reign was the discovery of silver and lead mines in a village called Jawar in the Magra district of the State. This placed the kingdom on a strong economic foundation without which it would not have been possible for Mewār to carry on the wars with the neighbouring States in the 15th and 16th centuries and at the same time rear up some of the most splendid monuments that the country can boast of. Without, however, a wise economic policy the influx of bullion would have been a great hindrance to the development of the State Fortunately, the guidance of the State was in capable hands The Ekliṅgajī inscription of 1429 maintains that a better and more respectable system of weights and measures was introduced in place of the older ones [11] As a consequence the kingdom attracted many foreign traders one of whom constructed that artificial lake near Udaipur which is known nowadays as the Pichhola lake.

In those days help given to pilgrims was considered very meritorious Actuated by this idea the aged Lākhā gave relief to the Hindu pilgrims that visited the sacred places of Gayā, Banaras

and Prayāg (Allahabad). These places were then included within the territories of the Sultān of Jaunpur who imposed severe taxes on such pilgrims, causing great inconvenience to them. The Ekliṅgajī inscription of A.D 1429 distinctly mentions that Lākhā gave away money frequently and unhesitatingly to give relief to the pilgrims for the taxes imposed by the Muslim sovereign.[12]

When Lākhā died (c 1420), his son Mokal (by the Rāthor queen Haṁsabāi) succeeded[13] to the throne The Mewār chronicles maintain that Lākhā's eldest son Chuṇḍā, true to his renunciation, refused the throne and was one of the first to own his allegiance to his younger brother, now sovereign of the kingdom Chuṇḍā however continued to look after the affairs of the State This was disliked by Mokal's mother who apprehended that Chuṇḍā might take advantage of the position to put Mokal out of the way and ultimately occupy the throne itself Chuṇḍā felt highly mortified and determined to leave Mewār once for all. Having therefore instructed his uterine brother Rāghavadeva to look after Mokal's interests, Chuṇḍā retired to Mālwa along with his other brothers On Chuṇḍā's withdrawal, Haṁsabāi's brother Ranamalla placed himself in charge of the affairs in Mewār, and, with the help of the Mewār army, secured possession over the throne of Mārwār as well as the Muslim principality of Nāgaur. During his absence from Mewār it was however attacked by the Sultān of Gujarāt who advanced as far as Jilwārā Rāṇā Mokal went forward to meet the enemy but was killed by Chāchā and Merā who accompanied him in this expedition. Mokal died in 1433 and left seven sons, the eldest of them being Kumbha

The sudden death of Mokal left the kingdom in a most difficult position both internally and externally. Within the State, one of the assassins of Mokal got himself proclaimed as the Rāṇā and the newly acquired districts attempted to free themselves from the control of Mewār At the same time the Muslim rulers of Mālwa and Gujarāt also sought to take advantage of Mewār's troubles

For once the alliance with the Rāṭhors proved to be the safety of Mewār. When the news of Mokal's death reached his uncle Ranamalla in Mārwār, the latter at once came to Mewār with the Rāṭhor army, expelled the usurper from Chitor and seated his grand-nephew Kumbha on the throne As a result of a series of campaigns the conspirators were all crushed. Those who survived took shelter in Mālwa. A war with the latter, therefore, followed and the Sultān of Mālwa, having suffered a defeat, was compelled to turn the refugees out of his kingdom The latter then fled to Gujarāt Ranamalla followed them there and forced the Sultān to expel them

from that kingdom as well. Meanwhile, the Hāḍās of Bundi also had risen in insurrection but they were soon brought under control.[14]

Thus the difficulties of the first five years of Kumbha's reign were surmounted with the help of Raṇamalla whose influence naturally ruled supreme in Mewār But this produced further complications. According to the Mewār chronicles, Raṇamalla's pretensions now knew no bounds. He behaved as if he were the Rāṇā and it was believed that he would eventually secure possession of the Mewār throne The Mārwār chronicles, however, maintain that the Śisodiyās were aggrieved because all authority in the State was now vested in Raṇamalla. Considering that the constitution of the Rājput State was tribal in character, an influence like that which was exercised by Raṇamalla in Mewār was bound to be regarded as revolutionary. This explains why bad blood was created between the Śisodiyās and the Rāthors The assassination of Rāghavadeva, younger brother of Chuṇḍā, made that ill-feeling stronger The Mewār chronicles maintain that Rāghavadeva had raised a protest against Raṇamalla and was therefore done to death On the other hand, the Mārwār chronicles say that Rāghavadeva was responsible for insurrections in the country, and, for the sake of law and order, he had to suffer the highest penalty that the law could give.

The irritated Śisodiyās formed a conspiracy under the leadership of Chundā, who had been in Mālwa for a long time past, and on an appointed day, some of the conspirators fell upon Raṇamalla in Chitor and put an end to his life (1438).

The *Annals of Mewar* speaks most disparagingly of Raṇamalla and very highly of Chuṇḍa The former is described as a mean conspirator whose eyes were set on the throne of Mewār and who would certainly have got the same if the latter had not stood in the way But judged from his actions, it will be found that there was no definite evidence to substantiate the charge of meanness brought against him Rather, he served the Mewār *darbār* loyally when it was in the midst of its greatest dangers Again Chuṇḍā has been held up as a very pattern of filial devotion and fraternal loyalty. Modern writers have even compared him with Bhīshma of the *Mahābhārata* fame for his renunciation of rights to the throne in favour of a younger step-brother that was not yet born A careful examination of the events of his life will however dispel many of such ideas about him. It has been already noted that when his father Lākhā married, he had already many sons, besides Chuṇḍā, by his former wife or wives When Chuṇḍā renounced his rights, these devolved upon the next brother. But in this case all the sons of Lākhā by his previous wives were debarred and the succession

passed to an issue by the youngest wife (Haṁsabāi). It seems to have been a case of disinheriting all of the former in favour of one by the latter. From this point of view, the credit that has long been given to Chuṇḍā loses much in weight. Again, Chuṇḍā, after leaving Mewār took shelter in Mālwa which was then the hereditary enemy of Mewār Besides, during the great troubles which followed the assassination of Mokal, Chuṇḍā made no attempt to look after the interest of Mokal's son, Kumbha, who owed his crown to the much hated Raṇamalla.

The assassination of Raṇamalla was an event of great significance in the history of Mewār and Mārwār. For more than a quarter of a century the alliance between the Rāṭhors and the Śiśodiyās had been of great advantage to both the States. All this now came to an end and these two clans now entered into that feud which continued for many centuries.

In the course of the next seven years we find Mewār engaged in a war with the Rāṭhors on the western front and the Sultān of Mālwa on the south. The story of the latter struggle is given in the Muslim records, while some hints are thrown also by contemporary inscriptions. Almost every year the Muslim army would penetrate into Mewār, and after plundering portions of the country return to Mālwa The result of the war, however, was a drawn one; for, the position of the two States continued as before and both the parties commemorated their victories by erecting memorials—the Sultān of Mālwa at Māndū and Rāṇā Kumbha at Chitor. The latter is the famous Kīrtistambha or Jayastambha of Chitor built about A D 1448. All this time the feud with the Rāṭhors continued Here the Śiśodiyās seem to have been very successful at the outset The whole of the Rāṭhor land including the capital Mandor was occupied by the Śiśodiyās, and garrisons were established at suitable places to hold the country under control. Ranamalla's son and heir Jodhā was compelled to leave the country.

The next eight years were comparatively peaceful. This interval was spent by Rānā Kumbha in the construction of a number of buildings, temples and forts In 1456, however, the war broke out again.[15] In that year a dispute arose in Nāgor or Nāgaur (which had apparently been reoccupied by the Muslims after Raṇamalla's death) over the succession to that principality One of the candidate solicited help from Rānā Kumbha who promised the same on the condition that the former recognized allegiance to the latter, and as a token thereof the fortifications at Nāgaur were dismantled The terms were accepted and Kumbha seated his protégé on the Nāgaur principality. But no sooner had his object been gained than

the latter refused to comply with the terms Kumbha had, thereupon, to undertake a fresh campaign, but this time against his former protégé. The latter now sought help from Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn of Gujarāt and having offered his daughter in marriage to the Sultān, secured the services of a Gujarāt army. Kumbha, however, inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy and captured Nāgaur. The incident is described in a contemporary inscription in the following language: "In complete disregard of the ruler of Gujarāt Kumbha captured Nāgor".

In the winter of 1455-56, Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn came out in the open and declared war against Mewār. The Gujarāt army was divided into two parts. While one section, led by the Sultān in person, crossed the Aravalli hills and advanced as far as the fort of Kumbhalgarh, another section was despatched against Sirohi where a relation of the Rāṇā was ruling. According to the Muslim records, the latter suffered a heavy defeat and the Sultān returned to Gujarāt after entering into a truce with the Rāṇā. The real situation was that on account of the failure of the Sirohi expedition, the Sultān's communications with his kingdom were endangered and he was forced to enter into terms with the Rāṇā. Thus the campaign was a failure.

While engaged on the western frontier, the Rāṇā had also been involved in a war in the south and the east. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa now sought to take advantage of the difficulties of Mewār in order to satisfy his old grudge against that State, but without success. Early in 1456, however, an offensive alliance against the common enemy was planned by the Sultāns of Mālwa and Gujarāt and a treaty to that effect was solemnly signed at Chāmpāner. Its objects are thus described by the Muslim historians: "To direct their efforts against Rana Kumbha . . . . Mahmud should assail him on one side and Qutb-ud-din on the other . . . . . they would utterly destroy him . divide his country between them . . . all the towns lying contiguous to Gujarat were to be attached to the kingdom of Qutb-ud-dīn, while the districts of Mewār and Aheerwara should be retained by the Mālwa forces."[16]

The odds against Mewār seemed to be overwhelming, specially as the Rāṭhor leader Jodhā took the opportunity to join the Muslims against her. At the same time, within the State, a strong faction under Kumbha's younger brother Kshema was also in arms against the Rāṇā.

In accordance with the arrangement mentioned above, the Muslim armies took the field in the winter of 1456-57. Qutb-ud-dīn occupied Sirohi, plundered the Kumbhalmer district and then

turned to Chitor. The Rāṇā came out to give battle. According to one authority, the Rāṇā was defeated and took shelter in the fort; but, according to another, the result was indecisive. All Muslim writers however mention that the Rāṇā offered money to Qutb-ud-dīn who thereupon withdrew to his own kingdom. The position of the Rāṇā may be understood from the fact that he had been simultaneously attacked by the Sultān of Mālwa as well. The latter had devastated certain parts of Mewār and then attacked Ajmer without success Thereupon he fell back on Mandalgarh where the Rāṇā attacked him The result of the battle is thus described by Firishta: "The Malwa officers persuaded their king of the necessity of retiring on account of their reduced numbers and the wretched state of the camp equipments . . . . Thus the Sultān was induced to return to Mandu" As Col. Briggs says, "The drawn battle mentioned must be deemed a defeat".[17]

No sooner had the enemies retired than Kumbha attacked them in his own turn The districts of Sirohi and Nāgaur were recovered from the Sultān of Gujarāt, while some pillage at the cost of Mālwa also took place. In 1457-8, therefore, the Muslim allies again took the field Qutb-ud-dīn[18], after capturing Sirohi, advanced as far as Kumbhalgarh, but being unable to take it by assault returned to his own kingdom Muslim authorities admit that Mahmūd Khaljī's campaign did not fare better As mentioned already, while Kumbha was struggling against the Sultāns of Gujarāt and Mālwa, he was involved in a war with the Rāthors to which references will be made later

It is unfortunate that no detailed account of the above struggles is available from the Rājput point of view Contemporary inscriptions and other records refer to them only cursorily, so that no connected story can be made out of the same Thus the Kumbhalgarh inscription of 1460 merely says "Kumbha churned the ocean-like armies of the Sultāns of Mālwa and Gujarāt" In other words Kumbha claimed a complete victory over these two Sultāns.

By 1459, the most difficult period of Kumbha's life was over; and the last ten years, in spite of the quarrel with his brother Kshema, seem to have been more peaceful.

Kumbha was one of the greatest rulers of medieval India. When the records of his reign that lie scattered in more than sixty inscriptions and many other sources have been fully worked out into a comprehensive and connected account, Kumbha will be found to occupy a place in no way inferior to the greatest of the contemporary sovereigns, Hindu or Muslim The most astonishing feature of his life was that though more than two-thirds of his reign were spent

in warfare, he could still find time to devote to the cultivation of arts and literature as well. The erroneous belief that the Rājput ruler was a mere fighting animal is sure to be dispelled by a clear appreciation of this aspect of his achievements. A contemporary manuscript called the *Ekliṅgamāhātmya* credits him with proficiency in the Vedas, Smṛitis, Mīmāṁsā, Upanishads, Vyākaraṇa, politics and literature. This is fully supported by what is left of his own activities as a man of letters. He wrote a commentary on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* and an explanation of the *Chaṇḍīśatakam*. For his knowledge of dramatic art and literature he has been described as the new Bharata. He wrote four dramas in which he is said to have made use of four provincial languages. He was also highly proficient in music, and wrote three works on the science of music called *Saṅgītarāga*, *Saṅgītamīmāṁsā* and *Suraprabandha*. Under his patronage his architect Maṇḍana wrote a number of works some of which were on iconography, some on house-building and some on house decoration. The same Maṇḍana's brother, Nātha, and his son Govinda also wrote a number of works on architecture. Considering that most of his life was spent in warfare, it was but natural that he should take particular interest in strengthening the defences of the country He is thus said to have built as many as 32 out of the 84 forts in Mewār He surrounded the citadel of Chitor with a number of bastions and built a cart-road with seven gates from the foot of the hill, on which the citadel stood, up to its summit. In 1458 was laid the foundation of a new fort at Kumbhalgarh. Besides the defensive works, he was responsible for the construction of a number of temples and wells with arrangements for drawing water Mention may be made of the Kirtistambha already referred to, and the temples of Kumbhasvāmī and Ādivarāha. The temple of Ekliṅgajī having been partially destroyed, Kumbha rebuilt it with the addition of an annexé called Kumbha-maṇḍapa. The example of the ruler was imitated by the people. The beautiful Jain temples at Ranpur and Sirohi as well as the exquisite Sringar Chauri temple at Chitor were also executed in Kumbha's reign, but by private individuals.

The end of Kumbha's life was very unfortunate According to Nensi's *Khyat*, which is supported by contemporary inscriptions, Kumbha became insane at the close of his life One day, as he was seated by the side of a tank in Kumbhalgarh, his eldest son, Udaya, attacked him with a dagger and put him to death. Impatience to occupy the throne seems to have been the only cause of this nefarious deed. The parricide was not, however, allowed to enjoy the throne for long The Rājput nobility in the State turned against him, and although according to custom every nobleman had to attend

the *darbār* on the accession of a new ruler to the throne, they refrained from showing this customary respect to their ruler. Udaya must have found himself without a strong support in the State and sought to enlist in his favour the assistance of the neighbouring rulers by cessions of territories which made him still more odious to his people. The result was a conspiracy among the noblemen who proposed to depose him and place his younger brother Rāyamalla on the throne. The latter, who had been placed in charge of the fort of Īdar, came to Chitor on the invitation of the noblemen, who, taking advantage of a timely absence of Udaya from the capital, took it into possession and proclaimed Rāyamalla as their ruler. Udaya took shelter in Kumbhalgarh, but assisted by the noblemen Rāyamalla soon captured it, Udaya saving himself by flight [19]

The reign of Rāyamalla covers a period of 36 years and falls into two parts The first part comprises the period 1473-1500 and is connected with the consolidation of the State. The second part, comprising the last nine years, is mainly occupied with civil dissensions in the same.

The brief reign of Udaya seems to have disorganized the whole State and naturally the first years of Rāyamalla's reign were spent in the task of bringing order out of the chaos. The troubles came from three quarters. In the first place there was a civil war. It has been already noted that Kumbha had a younger brother, Kshema, who was a lifelong enemy of the former. Kumbha's death and the troubles of Udaya's reign gave Kshema an opportunity to rouse himself into action. But Rāyamalla proved equal to the occasion. In a battle that took place at Dadimpur, Kshema was killed, and thus the trouble from that quarter was, for the time being, surmounted [20] Secondly, there was a renewal of the conflict with Mālwa. The contemporary Sultān of Mālwa, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Khaljī (1469-1500) had inherited the quarrel with Mewār from his father, Mahmūd Khaljī. He now bestirred himself, specially as Mewār seemed on the verge of dissolution, and advanced as far as Chitor, where a most sanguinary battle took place. The Sultān was however defeated and Mewār saved In this battle a hero, Gaura by name, displayed unique valour and killed a number of the enemy with his own hand. As a tribute to his memory, one of the bastions on the Chitor fort was named after him and four statues of the hero were set up at four prominent places on the same [21] The third difficulty came from the aboriginal tribes some of whom took the opportunity to rise into insurrection. But, as the contemporary inscription says, Rāyamalla successfully carried his soldiers into their mountain strongholds and forced them to submit.[22]

For a second time the Sultān of Mālwa returned to the attack of Mewār. The Muslim army led by a general called Zafar Khān advanced as far as Mandalgarh where Rāyamalla met and defeated him. The above inscription says: "Rāyamalla crushed the army of Zafar Khān near Mandalgarh and lowered the head of the Śaka King Ghiyās, which had been raised in arrogance." This was followed by an invasion of Mālwa. The Rājput army occupied the district of Kherwara and levied contributions from some parts of that kingdom.

Hardly had peace and order been re-established in Mewār by these successes than it became the scene of a quarrel among the sons of Rāyamalla. According to Col. Tod, Rāyamalla had several sons of whom the first three, in order of seniority, were Sāṅgā, Pṛithvīrāja and Jayamalla. Though heir apparent, Sāṅgā declared that he would forego his birth-right and abide by the verdict of the *Chāraṇī* who lived in Nahrā Magrā. Accordingly, the brothers went there, accompanied by their paternal uncle Surajmalla. The *Chāraṇī* declared that the kingdom would belong to Sāṅgā with a portion to Surajmalla No sooner was this said than Pṛithvīrāja and Jayamalla attacked Sāṅgā and Surajmalla. Although severely wounded, the latter were able to save themselves by flight. A critical examination of independent evidence reveals some interesting facts Firstly, from the testimony of Nensi's *Khyat* as well as contemporary inscription it appears that Pṛthvīrāja was the eldest of Rāyamalla's sons and therefore heir apparent to the Mewār throne. Secondly, Sāṅgā's collaborator, Surajmalla, was the son of Kshema who had fought against, and died at the hands of, Rāyamalla early in the reign. If the story of the civil war, which undoubtedly took place, is examined in the light of the above facts, it will be found that the struggle which Sāṅgā made against Pṛthvīrāja in alliance with an enemy of his father was nothing but an act of high treason. It was all the more serious as there is evidence to show that very likely the rebels took the help of Nasīr-ud-dīn Khaljī of Mālwa, and invited him to undertake a simultaneous invasion of Mewār. It was fortunate for the State that it had the services of a strong man like Prince Pṛthvīrāja at its disposal The enemies were defeated and Sāṅgā was forced to leave the State[23]

It looked as if the gravest danger to the State was over. Unfortunately however one bereavement after another clouded the last years of Rāyamalla's reign. First of all, Prince Prithvīrāja, who carried on the burden of administration in this period, met with an untimely death.[24] He had an altercation with his brother-in-law, the ruler of Sirohi, who, stung by an insult, poisoned Pṛithvīrāja.

The next brother, Jayamalla, now became the heir apparent. But he quarrelled with Rāi Surthān of Badnor and died at the hands of one of the latter's relatives. The death of two sons one after another came as a severe shock to the aged Rāṇā who turned insane. The third of Rāyamalla's sons, Jayasiṁha by name, now received installation as the heir apparent. But according to the *Khyat* of Nensi he was found incompetent and the noblemen were unwilling to have him as their ruler. They sent for Sāngā, and having deposed Jayasiṁha, gave him the crown, Rāyamalla dying in the meanwhile.

The new ruler Sāngā was born in 1482 He was thus 27 when he ascended the throne in 1509, and he died at the age of 46 in 1528, after a reign of 19 years. Not only was Mewār now the most powerful of the principalities in Northern India, it was even possible for its ruler to make an attempt on the imperial throne of Delhi. Several causes account for this unique position attained by Mewār. In the first place, since the accession of Hammīr, the kingdom had the good fortune to produce a succession of intelligent and strong rulers. It was also fortunate that on account of the timely discovery of valuable mines within the kingdom, the rulers did not lack the economic resources which are indispensable for all progress. In addition to this we have to remember that since the last quarter of the 14th century the central authority in Delhi had been gradually losing its position, and its power had been usurped by half a dozen provincial governments, none of which was strong enough to keep the rulers of Mewār under control. Above all, there was the personality of the new Rāṇā.

That Sāngā was ambitious is clear from the fact that even in his father's reign he made a bid for the throne against his elder brothers. But he had also the cleverness to use all opportunities that lay in his way to realize his ambition

His reign of 19 years falls into two parts The first 15 years were taken up with the consolidation of Mewār's position. This was done by a number of successful wars against his neighbours Shortly after his accession, Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn of Mālwa died and a struggle for the throne took place among his sons After a while one of them, Mahmūd Khaljī by name, secured the throne, mainly with the assistance of a Rājput chieftain, Medinī Rāi Naturally Medinī Rāi's influence now ruled supreme in the State to the great dislike of the Muslim noblemen and of Mahmūd Khaljī Ultimately Mahmūd fled to Gujarāt and appealed to Sultān Muzaffar of Gujarāt who, thereupon, came and invested Māndū, the capital of Mālwa, then occupied by Medinī Rāi's son. Medinī Rāi himself turned for assistance to the Rāṇā of Mewār and "represented that in Hindusthan

there was no man better than him and that if he did not assist his own race who else was to do so?" The Rāṇā consented to advance as far as Sārangpur, but said that afterwards he would act as circumstances would require.

Accordingly, Sāṅgā advanced to Sārangpur Thereupon the Sultān of Gujarāt, having sent a detachment of his army to intercept the Rāṇā, pressed on the siege of Māndū which ultimately fell into his hands in 1518. Finding that there was now no necessity for further advance, Sāṅgā retraced his steps to his own kingdom, accompanied by Medinī Rāi who entered the Rāṇā's service. Meanwhile, after the occupation of Māndū and the fall of Medinī Rāi's party in Mālwa, Mahmūd Khaljī's hopes revived, specially as the Sultān of Gujarāt left a part of his army in Mālwa to help him in case of difficulty The idea of teaching the Rājputs a lesson now got the better in Mahmūd's mind and he attacked the district of Gāgraun in 1519. But his expectations were completely belied The Muslim historians themselves maintain that as many as 30 officers in the Muslim army were killed and the Sultān himself fell a prisoner into Sāṅgā's hands. He was then taken to Chitor where he had to stay for six months.[25] At the end of this period, he was allowed to return to his own kingdom after he had signed a treaty on the following terms:—(1) payment of a large war indemnity, (2) surrender of a gold cap and a belt which were considered as heirlooms by the Mālwa ruling family, (3) despatch of a son of Mahmūd Khaljī to the Mewār *darbār* as a pledge of the future good relation of the Mālwa Sultān to the latter. In lieu of these terms Mahmūd Khaljī was left in the possession of those parts of Mālwa which belonged to him before the outbreak of the present war

While Sāṅgā's relations with Mālwa were thus being brought to a conclusion in every way satisfactory to the Rāṇā, those with Gujarāt were also receiving his attention Since the accession of Sāṅgā, the two States were being gradually involved in a quarrel over the problem of succession on the throne of Sirohi and the troubles in Mālwa The relations with Mālwa have just been described In Sirohi two cousins claimed the throne and while one of them appealed to the Sultān of Gujarāt for help, the other married a daughter of Sāṅgā and naturally received his assistance

Thus indirectly, Mewār and Gujarāt were being drawn into a position which was sure to lead to an open struggle; it was precipitated by an insulting conduct on the part of an officer of Sultān Muzaffar of Gujarāt. All Muslim historians maintain that in 1520, a Muslim officer in Īdar, incensed at the remarks of a wandering minstrel who had asked him to beware of Sāṅgā, caused a street

dog do to be named 'Rāṇā Sāṅgā' and kept it chained at the gates of Īdar city. When the information reached the Rāṇā, he immediately attacked Īdar and plundered the country-side. He then withdrew into Mewār, proposing to undertake a large expedition as soon as possible On this occasion he attacked Īdar with his whole force and compelled the Muslim officer to take shelter in Ahmadnagar. The Rāṇā followed him there, and in a battle that took place near the gates of that city, the Muslim army was again defeated and Ahmadnagar fell into Sāṅgā's hands

These events led to a war between the kingdoms of Mewār and Gujarāt. Sultān Muzaffar at first proposed to undertake personally an expedition against Mewār, and prepared a large army for the purpose in December, 1520. After some consideration, however, he changed his mind and sent the expedition in charge of an officer called Malik Ayāz who was to be helped by two other officers. In the spring of 1521, the army was set in motion and after plundering Dungārpur and Bānswara laid siege to Mandasor which lay at the southern frontier of Mewār. Meanwhile, Sāṅgā also had advanced to its relief and encamped with his army about 12 *kos* from the invested place. By this time Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa had also joined the Gujarāt army in the hope of satisfying his vengeance against Mewār.

As far as we can judge from the Muslim accounts of the Rāṇā's activities, it appears that he had three objects in view, namely, to strengthen himself by collecting reinforcements, to win over as many of the enemy as possible, and to take full advantage of the ill-feeling that prevailed among the Muslim officers. It was an open secret that the officers who had been sent to co-operate with Malik Ayāz were not in a mood to do so, as they looked upon the Malik's appointment as commander-in-chief as an act of supersession of their just claims. But time was an essential factor for the achievement of Sāṅgā's threefold objects Hence he began negotiations with Malik Ayāz who directed the Rājput agents to his sovereign, Muzaffar. The real motive of the Rāṇā may be gathered from the remarks made by Firishta:—"connected with the overtures there were certain conditions which were extravagant".[26] During the interval, Sāṅgā collected a large army and won over Mahmūd Khaljī by promising to release the latter's son kept as a hostage in Mewār since 1519.[27] Meanwhile, the ill-feelings between the Muslim officers of Gujarāt increased with the progress of time, so much so that when the negotiations fell through, they began to quarrel among themselves as to which one of them should lead the first attack on Mandasor. The bitterness among the Muslim officers reached such serious

proportions that Malık Ayāz retired with his contingent from the campaign, which thus ended in failure.

Naturally, Sultān Muzaffar felt deeply offended, and he planned another campaign against Mewār to be led by himself.[28] According to the Muslim authorities,[29] when the news reached Sāṅgā, he was so greatly unnerved that he despatched a member of his own family with valuable presents to appease the Sultān and concluded a treaty with him accepting all his terms. Unfortunately, the terms are not mentioned, and the general statement is hardly credible in view of the antecedents of Sāṅgā.[29a]

The fact seems to be that the Rāṇā was desirous of coming to an understanding with the Sultān, for about this time he came to be involved in a quarrel with the Sultān of Delhi which needed his freedom from entanglements elsewhere. In 1517 the throne of Delhi had passed to Ibrāhīm Lodī who was, however, faced by a rebellion led by his younger brother with the help of a number of noblemen in the kingdom After two or three years of warfare the rebellion was crushed and the noblemen brought under control. It seems that Sāṅgā took advantage of this situation to enhance his own position at the cost of the Sultanate But as soon as Ibrāhīm's hands were free, he undertook an expedition against the Rāṇā who however defeated the former in a battle near Dholpur This failure, however, prompted the Sultān to undertake another expedition on a large scale [30] Three of the best officers of Delhi were put in charge of a huge army which penetrated into Mewār, and Sāṅgā came forward to meet it While the Delhi army was within the Rāṇā's territory, Sultān Ibrāhīm, intending to punish one of the officers, Husain Khān, for the part he had taken in the late rebellion, sent a secret order to the chief commander, Miān Makan, to take the former into custody and despatch him to Delhi. Husain Khān suspected foul play and leaving the Muslim camp joined Rāṇā Sāṅgā along with his own adherents. Shortly after, the Rājput army attacked the enemy which was decisively beaten, Husain Khān remaining neutral. Many Muslim officers were killed and Miān Makan was compelled to take to his heels, closely pursued by the Rāṇā's men who drove him back as far as Bayāna According to one Muslim authority, this so alarmed Sultān Ibrāhīm that he advanced from Agra to the place in order to encourage his people Immediately after the victory Husain Khān fell treacherously on a section of the Rājput army, and having captured a few elephants and horses made good his escape These trophies he presented to the Sultān who took him back into favour.

Sāṅgā's success against Ibrāhīm Lodī was the crowning achievement of his career It was the culmination of a series of successes

against his neighbours, as a consequence of which the boundaries of Mewār were considerably extended. On the north they were pushed up as far as the Bayāna river. In the east, Raisen, Kālpī and Chanderī were included within her territories. In the south, Ḍungārpur and Bānswara were held by a vassal, and her frontiers ran far into the heart of Mālwa. To the south-west, Sirohi was ruled by the Rāṇā's son-in-law. Even the chiefs of Mārwār and Ambar, according to Tod, acknowledged his allegiance. But the significance of his successes was more than the mere annexations of lands, large as they were, would indicate. In getting the better of his rivals, Rāṇā Sāṅgā had secured for himself the leading position in Northern India, and, in inflicting a crushing defeat upon the occupant of the imperial throne at Delhi, he advanced a claim upon that throne itself. It marks the beginning of Mewār's imperial ambition During the years that followed (1523-28), Sāṅgā sought to materialize this ambition both by diplomatic means and military efforts.

It was probably after his success against Sultān Ibrāhīm that Sāṅgā proposed to Bābur a simultaneous expedition against Ibrāhīm Lodī.[31] Bābur was to move against Agra from Kābul and Sāṅgā from his own kingdom. Apparently Sāṅgā was determined to bring about the annihilation of the Sultān and, to ensure it, invited Mughul help. But it is clear from Sāṅgā's later conduct that it was not his intention to admit Bābur as a co-sharer in the assets of the Sultanate, which he hoped to secure for himself

Bābur tells us that, in accordance with this arrangement, he left Kābul, conquered the Punjab and obtained a decisive victory over Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānipat (April, 1526) Yet Sāṅgā showed no signs of accomplishing his part of the engagement. Sāṅgā's inactivity, which was the subject of complaint by Bābur, was partly explained by the fact that he was at the time involved in fresh troubles in Gujarāt. But it was perhaps also due to other considerations if we may judge from his later conduct. He might have either thought that like previous Mongol invaders, Bābur would leave the country after he had collected sufficient booty; or, that the Mughuls and the Lodī would fritter away their strength in a long struggle, making it easier for himself to establish influence over Delhi. It will be seen later that all such hopes, if there were any, were ultimately frustrated.

In Gujarāt, the Sultān, Muzaffar, lay on his death-bed and there was a scramble for succession among his sons. One of them, Bahādur, unable to achieve his object, left Gujarāt, came to Mewār and then went to Delhi. Meanwhile, Muzaffar died and his eldest son Sikandar Khān secured the throne. But more insurrections followed

till at last Sikandar was killed in 1526 and a younger brother proclaimed Sultān by a party of noblemen led by 'Imād-ul-Mulk. His supreme influence in the kingdom disgusted another party which invited Bahādur and offered him help to secure the crown. 'Imād-ul-Mulk's position was extremely precarious and he began to seek for outside help. Accordingly, he sent one agent to Rāṇā Sāngā promising him a large sum of money in lieu of his assistance. Another emissary, despatched by him to Bābur requesting him to send a force down the Sindhu[32] to help him, reached the Mughul Emperor after the battle of Pānipat.[33] An interesting light on Sāṅgā's policy is thrown by Firishta, who mentions that "the communication (sent by 'Imād-ul-Mulk to Bābur) never reached its destiny having been intercepted by the ruler of Dungārpur", who, it will be remembered, was a vassal of the Rāṇā. Apparently, Sāngā had by this time found that Bābur meant to stay in India and was thus to prove a great hindrance to his imperial scheme. It was therefore necessary that Bābur must be crushed before he could strengthen his position still further with the help of allies in the country. Sāṅgā's policy was settled. He helped the exiled Gujarāt prince Bahādur to secure the throne of Gujarāt[34] By this stroke of policy an alliance between Gujarāt and Bābur was prevented and its place taken by another set up between Mewār and Gujarāt which continued to be the most deciding factor in the politics of western India for the next five years (1526-31). At the same time preparations for the encounter with Bābur were sped up so that hardly six months had passed since the battle of Panipat when alarming news reached Bābur of Sāṅgā's activities against him

The Rajput army was in fact marching rapidly in the direction of Agra On the way a detachment was left to press the siege of Kandahat where a partisan of Bābur held out, but the main army crossed the river Bangaṅgā and took the road to Agra Bābur also had been busy collecting his army, and by the end of February 1527 reached Fathpur Sīkrī Near this place skirmishes between the advanced parties of both sides often took place, and, on one occasion a party of 1500 of Bābur's men was destroyed by the Rāṇā's soldiers On the 16th of March, the Rājput army attacked the entrenched position of Bābur near the village of Khānua. This proved to be the most fateful battle of the 16th century in which the Rājput army suffered a complete defeat at Bābur's hands. According to Bābur himself, the Rājput army numbered about 2 lakhs of soldiers "calculated according to Hindu fashion", while he had with him not more than 15,000 men. Smith thinks that Sāngā had 80,000 horse and 500 elephants The defeat of the incomparably larger Hindu army by the smaller Muslim one has given rise to speculations ever since

Some attribute the Hindu defeat to the weakness of the Hindu soldiers as compared with the Mughul. Some again explain it by a treachery in the Hindu ranks, and Col. Tod refers to a tradition that Sīlhadī, an important Rājput general, stood aloof with his men while the battle was in progress. Neither of these views, however, appears to be correct. Bābur himself admits that the Rājput was no mean adversary, while the treachery of Sīlhadī was only an invention of much later time. Actually, we find that Sīlhadī continued to help Mewār loyally long after the battle and was one of the trustiest officers of Sāṅgā's son and successor, Ratnasiṁha.

The real causes of the Rājput failure may be gathered from the following circumstances Firstly, there was consolidation and compactness in the Muslim army while there was lack of both in the Rājput army. Bābur had with him only 15,000 soldiers, but they were all of one mind and determined to follow Bābur to any extremities. He did not allow the half-hearted Indian allies to stay with him but sent them to different places on one pretext or another. On the other hand, Sāṅgā's army was huge in shape but wanting in solidarity. Bābur says that the Rāṇā had "collected a rabble-rout of whom some wore the sacred thread on them (i.e. were Hindus), some had in their skirt the throne of apostasy (i e. were Muslim)". Besides, "the Rājās and Rāis of high degree who obeyed the Rana in this battle as well as the governors and commanders who were amongst his followers in this conflict had not obeyed him in any earlier fight or out of regard to their own dignity been friendly with him" Clearly, therefore, Sāngā's army was made up of two sections—Hindu and Muslim The Hindu leader looked forward to the establishment of his own power in Delhi, the Muslims to the re-establishment of the Afghān empire Moreover, within the Hindu section, excepting the Śiśodiyās, the other clans were, much against their clan interests, compelled for the time being to follow Sāṅgā's leadership. Their hearts were not in the task, and in fact when the battle was over, each of the different Rājput clans departed for its own home, as if they had been happily rid of a powerful overlord. Sāṅgā failed to awaken a feeling of national unity in the minds of the huge host he led It was his own personality that formed the only slender bond of union. Unfortunately, however, in the course of the battle he was wounded and had to be carried off the field, and with his departure vanished all hopes of success.

Another no less important cause of Sāṅgā's failure was to be found in the tactics used by him in the battlefield. His object was to overwhelm the enemy by the sheer weight of numbers and with his elephants. As Bābur says "The Hindus moved forward relying

on the mountain-like demon-shaped elephants". But Bābur had taken sufficient precautions against such tactics. He had caused trenches to be dug around his position, to strengthen which still more, strong carts had been placed in front of his line and chained with one another. Behind these defences he placed matchlockmen ready to ply the enemy with showers of bullets when they drew near. When, therefore, Sāṅgā's elephants came forward they were smitten by fire-arms and, while retreating, trampled upon the Hindus themselves. Into the gaps thus formed, Bābur sent his mobile forces to convert the defeat into a rout. The battle of Khānua was the turning point in the history of India. It put an end to the dream of re-establishing a Hindu empire in Delhi and removed the chief obstacle to the foundation of the Mughul Empire in India.

After the battle Bābur advanced and took possession of Bayāna His plan of continuing the campaign against Sāṅgā had to be abandoned for the time being on account of the heat of the approaching summer But as soon as the climatic condition was favourable, at the end of the year, Bābur again set out in his campaign. His idea was to conquer the outlying possessions of Mewār such as Chanderī, Raisen, Bhīlsa and Sāraṅgpur, and then march against Chitor. Chanderī was accordingly captured about the beginning of 1528, but before the expedition could be further pursued, Bābur found it necessary to postpone it. There was a rebellion in Bihār among the Afghān noblemen which had to be crushed before it assumed serious proportion.

Meanwhile, Sāṅgā had not given up everything for lost From contemporary Rājasthānī songs as well as Muslim records, it appears that he was preparing for another contest with Bābur Abu-'l-Fazl tells us that the Rānā even invested the fort of Īrij where he was opposed by a Muslim general Failing to take the fort, Sāṅgā retreated to his own kingdom to die at the comparatively early age of forty-six

II MĀRWĀR

The period which witnessed the gradual advancement of the Śiśodiyā State of Mewār also saw the establishment of the Rāṭhor States of Mārwār and Bikaner which, until recently, occupied a prominent position in Rājputāna. The modern Rāṭhors claim descent from the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and Rājput traditions almost universally support this claim But as Dr Hoernle[35] pointed out long ago, this claim rests upon no strong foundation, rather, evidence indicates that there was no connection between the two. Firstly, the Rāṭhors call themselves only by that name and never as Gāhaḍa-

vālas, while in the inscriptions of the latter family the only name used is Gāhaḍavāla. Secondly, the *gotras* of these two families are different. And, lastly, the Rāṭhors intermarry with the Gāhaḍavālas. No satisfactory answer to these arguments has been so far put forward, yet the tradition of a connection between the Rāṭhors and the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom has been so strong that recently Ojha, while accepting practically the force of Dr. Hoernle's contentions, has expressed the opinion that the Rāṭhors must have been the descendants of Rāshṭrakūṭas of Badāūn [35a]

The clue to the solution of the problem is to be found in the inscription of Sīha,[36] founder of the Rāṭhor family of Mārwār, dated A D. 1273, where Sīha is described as a Raṭhaḍa. This inscription was discovered in a place called Biṭhu in Mārwār Very close to this place lies Sirohi where a pillar was erected in. A.D. 1241[37] by a person who calls himself Raṭhauḍa, and a piece of land granted in 1217[38] by another person who describes himself as Rāṭhauḍa of Hathiuṁḍi. That the two last-named persons belonged to the same family is indicated by the similarity of the two surnames, Raṭhauḍa and Rāṭhauḍa, as well as the fact that these two persons lived in the same locality. It is further to be noted that this family was known as Rāṭhauḍa or Raṭhauḍa family of Hathiuṁḍi or Hastikuṇḍi, a place which lay in the Bījāpur district of Jodhpur and very contiguous to Sirohi. At Hastikundi again three inscriptions of a Rāshṭrakūṭa family were discovered containing dates a little over two hundred years earlier, showing that it ruled over that region during c. A D. 915-c. 1000.[39] This family is known to historians as the Rāshtrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍi. Clearly enough, two descendants of this family set up the inscription of A D 1217 and A.D 1241 respectively. The resemblance of the family surname Raṭhaḍā with the designations Rāṭhauḍa and Rathauḍa; the proximity of the places where the persons with these designations lived; and the nearness of time of the three prove that the three terms Rathadā, Raṭhauḍa and Rāṭhauḍa are only different forms of the same name. And since the two latter are decidedly descendants of the tenth century Rāshṭrakūṭas, the former must also be regarded as such.

As in the case of all noted founders of dynasties, a mass of traditions have gathered round the name Siha, and it is impossible to reconcile these traditions with one another. The only reliable information is furnished by the Bithu inscription mentioned above, which says—"On Monday, the twelfth day of the dark fortnight in Kārttika 1330 V. S, Rathaḍā Sīha, son of Śrī Seta Kumāra, died. May the bliss of Indra's heaven be for Salaṅki Pārvatī". Salaṅki Pārvatī became a Satī on her husband Sīha's death in A.D 1273.

The fact that even after his death the only description of Sīha was the family surname Raṭhaḍā, with no Mahārāja or Rāja added thereto, clearly indicates that in his life Sīha had not been able to secure for himself an independent position. Hence all traditions about his conquests must be regarded as unreliable.

Sīha's son was Āsthān and the latter's son Dhūhaḍa.[40] An inscription of this last-named prince has been discovered at Tirsingharin in the Pachbhadra district of the Jodhpur State It is a memorial stone which shows that Dhūhaḍa died in A.D. 1309 in the above-mentioned place. It is to be noted that while his grandfather died at Bithu, Dhūhaḍa himself died in the Pachbhadra district which is very close to Kher, near the southward bend of the Luni. Now, tradition maintains that Dhūhaḍa's father Āsthān took advantage of a quarrel between the Gohil chief of Kher and his Brāhmaṇa minister, and with the help of the latter expelled the former and made himself master of the place It seems likely therefore that it was Sīha's son Āsthān who established the family in this new site

The history of the Rāṭhor family in the fourteenth century is involved in obscurity. The *Khyats*[41] supply us with lists of princes who flourished in the family together with their dates and accounts of their activities. Thus, we are told that after Dhūhaḍa, Rāyapāla, Kānhāpāla, Jalansī, Chhaḍo, Tiḍo, Salkhā and Mallinātha, each the son of the preceding one, occupied the Rāṭhor *gadi* But, it is impossible to make out a connected history of this period for several reasons. Firstly, the traditions cannot be reconciled with each other Secondly, the dates given are demonstrably inaccurate And, lastly, according to the above order of succession, seven or eight generations of princes ruled for only 80 or 90 years, which is somewhat unusual Hence, Ojha rejects the genealogy of the *Khyats* as inaccurate, and holds that possibly, rulers who are stated to have stood in the relation of father and son actually belonged to the same generation

Leaving aside details, the general features in the development of the Rāthor principality are not, however, difficult to follow. The Rāthor family, after it had been established in Kher, was guided by a natural impulse towards expansion This involved it in a struggle with its neighbours, among whom were the Muslims and the Bhaṭṭis By the first decade of the fourteenth century, the greatest of the Delhi Sultāns, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī (1296-1316) had conquered the whole of the eastern part of modern Mārwār and Gujarāt It was about this time that the Rāṭhors secured possession of Kher, but this petty State found itself encircled on three sides by the mighty Muslim power. A struggle for its very existence was thus inevitable;

and if we study the accounts given in the *Khyats* we actually find many anecdotes regarding the struggle between the two. Thus of the Rāṭhor princes of this period as many as five are mentioned as having encounters with the Muslims. Kānhāpāla, Jalansī and Tiḍo died at their hands while Salkhā and Mallinātha probably saved themselves by accepting Muslim hegemony. It should be remembered that for the greater part of the fourteenth century (A.D. 1296-1388), the throne of Delhi was occupied by three prominent rulers—'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Fīrūz Shāh. It was impossible for the Rāṭhor State to make any headway as long as the Sultāns were strong. The decline of the Sultanate must have afforded a unique opportunity for expansion to the Rāṭhors, and we find this to be actually the case.

While in the south, east and north-east, the Rāṭhors were confronted by the Muslims, the rising Bhaṭṭi state of Jaisalmer sought to prevent their advancement to the north-west. The records of Rāṭhor activities mention struggle with the Bhaṭṭis as well. Thus, Kānhāpāla, Chhaḍo and Tiḍo are mentioned as having continued a feud against the Bhaṭṭis.

It appears therefore certain that the fourteenth century was a period of struggles on all sides of the Rāṭhor State and undoubtedly some of the Rāṭhor princes died at the hands of the enemy. If all this be remembered we may possibly find an explanation of the circumstance that the average reign in this period was not more than 10 or 11 years Besides, in addition to the external struggles, there were internal dissensions in the Rāṭhor family.

According to the *Khyats*, Tiḍo died at Muslim hands, leaving two sons, of whom Kānhaḍa succeeded to his father's titles, while the other son Salkhā received only an appanage. On Kānhaḍa's death, his son Tribhuvansī was raised to the throne, but Salkhā's son Mallinātha contested the same A feud between the cousins followed and Mallinātha, with Muslim help, secured possession of the Rāṭhor principality. Its seat of power was now transferred to Mewo, close to Kher. The elder line was thus supplanted and authority passed into the hands of Mallinātha who adopted the title of Rāwal.

With Mallinātha's accession the Rāṭhor principality definitely enters into an era of progress. The whole region on both sides of the Luni came into his hands and is still known by the name of Mallāni. The *Khyats* indicate that though he had secured power with Muslim help, he was able later to renounce Muslim allegiance. His success against the Muslims is commemorated in numerous songs still current in Mārwār which describe how he brought away

perforce the daughter of his Muslim enemy. It should be remembered that after Fīrūz Shāh's death in 1388 the Sultanate of Delhi had fallen into weak hands and this was the most prominent factor that accounts for the Rāṭhor success.

According to the rules of hereditary succession, Mallinātha should have been succeeded by his own son. Such a son was there and his descendants are still to be met with in Mārwār. But he was ousted by a junior member of the Rāṭhor family just as Mallinātha had done with the descendants of Kānhaḍa. Apparently the lesson of Mallinātha's rise to power was too good to be lost upon other ambitious members of the family. Mallinātha had a younger brother named Vīramjī who quarrelled with Mallinātha's son and heir apparent, Jagmal, and was compelled to leave the State. Thereupon he lived the life of an adventurer till his death in 1383 in a skirmish with the Johyas, according to an inscription of 1658. This Vīramjī had a son called Chuṇḍā with whom begins a new chapter in the history of the Rāṭhors in Mārwār

As usual the *Khyats* supply many accounts about Chuṇḍā, but the details and the dates are difficult to reconcile with each other. Yet the main features are beyond dispute. At his father's death Chuṇḍā was a minor He was then taken to his uncle Rāwal Mallinātha, who took him into favour and allotted a small *jāgīr* for his maintenance As time went on, Chuṇḍā consolidated his position and ultimately, when Mallinātha died, supplanted the latter's son on the Rāthor throne Thus, once more the right of primogeniture was set aside in favour of higher capacity and attainments. The next important achievement of Chuṇḍā's life was the capture of Mandor which had been for the last eight centuries[42] a seat of Pratīhāra or Parihār power. The Parihār ruler had been dispossessed of his principality by the Muslims some time ago. Now the Rāṭhors and the Parihārs combined and their joint efforts were crowned with success Mandor was recovered and the Muslims driven away. But as regards the fate of Mandor, the *Khyats* do not agree. According to the Jodhpur version, the Parihār chieftain married his daughter to Chuṇḍā and handed over Mandor as dowry to his son-in-law; but according to the Bikaner tradition, Chuṇḍā killed the Parihār ally and made himself master of Mandor Considering that the Jodhpur tradition is likely to pass over the shortcomings of its rulers, the latter version seems more acceptable After the occupation of Mandor, Chuṇḍā transferred his capital here from Mewo. Within 50 years, his grandson, Jodhā, founded a new city within eight miles of Mandor. This city, called Jodhpur after its founder, continued till recently to be the capital of the Rāṭhors of Mārwār

Chuṇḍā had also entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Śiśodiyā family of Mewār—an incident which shows that he possessed more diplomatic talents than are to be found in an average Rājput. From the accounts available, it appears that the initiative in this marriage alliance came from the Rāṭhor *darbār* and that in order to secure the alliance of the Śiśodiyās, the Rāṭhor ruler did not shrink from marrying his young daughter Haṁsabāi to the aged Rāṇā Lākhā. It was a great diplomatic achievement, for henceforth the resources of Mewār were at the disposal of the Rāṭhor family which was thereby able to establish its authority strongly in Mārwār Partly on account of this alliance, and partly due to the decline of the Delhi Sultanate, Chuṇḍā ventured into a policy of definite aggression. He attacked and for a time held the Muslim principality of Nāgaur. He had however created many enemies on all sides by his restless activity; so that the Mohils of Audint and the Bhaṭṭis of Pugal joined hands with the aggrieved Muslims and challenged Chuṇḍā. He was killed, according to the *Khyats*, in 1422, and the Muslims recovered Nāgaur.

Chuṇḍā had several wives and through them a numerous progeny. From the orthodox point of view, Raṇamalla was the eldest of Chuṇḍā's sons, but Chuṇḍā desired that the issue of his favourite wife should succeed him Accordingly, he asked Raṇamalla to renounce his rights in favour of his step-brother Kānhā Ranamalla followed the will of his father, left the State altogether and came to reside in Mewār where he received a *jāgīr* from his brother-in-law, Rāṇā Lākhā Meanwhile, Kānhā ruled Mandor and after his death his younger brother Satā succeeded Satā was practically blind so that his son Narabad looked after the administration. Satā had a younger brother, called Raṇadhīra, who after a quarrel with his nephew Narabad went to Ranamalla in Mewār and pursuaded the latter to return to Mandor. Ranamalla came at the head of the Mewār army and took possession of the Mārwar throne from Satā.

The above official version, however, cannot stand a close scrutiny. Throughout the story Ranamalla is held up as an embodiment of filial respect like his contemporary, Śiśodiyā Chuṇḍā. Really, however, it is doubtful whether he had any rights to renounce. His acceptance of *jāgīr* at the hands of Rāṇā Lākhā and his settlement in Mewār seem to indicate that he was not looked upon as having any claims on the Rāṭhor throne Besides, it has been said on his behalf that since his renunciation had been in Kānhā's favour, he was within his rights when he wrested the crown from Satā. This argument also must be regarded as hollow when

it is remembered that Kānhā left issues called Kānhavats.[43] If Raṇamalla had been really a disinterested person, he should have taken up the struggle on their behalf and not made himself ruler instead.

The truth is that after Chuṇḍā's death, his sons who successively occupied the throne of Mandor were Kānhā, Satā and Raṇamalla. In later times when the chronicles were compiled, the shortlived princes intervening between Chuṇḍā and Raṇamalla were regarded practically as usurpers and a sort of legality was imparted on Raṇamalla, the *de facto* ruler.

Raṇamalla seems to have secured the throne of Mandor in 1427 For the next 10 years he was the most influential person in Rājputāna as the strings of the policy of Mārwār and Mewār lay in his hands. Raṇamalla used this influence in undertaking an expedition against the Muslim ruler of Nāgaur who had been partly responsible for the death of his father Chuṇḍā. It met with complete success The Muslim ruler was killed and his lands occupied. As the expedition had been a joint one between Mewār and Mārwār, the annexed lands were also divided into two parts and to the share of Mārwār fell Nāgaur and adjoining districts During the next few years, Ranamalla introduced in Mārwār a number of salutary reforms in the system of weights and measures similar to those which had already been done under his influence in Mewār But Mārwār could not long profit by his presence In 1432, his nephew Rāṇā Mokal was killed. This brought Raṇamalla again in Mewār and thanks to his endeavour Mokal's son Kumbha secured the throne The new ruler was young and not yet out of difficulties and therefore Raṇamalla must have felt his presence in Mewār necessary. But his presence in and influence over the State raised against him the ill-feeling of the Śisodiyā *sardārs* who brought about his assassination in Chitor in 1438, as mentioned above

At the time of Ranamalla's death his son Jodhā was also in Chitor, but his father had just managed to pass a note of warning, so that Jodhā fled in hot haste towards Mārwār, closely pursued by the Śisodiyā *sardārs* Thus began that long feud between the two clans that lasted for centuries.

Jodhā could not at first make any stand against the Śisodiyā invasion. Rāṭhor lands were occupied and Śisodiyā garrisons were established at important places to hold the country under subjection. Jodhā was compelled to take shelter in the *thal* or desert and from his hiding places sought to recover the paternal lands, but without effect About this time however there took place a change in the inter-state politics in Western India, which offered an opportu-

nity to the Rāṭhor chieftain. The relations between Mewār and Mālwa had become strained and ultimately led to an open war which began about 1443 and lasted till about 1448. After a truce of eight years, the war was renewed; but on this occasion the Sultāns of Gujarāt and Mālwa were in alliance against Rāṇa Kumbha of Mewār. This phase of the struggle lasted till about 1458.

The Rāṭhor *Khyats* maintain that Jodhā obtained important successes against Mewār during this period. The Śiśodiyā *sardārs* were driven away from one position after another. Thus Choksi, Kosano, Mandor, Sojhat, Mertā and Ajmere fell into Rāṭhor hands. Ultimately in 1459 he was able to lay the foundation of the modern city of Jodhpur The Rāṭhor *Khyats* naturally give all the credit of this success to their ruler Jodhā and do not at all mention that the enemy was simultaneously involved in struggle with Gujarāt and Mālwa. But a study of the Muslim accounts along with those in the Rāṭhor *Khyats* leaves no doubt that Jodhā took advantage of Mewār's struggles with the Muslim States and was in alliance with the latter against Mewār. It was a policy that was suggested by the circumstances. Besides, it is interesting to note that while Rāṭhor *Khyats* maintain that on one occasion Jodhā carried away the gates of the city of Chitor as trophies, the Muslim historian of Gujarāt ascribes the same achievement to the Sultān of Gujarāt Hemmed in by the enemies the Mewār ruler was compelled to follow the policy of creating a division in their ranks. In 1458, therefore, a treaty was made with Jodhā. According to the Mewār chronicles, it was through the intercession of the dowager Rānī Hamsabāi, who requested Kumbha not to put her grand-nephew Jodhā to greater difficulties, that very lenient terms were offered to the latter. In the light of what has been said above this version cannot be regarded as embodying the whole truth.

The first 20 years of Jodhā's reign (1438-58) form an interesting landmark in the evolution of the Rāṭhor State which was gradually assuming its modern shape Throughout this period, but more specially during the next 30 years (1458-1488), another aspect of Rāṭhor history also came more and more into prominence. This was the dispersal of the Rāṭhor princes in various directions and the foundation of new principalities by them Two factors helped this process—the extraordinary fecundity of the ruling family and the opportunities offered by the political situation of Western India in general and Rājputāna in particular at that time.

Jodhā had seventeen sons and it was not possible to secure for each one of them an appanage within the State itself. Hence the younger princes sought to acquire contiguous lands and effect settle-

ment therein. Thus one of his sons, Sātal, captured the lands near Phalodhi and founded an estate called after him Sātalmer. Another son, Bikā, occupied Nāgaur and founded the city called Bikaner after himself. Still another, Dudā by name, occupied Mertā and his descendants ruled there under the name of Mertia Rāṭhors. It is difficult to ascertain how far these activities were due to the princes themselves or to the help rendered them by the central authority. Two facts are however clear. These princes occasionally received help from the central authority, especially in times of difficulty. Secondly, at least some of the conquests were made under the auspices of the central government which placed the conquered territories under the control of some members of the family. It seems clear that the bond between these daughter settlements and the mother-State was very uncertain and therefore caused troubles in the future. It was quite likely that these settlements might claim full independence or, on the contrary, the mother-State might insist upon a full authority over the former. For the time being, during the period of early development, these problems did not arise But they were sure to arise in the future, and fifty years later they formed the most vital ones for the State.

The necessities of Rāṭhor family thus helped the development of the States; still it would not have been possible without the aid of contemporary political condition. The place of a strong Sultanate in Delhi was now taken by half a dozen smaller principalities which were all engaged in wars of aggression. To ambitious young men as the Rāṭhor princes were, no situation could have been more welcome

During the next forty-four years (1488-1532), the throne of Jodhpur was occupied by three princes—Sātal (1488-1491), Sujā (1491-1515) and Gāngā (1515-1532). Two important features mark the history of this period, namely, struggle for succession, and attempts made by the central authority to exercise control over the other branches of the family

The death of Jodhā in 1488 was followed by a struggle among his sons for succession This was due to several circumstances. Firstly, the rules of succession were not yet definitely fixed. Usually the rule of primogeniture was followed, but it had not yet received universal acceptance More often than not, actual possession of power counted far more than primogenitory rights. Probably in a struggling community like the Rāthors, the growth of the State was helped by the acknowledgment of the successful leader as the lawful sovereign as well. Besides, the *sardārs* possessed great powers in the State and any claimant who had the support of a

strong group among them was almost sure to get the desired position. Hence the aspirants to the throne sought to enlist their support and in many cases, if not all, the successful canvasser was the successful candidate. But the most potent cause of succession troubles was to be found in the social custom by which every prince had a number of wives. The consequence was that there took place quarrels among the co-wives, each trying to get the throne for her son on the husband's death.

Of the seventeen sons of Jodhā, the eldest, according to the *Khyats*, was Nibo who was the *ṭīkāyet* or heir apparent. But Nibo died, leaving no issue, before his father. Unfortunately, the *Khyats* do not help us to form a clear idea about the order of Nibo's brothers according to seniority. In an article discussing the situation, Dr. Tessitori maintains that in a *Khyat*, discovered in Phalodhi, it is mentioned that after Jodhā's death, the nobles were going to place the *ṭīkā* on Joga but he was found demented Thereupon they consecrated Sātal instead who appears to have stood next by birth. Shortly afterwards, however, Sātal died and Bikā came to Jodhpur in the hope of securing the throne The fact that being a stranger in Jodhpur for many years he came here and found a section of the people, including the commander of the fort of Jodhpur, ready to take up his cause, indicates that he stood next to Sātal in seniority But Bikā's attempt failed and another brother, Sujā, secured the the throne. In support of Sujā's claims the Jodhpur *Khyats* maintain that Sātal had adopted Sujā's son Naro and the latter again renounced his rights in favour of Sujā. It seems clear that from the point of view of heredity Sujā had no claims upon the Jodhpur throne. But although he had no legitimate claim to the throne of Jodhpur by birth, it was rendered valid by election by the assembly of the nobles who had the power to set aside the law of primogeniture and legalize the succession of a younger son.

History repeated itself when Sujā died in 1515 Rāṭhor *Khyats* maintain that Bāghā, his eldest son, had predeceased him leaving two sons by different wives, Viramjī and Gāṅgā. Normally the former should have secured the throne and on the eve of Sujā's death the nobles had met to put the *tīkā* on him. But Gāṅgā's mother won them over and thus Viramjī was passed over in favour of Gāngā. Viramjī, with the help of a section of the *sardārs*, secured the district of Sojhat.

Along with the struggles of succession and partly arising out of the same, attempts were constantly made by the central authority to maintain its control over the collateral branches of the ruling family. Of the offshoots of the Rāṭhor family, the earliest and the

most important was the branch at Bikāner founded by Bikā, Jodhā's son. Naturally, we find that immediately after Jodhā's death Sātal attempted to bring Bikā under his control, but without success. Failing against Bikāner, circumstances helped Sātal to pose as the overlord of another offshoot, Mertā, founded by Jodhā's son, Dudā. Mertā, being threatened by the Muslim governor of Ajmere, was compelled to turn to Sātal for help. The latter came with his army and inflicted a defeat on the Muslims, but he fell mortally wounded in the battlefield (1491).

Sujā occupied the district of Jetaran but gave it away as an appanage to one of his sons, while another received Phalodhi. Sujā however failed to assert his authority over Mertā and Bikāner. It is clear that the head of Jodhpur State was faced by difficult problems in its policy towards the collateral branches. The only method then known of holding new annexations was to leave them in the hands of members of the ruling family. But in nearly every case these tried to free themselves from their dependence upon the central authority, either in the same generation or in the next.

The rise and development of the Rāṭhor State of Mārwār, as traced in the preceding pages, throws a flood of light on the peculiar characteristics of the medieval Rājput State The Rāthor kingdom was really a conglomeration of smaller units—each such unit being ruled by a chieftain or *sardār* who belonged to the same clan as the head of the State itself In other words, the ruling faction in the State belonged to only one particular clan. Not only in Mārwār, but in the other Rājput States also the same peculiarity is noticeable 'One clan one State' may therefore be regarded as the most significant feature of the Rājput policy

Col Tod found in the Rājput system an exact parallel to the feudalism of medieval Europe, and he has taken pains to point out that all the incidents that were to be found in the latter had also their counterparts in the former. There are certainly some superficial resemblances, due, no doubt, to the prevalence of similar conditions and problems For example, in days of difficult communication, the only practicable way of maintaining the authority of the State in the distant parts of the same was to vest almost sovereign authority in the local governors But this did not constitute the essence of European feudalism. In it, the most fundamental idea was that the king was the sole landowner in the country, and the vassals could only be landholders. In medieval Rajputāna, however, the State belonged to the clan, the king being only the mouthpiece of the same. That this was the conception held about the Rājput kingship may be understood from the tribal organization of

the State as mentioned above, and the fact that whenever the king did anything against the interest of the State, the *sardārs* could, and did, depose him, and select a person on the throne, even if he had no primogenitary claims in his favour. Even as late as the nineteenth century this was the idea maintained about the position of the king *vis-à-vis* the clan. Col. Tod refers to a memorandum sent by the *sardārs* of Mārwār against their king Mānsingh to the E.I.Co in which occur the following words[44]:—

"When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord; when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land".

It is also interesting to note in this connection that in Europe the age of feudalism was followed by that of royal despotism which thrived on the theory of 'divine right'. In Rājputāna, it was not and could not be so. For, if the king claimed divinity, it was equally shared by the clansmen who and the king were sons of the same father. The term used in Rājputāna to denote the clan including the king was "Bhāyyād" or brotherhood Again, since the king was the social head, it was not possible for others than legitimate members of the clan to be raised to the throne. In Europe, the bastard William, Duke of Normandy, could become the king of feudal England. But in Rājputāna such a thing was unthinkable.[45]

At the end of our period, however, we notice a change gradually affecting the position of the Rājput king. From being the *primus inter pares* he was slowly becoming the irresponsible head of the State. This was no doubt due to the influence of the Sultanate For when the Sultāns set up their authority over the Rājput States, they followed the policy of always supporting the local potentate; hence the power of the ruler of the Rājput State increased at the expense of the right of the clan. Lest one may think that some sort of popular government is indicated by the power of the clansmen over the State, it must be remembered that in every Rājput State the ruling clan was only a minority. The bulk of the people were non-Rājputs and did not belong to the ruling clan. The Rājput government was therefore that of a handful of people of one clan over many who had not the good fortune of being members of this privileged clan.

The Rājput military organization also may be understood when the tribal foundation of the State is borne in mind. In warfare, the king was helped by the armies of the chieftains or *sardārs*. But each chieftain was the leader of the men of his own sub-clan or subsection of the clan. When the battle began, we find the members of each sub-section fighting under the banner of their own leader

The Rājputs fought on horseback. But he did not fight because he enjoyed any knights' fee granted him by the sovereign of the State or his immediate leader, as in Europe. He fought because as a member of the clan he must support his clan, and it was as such that the State had to support him by giving him an appanage or otherwise.

In military organization also a change was slowly coming over the Rājput idea. At the end of the period with which this chapter deals, we notice some attempts to introduce infantry by one or two prominent rulers, and thus to create an army of the ruler as opposed to an army of the clan This also was no doubt due to the influence of the Muslim State. The effects of these attempts are however to be seen in the next period of the history of the Rājputs.

APPENDIX

A note on the chronology of the period.

The chronology of the Rājput kings in the fourteenth century, as followed in this chapter, differs from that of Tod and later writers such as Sarda and Ojha. All are agreed upon the names of the ruling princes and the order of their succession. The differences are about the dates to be assigned to the individual reigns

The reign-period of Hammīr is given as A D. 1301-1365. It has however escaped the attention of the distinguished writers that in A D. 1303, when 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī captured Chitor, Ratnasiṁha was the ruling prince After Ratnasiṁha came Lakshmaṇasiṁha, followed by his son Ajayasiṁha, and, thereafter, the latter's nephew Hammīr. It is clear that there was an interval between A.D. 1303 and the accession of Hammīr. In this chapter A.D. 1314 (for reasons shown) has been accepted as the date of Hammīr's accession And, since our authorities assign to Hammīr a reign of 64 years, his death may be placed at A D. 1378.

Sarda and Ojha, however, refer to an *unpublished* inscription which is said to have been inscribed in A.D. 1366 in the reign of Kshetrasimha, Hammīr's son. If the date is correct, Hammīr's accession could not have taken place later than A.D. 1302, provided the reign of 64 years assigned to Hammīr be regarded as accurate. But we have seen that A D 1302 could not have been the date of Hammīr's accession Hence we have either to discard the idea of a reign of 64 years for Hammīr and accept the correctness of the inscription, or, admit the accuracy of a reign of 64 years and regard the date A.D. 1366 as inaccurate. Since, however, all authorities, without exception, assign to Hammīr a reign of 64 years, this should be accepted in preference to the evidence of an inscription *which has not been published* and may not have been correctly deciphered. An instance of a mistake of a similar nature committed by scholars with regard to a contemporary inscription may be mentioned in this connection Misled by Tod's figures, Tessitori read the date in

the Kot-Solankia inscription of V. S. 1475, as V. S. 1445, and was long followed by later writers. (*A list of Inscriptions of Northern India* by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, p. 105).

Hammir was succeeded by his son Kshetrasiṁha to whom Tod assigns a reign of 8 years (A.D. 1365-1373). According to Sarda and Ojha, however, he ruled 18 years (A.D. 1364-1382). Kshtrasiṁha's son and successor was Lakshasimha or Lākhā who is credited with a reign of 25 years by Tod (A.D 1373-1398) Sarda asigns to him a reign of 15 years (A D. 1382-1397) at p 8, but 37 years (A.D. 1382-1419) at p. 22. Ojha accepts the last figure. There is thus much disagreement among the scholars about the dates of these princes which demand further examination.

To fix the dates of these princes we may take the help of inscriptions, where available, as well as the internal evidence of synchronism of these princes with others of their times for whom we have definite dates.

So far as Kshetrasiṁha is concerned, we have only one inscription of his reign, dated A D. 1389, mentioned by Tod (Vol. III, p. 1802). The Kumbhalgarh inscription of A.D 1460 (verse 196 in the fourth slab) states that Kshetrasiṁha threw into prison Ranamalla of Ela (Īdar) who had humbled the pride of Dafar Khān (Zafar Khān), ruler of Pattana (Anahilwāḍ in Gujarāt) According to the history of Gujarāt, clashes between Zafar Khān and Raṇamalla of Īdar continued for nearly 3 years (A D 1394-1397) (Above, p 155; *Bombay Gazetteer, Vol* I, Pt 2, 232-3; also Bayley *History of Gujarāt*, 76 ff). The imprisonment of Raṇamalla by Kshetrasiṁha apparently took place after A D 1397. In other words Kshetrasiṁha was alive even after A D 1397 Again, the same inscription, verse 202, also refers to Kshetrasiṁha's struggle with Ami-Shāh (Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī of Mālwa) and says that the former "seized Ami-Shāh just as a snake does a frog" Firishta informs us that in A.D. 1405 Alp Khān, later known as Sultān Hūshang Ghūrī poisoned his father Dilāwar Khān and occupied the throne of Mālwa The cryptic remarks in the inscription, noted above, suggest that Rānā Kshetrasiṁha had probably a share in the catastrophe that ended Dilāvar's life This is to say that Kshetrasiṁha was alive in A.D. 1405, if not later.

The dates for Kshetrasiṁha postulated in the chapter seem justified from other considerations as well All relevant inscriptions devote a large space to Kshetrasimha and refer a number of achievements to his credit Along with this may also be considered the account given in the *Rasikapriyā* commentary of the *Gītagovinda* written by Kshetrasiṁha's great-grandson, Rānā Kumbha, where Kshetrasiṁha is said to have died a centenarian (Introduction to the *Rasikapriyā*, verse 9). All evidence thus points to a long and prosperous reign of Kshetrasiṁha His reign may be therefore said to have continued for 27 years (A.D 1378-1405), if not more.

Kshetrasiṁha was succeeded by his son Lakshasiṁha or Lākhā of whose reign we have two inscriptions dated A.D 1411 and A.D. 1417 respectively. From what we know of him from Tod's *Annals*

of *Mewār* as well as Muhanote Nensi's *Khyat*, it appears that he was already advanced in years when he came to the throne. This is quite in keeping with the fact, indicated above, that his father died at a very old age. Besides, both Mewār and Mārwar records indicate that throughout a large part of Lakshasiṁha's reign, Raṇamalla, son of Rāi Chuṇḍā of Mandor and brother of Haṁsabāi (whom Lākhā married late in his life), enjoyed an important position in the court of Mewār, so much so that his hands could be traced in all notable activities of the reign. Now, according to some Mārwār records Raṇamalla was born in A D. 1392 (Reu—*Bhārat ke Prāchīna Rājavaṁśa* III, 140). Apparently he could not have played a significant part in his brother-in-law's principality until he had attained the age of discretion From this consideration also it appears that Lākhā's accession took place not very long before A.D. 1411, the earliest ascertained date of his reign. The death of Lākhā took place some time between A D. 1417, the last known date of his reign, and A D. 1421, the earliest known date of his son and successor, Rānā Mokal.

B. ORISSA

I. THE EASTERN GAṄGAS

With the death of Narasiṁha I in A D, 1264,[1] the great days of the Gaṅga dynasty came to an end. Narasiṁha I was succeeded by his son Bhānudeva I, who died after an uneventful reign of fifteen years, leaving an infant son, Narasiṁha II For the first twelve years of the reign of Narasiṁha II, the famous Vaishnava scholar, Narahari Tīrtha, acted as the regent, he was a disciple of Ānanda Tīrtha, the founder of the Dvaita or the Mādhva school of philosophy After Narahari's retirement from office, Narasiṁha took the management of the kingdom in his own hands (A D 1290) Narasiṁha II had a long but uneventful reign of twenty-seven years (A D 1279-1306) It was surmised by R D Banerji that he led a campaign against the Muslims of Bengal, but the view was based on an erroneous interpretation of one of Narasiṁha's records [2]

Narasiṁha II was succeeded by his son Bhānudeva II The Puri Plates of Narasiṁha IV give him credit for a victory over a king named Gayāsadina who has been correctly identified with the Tughluq Sultān, Ghiyās-ud-dīn There is, however, nothing to support the contention of R D Banerji that "Bhānudeva II had fought with Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq during his campaign in Bengal" [3] The reference is obviously to the invasion of Orissa by Ghiyās-ud-dīn's son Ulugh Khān during the reign of the former, to which reference has been made above There seems to be little doubt that though the Muslim forces gained some successes at first, Bhānudeva II ultimately forced them to withdraw In the days when one Hindu

State after another was crashing beneath the hammering blows of the Muslim hosts, it was no mean achievement on the part of Bhānudeva II. It is significant that the Muslim historians make only a very brief or passing reference to this expedition.

Bhānudeva II died in A.D. 1328. He was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha III, who had an uneventful reign of twenty-four years and was succeeded by his son Bhānudeva III. During his reign Orissa showed visible signs of decay which had probably already set in during the preceding reign. She now became the victim of a series of foreign aggressions, which brought ruin and misery upon her people. Shortly after the accession of Bhānudeva III Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh of Bengal raided Orissa and carried away a rich booty including forty-four elephants.[4] Next, the country was invaded by Fīrūz Tughluq. The flight of king Bhānudeva III, the occupation of his capital city by the Sultān, the massacre of the people, and the desecration of the famous temple of Jagannātha at Puri, to which detailed reference has been made above,[5] must have shattered the power and prestige of the royal family.

But Orissa suffered no less from the aggressions of her Hindu neighbours,[6] particularly the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu.[7] Their small but rich kingdom, situated in the fertile deltas of the Krishnā and the Godāvarī, became at this period the buffer between Vijayanagara, Orissa and the Bahmanī kingdoms as well as their coveted prize War between the Reḍḍis and Orissa seems to have started during the reign of Bhānudeva III, when the Reḍḍi king Anapotā (A D. 1355-1364), after the conquest of the Krishnā-Godāvarī deltas, seems to have led an expedition against Orissa Anavema, the successor of Anapotā, added the territory up to Siṁhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district, which thereafter became the boundary between Orissa and Koṇḍavīḍu and the bone of contention between the two kingdoms.

Bhānudeva III was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha IV, some time about A D. 1378 It was during his reign that Khvāja Jahān founded the independent principality of Jaunpur, as mentioned above. He tried to restore the lost authority of the Delhi Sultanate over the eastern regions It is remarked by Nizām-ud-dīn in this connection, that the "Rāy of Jājnagar and the bādshāh of Lakhnaouti sent to him the presents and the tribute which they had every year sent to Sultān Firoz Shāh".[8] No previous historian has referred to any regular tribute sent by the king of Orissa, and possibly it refers to the annual present of elephants which were promised by Bhānudeva III when he submitted to Fīrūz, as mentioned above. There is nothing to show that this promise was regu-

larly kept, and in any case it means nothing more than a formal but meaningless recognition of the authority of the Sultanate This is fully proved, if proof were necessary, by the fact that, in the chapter dealing specifically with the Sharqīs and describing the territories over which Khvāja Jahān established his authority, Nizām-ud-dīn does not refer to Jājnagar or Orissa[9] Badāūnī says that Khvāja Jahān proceeded as far as Jājnagar and took possession of it, but, as pointed out by Ranking, who edited and translated the text, it was probably a mistake for Jaunpur.[10] Firishta, like Nizām-ud-dīn, says that the ruler of Bengal was forced to pay tribute[11] but, unlike him, makes no reference to the payment of tribute by Orissa. We may therefore dismiss the idea that Jaunpur exercised any authority over Orissa.

Major Raverty, in course of his discussion on the identity of Jājnagar, stated that "Sulṭān Fīrūẓ, Bahmanī, entered it in 815 H., and carried off a number of elephants".[12] He does not cite his authority, but probably relied on a passage of Firishta which has been translated by Briggs as follows: "In the year 815, the King went, on pretence of hunting, into the country of Gondwara, which he laid waste, and brought away near (sic) three hundred elephants"[13]. It is difficult therefore to accept the view of Raverty, and of others who have relied on him, that the Bahmanī Sultān invaded Orissa and carried off a number of elephants [14]

But whatever we might think of these raids, the growing power of the Reḍḍis was a real menace to the safety and security of Orissa. For a time this danger seemed to be removed, for the Reḍḍi kingdom was convulsed, first by a disputed succession, and next by Vijayanagara invasion. Taking advantage of this situation Narasimha IV recovered some of his lost territories in central and south Kalinga. His success was, however, shortlived, for the Reḍḍis soon became very powerful under their famous king Kumāragiri, who, in A D. 1390, invaded Orissa and reached the shores of the Chilkā lake. This must have dealt another severe blow to the power and prestige of the Gaṅga kings, though Kumāragiri's raid did not produce any permanent result of importance

Narasimha IV was succeeded by his son Bhānudeva IV in or some time before A.D 1414.[15] In the meantime a serious civil war had broken out amongst the Reḍḍis after the death of Kumāragiri in A.D. 1402.[16] He had placed the province of Rājahmundry under his brother-in-law Kāṭaya Vema, and was succeeded at Koṇḍavīḍu, the Reḍḍi capital, by Peda Komaṭi Vema. The two principalities of Koṇḍavīḍu and Rājahmundry came into conflict after the death of Kumāragiri Kāṭaya Vema died in a battle, and taking advantage

of the situation Bhānudeva attacked the kingdom of Rājahmundry which was at that time administered by Allāḍa, the general of Kāṭaya Vema. Bhānudeva's invasion seems to have induced Vijayanagara to send an army to help Allāḍa. However, Allāḍa soon managed to end hostilities with Orissa and thereafter skilfully maintained friendly relations with both Orissa and Vijayanagara, as recorded in an inscription of his son which claims that Allāḍa had made friends with both Gajapati (Bhānudeva IV) and Karnāta. (Vijayanagara).[17]

This alliance with the Reḍḍi chief seems to have stood Bhānudeva in good stead when, some time later, in A.D. 1422, he was treacherously captured by Sultān Hūshang of Mālwa, as mentioned above According to Muslim historians, Hūshang, being in urgent need of elephants, proceeded to Orissa in the guise of a trader in horses and other goods. When Bhānudeva, accompanied by a small retinue, came to visit the caravan, he was seized by Hūshang and carried away, and was not released till after a number of valuable elephants were presented to the treacherous Sultān There are, however, good grounds to believe that the Muslim account does not contain the whole truth Epigraphic as well as literary evidences seem to leave no doubt that Hūshang was defeated by the Reḍḍi chief, Allāḍa, and according to one source, the latter caused the horses of the former to be plundered. Now, according to Muslim historians, Hūshang took with him horses of different colours which the king of Orissa prized most; and Hūshang is not known to have carried any other expedition in this region It may be therefore surmised that the battle between Hūshang and the Reḍḍi chief Allāḍa was connected with the treacherous attempt of the former to abduct Bhānudeva It is not unlikely that Allāḍa, as soon as he heard the news of Hūshang's treacherous conduct, hastened to the aid of Bhānudeva, and the defeat he inflicted upon Hūshang had something to do with the release of Bhānudeva IV. In any case, Hūshang's raid had no effect on the power of Orissa, and Hūshang was severely molested bv Allāda Reddi during his return journev to Mālwa[17a]

Allāḍa died about A D. 1423, and soon after his death Bhānudeva invaded the Reddi kingdom He seems to have been helped by the Velama chiefs of Teliṅgāna and conquered the whole of the coastal Telugu country No records of the Reddis of Koṇḍavīdu for the period between A.D 1425 and 1432, and the Reḍḍis of Rājahmundry between A D. 1423 and 1428 have yet come to light, though before and after these dates their records are available in series. It has therefore been assumed, that during this interval the Reḍḍi

kingdom passed into the hands of Bhānudeva, and this is corroborated by several *kaifiyats* of the villages in the coastal districts of the Telugu country.[18]

Bhānudeva, however, had soon to face the might of the Vijayanagara empire. He could no longer count on the support of his Velama allies as they had been crushed in the meantime by the Bahmanī king. Bhānudeva at first fared very badly in his fight with Vijayanagara A Vijayanagara inscription of A.D. 1429 states that Devarāya defeated the Gajapati, and another inscription at Simhāchalam shows, that by A D. 1428 the Vijayanagara army had reached that place. Bhānudeva, however, probably recaptured the place, for one of his records found at Simhāchalam is dated Śaka 1352 (A.D. 1430).[19] But some time before A.D. 1434 he was finally dislodged from this region by the Reḍḍis.[20] While Bhānudeva was thus engaged in the south, a palace revolution had taken place against him. Taking advantage of his long absence from the capital and his reverses in the field, his ministers raised one Kapilendra to the throne (c A D. 1434-5) Bhānudeva must have felt unable to face this new calamity According to the *Gaṅgavaṁśānucharitam*, the only available evidence, on hearing the news of the revolution, he expelled the chief of Guḍāri-Kaṭaka and settled there. His last days were passed in this place, but nothing more is known of this unfortunate ex-ruler of Orissa.[21]

II THE GAJAPATI KINGS OF ORISSA

1. *Kapilendra*

The dynasty established by Kapilendra is known as the Suryavaṁśa, because the kings of the family claimed descent from the sun They are also known as the Gajapati kings of Orissa, because all of them adopted that *biruda* (epithet)

No reliable information is available about the ancestors or the early life of Kapilendra, and the circumstances which led to his accession are also far from clear. It seems that after his accession (c A.D 1434-35), Kapilendra had to overcome some opposition and adopted the popular measure of remitting taxes on salt and *cowries*. Soon after, he started a career of conquest which has made his name famous in the annals of Orissa

Kapilendra seems to have gradually extended his sway over the south, and conquered the Vishākhāpatam (Vizagapatam) district by A.D 1443 Though his further attack upon Rājahmundry ended in failure during the reign of Devarāya II (1422-46), he succeeded in seizing the Godāvarī delta after his death. Between 1450-54 the

Orissan army reduced Rājahmundry, crossed the Krishnā and captured Koṇḍaviḍu, as has already been mentioned above in Chapter XII.

On the basis of a statement in the *Gaṅgādāsa-pratāpa-vilāsam*, it is generally held that Kapilendra, allied with the Bahmanī Sultān, attacked Vijayanagara, but was defeated by the young king Mallikārjuna. This statement is not supported by any contemporary evidence, and it is difficult to believe that Kapilendra allied himself with the Bahmanīs, with whom his relation was far from cordial.[21a]

Kapilendra was also successful in his campaign against Bengal. It appears that he captured some territories in West Bengal to the west of the Gaṅgā, including the fort of Māndāran (Hooghly district), though it seems to have been lost later. According to Nizām-ud-dīn and Firishta, Jājnagar, that is Orissa, was twice invaded during this period by the rulers of Jaunpur. In A. D. 1444-45, Mahmūd Shāh is said to have reduced the province of Orissa and destroyed the temples and plundered its wealth. Husain Shāh sent a large army against Orissa shortly after his accession. The king of Orissa, unable to resist, conciliated the invader with presents.[21b] It is also known that during the reign of Sultān 'Ālā-ud-dīn Ahmad II (A.D. 1436-1458) border skirmishes took place at Telingāna between the forces of Orissa and the Bahmanī empire. Though Tabātabā maintains that Sanjar Khān, the Bahmanī general, "used constantly to take as prisoners the cursed people of the districts", it appears that the Bahmanī forces really gained very little success, for he states: "The Sultān ('Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad) himself used often to say. 'Why does Sanjar Khān match himself in battle against the possessors of elephants?' For at that time in the government of Bahmanī Sultāns there were not more than about one hundred and fifty elephants whilst those infidels had nearly two hundred thousand."[22]

But a more serious clash between Orissa and the Bahmanī empire came about 1458 when two Bahmanī nobles rebelled against their Sultān, Humāyūn II, and received help from the Velama chief of Telingāna, whereupon the Bahmanī forces besieged Devarakoṇḍa (Nalgondā district), the stronghold of the Velamas. The Velamas, reduced to extremities, appealed for help to Kapilendra, who sent his eldest son Hamvīra with a large army. Tabātabā writes that the king of Orissa, "from greed of gain and for the defence of paganism, thought himself bound to assist the infidels of that fortress; so he sent a countless force with a hundred elephants to the assistance of the defenders of the fortress" (of Devarakoṇḍa) The Bahmanī commander learnt in time of the advance of the Orissan army, but before he could extricate his troops from their unfavourable position, the

Orissan army came upon them and the Velamas also sallied out from the fort. Caught between the two forces, the Bahmanī army was routed, and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted. The Musulmāns were pursued to a distance of 3 *farsakhs*, nearly six or seven thousand of their cavalry were killed, and a great number, besides, died of thirst in the deserts."[23] Shortly afterwards, Hamvīra conquered Warangal.

Humāyūn Shāh died in 1461 and was succeeded by his son Nizām Shāh, a boy of eight. Taking advantage of the situation Kapilendra advanced into the interior of the Bahmanī empire, plundering the country within a distance of ten miles from the capital. Then his advance was checked by the Bahmanī army and evidently Kapilendra was defeated; but the statement of Muslim historians that an advance guard of 160 horsemen routed the invading Orissa army, flushed with victory, is hardly credible

Kapilendra next sent an army under Hamvīra to conquer the Tamil coastal districts. Hamvīra first captured Udayagiri, some time after A D. 1463, and later, Chandragiri also fell into his hands. The Orissan army next took Kāñchī by force, and in A.D. 1464 reached the Kāverī Kapilendra seems to have attempted the permanent annexation of the newly conquered territories, but soon had to give up most of it, as has been stated above[23a] In A.D. 1464, Kapilendra advanced as far as Vijayawāḍā (Bezwada), but returned from that place Again in A D. 1467 he reached the river Krishnā, apparently in an attempt to reconquer the Tamil districts, but he died there, probably in February, 1467, though some place this event in A D. 1470.[23b]

Kapilendra was the most powerful Hindu king of his time, and under him Orissa became an empire stretching from the lower Gaṅgā in the north to the Kāverī in the south. But great as his military genius undoubtedly was, it was not matched by his statesmanship. He failed to recognize the need and importance of an alliance with the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagara against the Muslim rulers of Bengal and the Deccan, and instead of measuring arms with them, he exhausted his resources in trying to conquer the outlying provinces of Vijayanagara. He thereby left a legacy of hostility with Vijayanagara and two formidable Muslim enemies on his two other frontiers, which ultimately led to the downfall of his dynasty.

2. *Purushottama*

Before his death, Kapilendra had nominated his younger son, Purushottama, to succeed him. This enraged the valiant Hamvīra,

who was probably the eldest son of Kapilendra. Soon after his accession, Purushottama set out to recover the Tamil districts which were lost during the last years of his father's reign. Purushottama advanced up to Kāñchī, but returned without gaining any success. It was a dismal failure, but worse things were yet to come.

In A.D. 1471, the discontented Hamvīra joined the Bahmanī Sultān, and being assured of help to regain his throne, conquered for him the provinces of Rājahmundry and Koṇḍavīḍu. But as soon as the conquests were over, the Bahmanīs lost all interest in Hamvīra, and he was only granted an asylum at Koṇḍavīḍu. Some time later, the garrison at Koṇḍavīḍu murdered their commander and delivered the fort to Hamvīra. According to Firishta, Hamvīra then sent a message to Purushottama promising to surrender the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu and its dependencies to him in exchange for Telingāna. Thus assured, Purushottama advanced and captured Rājahmundry, but soon after gave it up in the face of a strong Bahmanī attack which threatened to cut off his lines of communications with his capital According to Firishta, the Bahmanī Sultān, Muhammad III, then pursued the Orissan army and invaded Orissa, forcing Purushottama to purchase peace by surrendering twenty-five of his best elephants

Muhammad III next advanced against Hamvīra who, from the Koṇḍavīḍu fort, had carried out depredations into the Bahmanī territory. Hamvīra surrendered the fort after a siege of five months What happened to him after this incident is not known. Taking advantage of this situation Sāluva Narasimha recovered Udayagiri.

Purushottama, however, took advantage of the rapid decline that set in in the Bahmanī kingdom after the death of Mahmūd Gāvān in 1481, and of Muhammad III in the following year He reconquered Udayagiri, and thereafter seems to have enjoyed peace till his death between April and September, 1497.

3. *Pratāparudra and his successors*

Purushottama was succeeded by his son Pratāparudra, the last great king of the dynasty Shortly after his accession Pratāparudra advanced with an army to conquer the south, but, after reaching the Pennār, abandoned the project for some unknown reason. However, after the accession of Kṛishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1509), Pratāparudra again proceeded to the south, presumably to adopt defensive measures, and stayed there at least up to October, 1510 Taking advantage of his absence, Sultān Husain Shāh of Bengal invaded Orissa, captured Puri, and destroyed the idols in the Jagannātha temple[24] On receipt of the news, Pratāparudra hurried

north and Husain Shāh retreated to Bengal where he took shelter in the fort of Māndāran (Hooghly district). Pratāparudra besieged the fort but, due to the treachery of one of his generals, Govinda Vidyādhara, was compelled to come to terms with Husain Shāh.

In A.D. 1513, Kṛishṇadevarāya declared war upon the Gajapati. It was a protracted war lasting over five years of which a detailed account has been given above in Chapter XII Kṛishṇadeva invaded the southern part of Pratāparudra's empire and, after a siege of eighteen months, captured the fort of Udayagiri on June 9, 1514.[25] Next year Kṛishṇadeva again led a campaign against Pratāparudra, which began with the capitulation of a number of fortified places in the Guntur District, and ended with the fall of Koṇḍavīḍu. The fort of Koṇḍavīḍu was captured by a vigorous assault on June 23, 1515, and several princes of Orissa, together with a son and a queen of Pratāparudra, were taken prisoners. By the end of the year Kṛishṇadeva opened his third campaign against Orissa, captured Bezwada, and besieged the fort of Koṇḍapalli which surrendered after a brief resistance. Pratāparudra, according to Nuniz, advanced against his enemy with a large force, but was defeated and put to flight Krishṇadeva completed this campaign by capturing Rājahmundry He advanced as far as Siṁhāchalam and then returned to his capital; but his army advanced as far as Śrīkurmam, where a pillar of victory was erected.[26]

Hostilities were brought to an end by a treaty concluded some time before August 8, 1519[26a] According to Nuniz, a contemporary writer, when the Orissan Prince, Vīrabhadra, who was taken prisoner after the fall of Koṇḍavīḍu, had committed suicide as he felt insulted at the court of Vijayanagara, Pratāparudra became afraid for the safety of his wife, who was also a prisoner at Vijayanagara, and concluded peace with Krishṇarāya. This account has been doubted by some, though on very insufficient grounds[27] But it is quite likely that apart from sentimental grounds caused by repeated defeats, the precarious military position of Pratāparudra was a great incentive to peace-efforts on his part By this treaty he had to cede all the territories to the south of the Krishṇā According to Nuniz, he had also to give his daughter in marriage to Kṛishṇadeva This marriage proved unhappy and the queen was neglected by her husband,[28] adding one more to the list of grievances of Pratāparudra against the king of Vijayanagara. It is no wonder, therefore, that he should have made one more effort to settle accounts with that kingdom after the death of Kṛishṇadeva, who had proved more than a match for him. There are some grounds to believe that immediately after the death of Kṛishṇadeva he invaded the kingdom of

Vijayanagara, but was defeated and driven away,[29] although the evidence in support of it cannot be regarded as conclusive.[30]

Not long after Pratāparudra had concluded the treaty with Kṛishṇadeva, and probably before the death of the latter, he suffered the loss of Telingāna which was conquered by Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Bahmanī king, and, later, the founder of the independent Sultanate of Golconda Qutb-ul-Mulk ultimately conquered the whole of the Krishnā-Godāvarī *doāb,* and as he died in A.D. 1543, probably the conquest took place during the lifetime of Pratāparudra, whose death took place about A.D. 1540.[31]

Thus from a purely military and political point of view the reign of Pratāparudra was an inglorious one, and though the kingdom he left to his successor after his death was fairly big—almost as large as that of the Gaṅgas at the height of their power—the sun of glory of the Gajapatis suffered an eclipse during his reign and may be said to have set at his death. He was succeeded by his son Kāluādeva who was murdered after a reign of about a year and a half, by Govinda Vidyādhara, whose treachery has been mentioned above. Kāluādeva's brother Kakhāruādeva, then ascended the throne, but was murdered by the same Vidyādhara after about three months. With Kakhāruādeva the Sūryavaṁśī dynasty came to an end, and the traitor Govinda Vidyādhara seized the kingdom.

Whatever we might think of the political career of Pratāparudra, he occupies a prominent place in the religious history of India on account of his close intimacy with Śrī Chaitanya, the great Vaishṇava saint of Bengal, who spent the last seventeen years of his life at Puri. There is no doubt that Pratāparudra was greatly influenced by the teaching of Chaitanya, but it is a moot point to decide whether, and if so how far, his political discomfiture may be attributed to this fact. R. D. Banerji has taken an extreme view in this matter, and even goes so far as to say that "Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of the empire and the people of Orissa"[32] As a concrete evidence in support of his view he has partially quoted a passage from the *Chaitanya-maṅgala,* a Bengali Vaishṇava work, which possesses great interest for more reasons than one. Chaitanya visited Puri when Sultān Husain Shāh of Bengal had already commenced his hostile activities against Orissa. Although this Sultān has been highly eulogized by several Bengali poets as an ideal king—one writer goes even so far as to say that he was the incarnation of Kṛishṇa—he possessed the bigotry and iconoclastic zeal which characterized the Muslim rulers in India. Chaitanya was fully aware of the oppressions committed upon the Hindus in Bengal during his reign and the destruction of images and

temples by him in Orissa. According to the Vaishṇava work referred to above, Pratāparudra desired to chastise Husain Shāh, and asked for the advice of Chaitanya. The latter dissuaded him on the ground that the Yavana invasion would ruin Orissa and the God Jagannātha would leave Puri (meaning that his temple and image would be destroyed). So Chaitanya advised Pratāparudra to conquer, not Bengal, but Kāñchī. It is difficult to say how far this statement is true, and whether, as R. D. Banerji holds, "the advice of Chaitanya was sufficient to cause this cowardly and religiously-minded king to desist from a proper defence of his own territories."[33] It is to be remembered that Chaitanya asked Pratāparudra not to invade Bengal, but never suggest that he should neglect the defensive measures against the invasion of Husain Shāh. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Pratāparudra did so. Today a Hindu might justly deplore the fact that the two great Hindu kingdoms of the first half of the sixteenth century should fight with each other instead of combining against their common foe, the Muslim rulers in their neighbourhood. But such attitude was not confined to religious men, nor is it due to Vaishṇava religion For instance, when Kṛishṇadeva expressed a desire to fight with the Muslim rulers, his ministers advised him to begin by destroying the power of the Gajapati king of Orissa[34] The Vaishṇava work, referred to above, winds up the account by saying that Pratāparudra accepted the advice of Chaitanya, and, therefore, instead of Gauḍa, he invaded Vijayanagara. It may be reasonably doubted whether a Gajapati king of Orissa would at all require any such advice to urge him to the invasion of Vijayanagara, with which there was a hereditary and perpetual enmity.

So far as evidence goes, Pratāparudra ably carried on his administration and even continued his military activities for many years after he had met Chaitanya and come under his influence It is, therefore, difficult to substantiate the charge that the influence of Vaishṇavism was at the root of his military failure and the political decline of Orissa. Surrounded by powerful enemies on all sides, having to fight simultaneously on two distant fronts against the powerful rulers of Bengal and Vijayanagara, and menaced by the Bahmanīs on the third, Pratāparudra's discomfiture admits of a natural explanation, and we need not drag in Saint Chaitanya to cover his fault, if any. Of course, it must be admitted that he did not belong to the type of his two illustrious predecessors, so far as personal ability and military skill were concerned, but that has been the case with most royal families, and the decline and fall of the Gajapati empire does not exhibit such unusual features as to call for any special explanation.

In conclusion, reference must be made to another unjustified charge against Pratāparudra made by several eminent Indian historians, namely that he made a common cause with the Muslim rulers of Bijāpur against the Hindu king of Vijayanagara. In this matter, again, R. D. Banerji takes an extreme view. "The acquisition of help" says he, "from a Musalman neighbour to fight with a Hindu adversary involved a moral and political degradation."[35] The denunciation was based solely upon the names of two prisoners captured by the Vijayanagara army after the fall of Koṇḍavīḍu, namely Rāchūri Mallū Khān and Uddaṇḍa Khān. These were taken to be Muslim names, and the presence of two Muslim officers at Koṇḍavīḍu was looked upon by both Krishna Sastri and S.K. Aiyangar as an indication of Gajapati's alliance with the Muslim rulers of the Deccan. But, as Venkataramanayya has justly pointed out, "the name Mallū, though occasionally borne by the Mussalmans, is a common personal name among the Hindus of South India at that time, and Uddaṇḍa is a purely Hindu name and is never met with among the Muhammadans. Then about the appellation, Khān, there is definite evidence to show that some Hindu chiefs of this age styled themselves Khān".[36] These facts are decisive in the matter: but even assuming that the two officers were Muslims, they hardly sustain the charge, for in that age the Hindu kings employed Muslim officers, and a large number of Muslim mercenaries were in the service of Vijayanagara. Even Purushottama Gajapati had some Muslim officers.[37] In view of all these considerations the unlucky king Pratāparudra must be exonerated from the charge that some notable Indian historians have brought against him on rather flimsy grounds.

C. KĀSHMIR

I. END OF HINDU RULE IN KĀSHMIR

The accession of Sūhadeva seemed to augur well for the kingdom of Kāshmir. After a period of anarchy and confusion, he united the whole kingdom under his authority and set up a stable government (A.D. 1301).[1] Unfortunately a great calamity befell his kingdom. Kāshmir was invaded by Ḍulucha, said to be the general of king Karmasena,[2] with 60,000 horsemen. Sūha tried to induce him to retreat by paying a large amount of money, and for this purpose imposed heavy taxes upon all classes of people, including the Brāhmaṇas. But though this made him highly unpopular, his object was not served. Ḍulucha ravaged the country by fire and sword and inflicted indescribable miseries upon the people. Ultimately he

was forced to quit the country on account of excessive cold, but took with him a large number of Kāshmirians as slaves (vv. 152 ff.).

While Ḍulucha was harrying Kāshmir from the east, another enemy invaded it from the north. This was Riñchana,[3] the son of a Western Tibetan chief, who occupied a part of Kāshmir and obtained enormous wealth by selling the people of Kāshmir to the Tibetans. After the departure of Ḍulucha he tried to establish his authority over the whole kingdom, but was opposed by one Rāmachandra. Riñchana, however, killed Rāmachandra by treacherous means and married his daughter Koṭādevī. King Sūhadeva stealthily left the city,[4] and Riñchana made himself the undisputed master of the whole kingdom of Kāshmir. This took place about A.D. 1320.[5]

Riñchana was an able ruler and soon restored peace and happiness in the hapless country Jonarāja gives a detailed account of his wise administration and sense of justice, which made the people of Kāshmir feel that the golden age had returned. Some of the old companions of the king, who had accompanied him from Tibet to Kāshmir, hatched a conspiracy against him, and severely wounded him by a treacherous attack The king, however, survived what appeared to the conspirators to be a mortal blow, and took terrible vengeance on the traitors They were impaled "and the angry king ripped open by the sword the wombs of his enemies' wives who were with child" (v 244). But the wound inflicted on the head of the king was not completely healed, and he died, probably of its effect, after a rule of a little over three years [5a]

It is generally assumed by the historians that Riñchana had embraced the Muslim faith and assumed the name of Sadr-ud-dīn. Jonarāja, however, does not refer to it Some support to the tradition may be found in his statement that "the king asked Śrī Devasvāmī to initiate him in the *mantras* of Śiva, but as he was a Bhoṭṭa, Devasvāmī feared that the king was unworthy of such initiation, and did not favour him" [6] But as this is not followed by any reference to the adoption of Islām by the king, it constitutes a very strong negative evidence against the popular tradition This is further strengthened by the comment of Jonarāja, with reference to a later event in which Śāhamera, a Muslim, played a prominent part, namely: "Strange that this believer in Allā became the saviour of the people".[7] It is also to be noted that both Nizam-ud-dīn and Firishta describe Riñchana as an infidel and expressly state that his queen Koṭādevī embraced Islām after she had married Shāh Mīr after the death of Riñchana Both these authorities look upon Shāh Mīr as the first Muslim Sultān of Kāshmir. There is thus no

valid reason to assume that Riñchana adopted Islām, in spite of popular traditions to the contrary.[8]

Śāhamera, just mentioned above, was a foreign Muslim adventurer who came to Kāshmir, according to Jonarāja, in Śaka 1235 (A.D. 1313) and was greatly favoured by the king (vv. 150-51). Riñchana was highly pleased with him, particularly because he did not join in the conspiracy against him mentioned above. "He placed in his hands his son Haidar together with the child's mother Koṭā for the purpose of bringing up the prince".[9] According to Jonarāja, Haidar being very young, Śāhamera, who did not feel strong enough to usurp the throne, bestowed it, along with queen Koṭā, upon Udayanadeva.[10] The new king was a pious orthodox Hindu who spent his time in bathing, penance and prayer, and gave all the golden ornaments in his treasury to God Vishṇu. The king's administrative ability was not, however, equal to his piety, and the queen seems to have exercised the real power and authority. When the kingdom was invaded by Achala, the king fled to Tibet, but the queen, by a foul stratagem, procured the death of the invader and saved the kingdom. Śāhamera also played a conspicuous part in protecting the people during the troubles caused by Achala's invasion, and thereby increased his influence so much that he showed but scant respect to king Udayana, who had returned after the death of Achala. Śāhamera further strengthened his position by matrimonial relations with powerful chiefs in Kāshmir, his military abilities, and his possession of extensive territories including some strong forts.

In A.D 1338, king Udayana died, and the queen Koṭā was placed in a great dilemma Her elder son by Riñchana was under the influence of Sāhamera, and the queen rightly feared that if he became king, Śāhamera would rule the kingdom through him. Her younger son by Udayana was a mere boy. She kept the death of the king a secret for four days and then assumed the sovereign authority (vv. 299-302) Śāhamera and other ministers obeyed her, but the queen was afraid of this Muslim upstart and placed her chief confidence on Bhaṭta Bhikshaṇa (vv. 304-6) This enraged Śāhamera and he treacherously murdered Bhikshaṇa. Although Koṭā displayed great ability in administering the affairs of the kingdom, she was no match for the wily Muslim. As Jonarāja says, she "was neither favourable to, nor angry with the powerful Śāhamera".[11] In other words, she estranged Śāhamera but did not take adequate precaution against him. The inevitable result followed. Taking advantage of the absence of the queen, Śāhamera seized the capital and besieged the fort of Koṭṭa where the queen had taken shelter.

He offered the queen to share the throne with him by becoming his wife, and she foolishly agreed (vv. 345-6). After spending one night with Koṭā, Śāhamera imprisoned her in the morning and then imprisoned her two children also (vv. 347-9). Śāhamera thus became the undisputed master of Kāshmir and founded a Muslim dynasty of rulers about A.D. 1339.[12] The Muslim historians[13] call him Shāh Mīr, which was probably his real name, as Śāhamera of Jonarāja is a normal transcription of Shāh Mīr But some authorities call him Shāh Mīrzā.[14] He assumed the title of Shams-ud-dīn Shāh on ascending the throne.

II. THE SHĀH MĪRĪ DYNASTY

1. *Shams-ud-dīn to 'Alī Shāh*

The accession of Shāh Mīr or Shams-ud-dīn marks the beginning not only of a new dynasty but also of the Muslim rule in Kāshmir For, whatever we might think of Riñchana's conversion to Islām, his immediate successors were Hindus, and even his own queen does not seem to have abjured her old Hindu faith.[15]

Not much is known of Shams-ud-dīn's career as a king He seems to have been a strong and able ruler and succeeded in restoring order and reviving the prosperity of the kingdom after recent troubles According to Jonarāja, he "assuaged the troubles of Kāshmir and changed its condition (v. 352)[16] According to Firishta, "he took off the heavy imposts under which the people laboured, protected them from the annual exactions of Dlıjoo, chief of Kashghar, and fixed the assessment of land at seventeen per cent on the gross produce"[17] A luni-solar era, even now current in Kāshmir, is believed by some to have been introduced by Shams-ud-dīn to commemorate the conversion of Riñchana to Islām in A.D. 1320[18] But, as noted above, there is a great deal of doubt about the conversion, and the association of either Riñchana or Shams-ud-dīn with the era is extremely doubtful, and certainly rests upon no reliable evidence.

Shams-ud-dīn died after a short reign of three years, in A D 1342, and was succeeded by his eldest son Jamshīd. The new king was deposed by his brother 'Alī Sher, probably within a few months of his accession He, however, maintained a precarious existence somewhere in Kāshmir, for nearly two years[19] 'Alī Sher ascended the throne under the name of 'Alā-ud-dīn and reigned for more than twelve years. He transferred the capital to Jayāpīḍapura, and his reign was on the whole peaceful, though a terrible famine inflicted

great miseries upon the people. He passed an important social legislation abolishing the evil custom under which a childless widow, though unchaste, obtained a share of her husband's property from her father-in-law.[20]

'Alā-ud-dīn was succeeded by Shihāb-ud-dīn who was most probably his brother.[21] His long reign of nineteen years is a memorable period in the history of Kāshmir. He had an insatiable thirst for military campaigns, and cared for neither wine nor women. He carried his victorious arms in all directions. He first went to the north which had never been conquered by previous kings and which was peopled by the Pārasikas. He then defeated Govind Khān and conquered Udabhāṇḍapura (Ohind). The king of Sindhu was forced to come to terms with him by offering his daughter in marriage. He also defeated the Gandhāras and the Śriṅgas and seized the town of Ashtanagara (eight cities situated close together on the eastern bank of the lower Swat river),[22] inhabited by the *Śrotriya* Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas. Proceeding further, he seized Peshāwar and, according to Firishta, advanced as far as the Hindukush mountains. These victories are said to have spread consternation as far as Ghaznī and Kandāhār.

Shihāb-ud-dīn then proceeded towards the south and reached the banks of the Sutlej. There he met Udakapati, ruler of Nagarkot, who had ravaged some of the estates appertaining to Delhi and was returning home. According to Nizām-ud-dīn, Udakapati rendered homage to the Kāshmir Sultān and surrendered to him the vast quantity of the booty which he was carrying with him. According to the same authority the ruler of Tibet also waited upon the Sultān. Jonarāja, however, simply says that Shihāb-ud-dīn harassed Udakapati and it was the Sultān's humility, not the prowess of Tibet, that saved that region from his attack. Later writers obviously exaggerated his achievements;[23] but Shihāb-ud-dīn's conquests do not seem to have permanently extended the boundaries of Kāshmir and were probably more of the nature of military raids. Nevertheless Shihāb-ud-dīn's reign represents, from the political and military point of view, the most glorious epoch in the history of the Muslim Sultanate of Kāshmir. After a long interval Kāshmir emerged as a great power and established her reputation as such outside her boundaries. One episode related by Jonarāja, if true, marks out Shihāb-ud-dīn as possessed of a spirit of religious toleration which was seldom displayed by any Muslim ruler in India. Once when the treasury was empty, his minister suggested the easy expedient of melting the metal images of gods and converting them into coins. Thereupon the king admonished him in the following words: "Some

have obtained renown by setting up images of gods, others, by worshipping them, some by duly maintaining them; and I shall be eternally disgraced by demolishing them. King Shihāb-ud-dīn, it will be said, plundered the image of a god, and this bad renown will torment men in future."[24] Jonarāja tells us that being advised by Hindu Khān he executed Sikandar Khān and his *mlechchha* followers for treason[25]

The Sultān founded several towns one of which was named after him and another, after his favourite queen, Lakshmī. Unfortunately he was bewitched by the beauty of Lāsā, daughter of Lakshmī's sister, and married her. At her instigation the Sultān banished his two sons by Lakshmī, Hasan and 'Alī, who took refuge in the Delhi court and distinguished themselves by their prowess.[26] Just before his death he evidently repented of his folly and recalled them, but as they did not arrive in time, he nominated his younger brother as his successor. The elder, Hasan, had started for Kāshmir, but before he could reach his father the latter died, and his younger brother Hindal or Hindu Khān ascended the throne under the name Qutb-ud-dīn (vv. 532-39).

The new Sultān was generous enough to request Hasan to continue his march, and received him cordially when he arrived at Kāshmir. But as usually happens, evil-minded persons fomented a spirit of jealousy and hostility between the two Hasan was induced to plot against the Sultān, but the scheme failed and Hasan fled the country (v. 616)

On the death of Qutb-ud-dīn about A.D 1389, his infant son Sikandar ascended the throne. The queen-mother Subhatā (v 667) probably administered the kingdom as regent with the help of Uddaka, son of her maternal uncle (v 655), and put down tumults and revolts with a stern hand. By her order Uddaka put to death even her own daughter and son-in-law, presumably for plotting against the king (v 668) The king, when he attained majority and assumed the powers of administration in his own hands, was faced by the rebellion of Uddaka, mentioned above, who had conquered Baltistān and then turned against his master[26a] The rebellion was put down. The king also obtained some military successes He subdued the Shāhi chief of Ohind and married his daughter Merā During his reign Tīmūr invaded India According to Jonarāja, Tīmūr was afraid of the king of Kāshmir and presented him two elephants But a more probable and detailed account of the friendly relation between the two is given by Firishta and Nizām-ud-dīn

Sikandar's reign marks a turning-point in the history of Kāshmir from social and religious point of view It appears that although

the rulers were Muslims the State was hitherto predominantly Hindu, and even the Muslim kings and peoples were not very orthodox in their belief. This is proved, among other things, by the Hindu names like Lakshmī and Śobhā borne by the queens, consecration of a golden *liṅga* by the latter (v. 671), and the performance of a *yajña* (sacrifice) by Qutb-ud-dīn to avert famine (v. 637). This was probably due to the paucity of Muslims in the country. But a great change took place during the reign of Sikandar A large immigration of Muslims from outside flooded the country, and there seems to be little doubt that they brought with them that fanatic iconoclastic zeal which distinguished Islām in other parts of India, but from which Kāshmir was happily free up to this time. This follows from the detailed account of Jonarāja from which the following extracts are quoted:

"The king had a fondness for the Yavanas.....Many Yavanas left other sovereigns and took shelter under this king who was renowned for charity Muhammada of Mera country became their (that is, of the Yavanas) chief The king waited on him daily, humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him. He placed Muhammada before him, and was attentive to him like a slave. As the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the *śālī* crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kāśmīra Attracted by the gifts and honours which the king bestowed, and by his kindness, the *mlechchhas* entered Kāśmīra even as locusts enter a good field of corn" They occupied all the offices of the State and became friends of the king [27]

Sikandar evidently learnt his lessons well, and his reign was disgraced by a series of acts, inspired by religious bigotry and iconoclastic zeal, for which there is hardly any parallel even in the annals of the Muslim rulers of India. His minister, Sūhabhaṭṭa, who had abjured Hindu faith for Islām, and was "instructed by the *mlechchhas*, instigated the king to break down the images of gods" Whether the king required any such instigation after the lessons he had learnt at the feet of Muhammada of Mera, cannot be definitely said In any case there cannot be any doubt that Sūhabhaṭṭa's advice fell on willing ears. The result is thus described by Jonarāja: "The king forgot his kingly duties and took a delight day and night, in breaking images. .. . He broke the images of Mārtaṇḍa, Vishaya, Īśāna, Chakrabhṛit and Tripureśvara........ There was no city, no town, no village, no wood where Sūha the Turushka left the temples of gods unbroken."[28]

But this was not all. An attempt was made to destroy the caste of the Brāhmanas by force, and those who resisted it were

subjected to heavy fines.[29] The Muslim version of the activities of Sikandar is given in detail by Firishta who, of course, includes them among his "good institutions". According to Firishta, Sikandar issued "orders proscribing the residence of any person other than Muhammadans in Kāshmir; and he required that no man should wear the mark on his forehead, or any woman be permitted to burn with her husband's corpse. Lastly, he insisted on all the golden and silver images being broken and melted down, and the metal coined into money".[29a] No one can fail to be struck with the contrast between Kāshmir under Shihāb-ud-dīn and Sikandar and note that much water had flown down the Vitastā during a quarter of a century. Firishta continues: "Many of the Brahmins, rather than abandon their religion or their country, poisoned themselves; some emigrated from their native homes, while a few escaped the evil of banishment by becoming Muhammadans After the emigration of the Brahmins, Sikandar ordered all the temples in Kāshmir to be thrown down." Some temples were levelled with the ground, and in one case, we are told that Sikandar, who was personally present, did not desist till the building was entirely razed to the ground, and its foundations dug up The Muslim historians inform us that for having broken the Hindu temples Sikandar got the title of *Butshikan,* or the destroyer of idols. Immediately after this Firishta remarks: "Among *other* good institutions of Sikandar was the prohibition of vending wine, and the relinquishment of all export duties."[30]

It has been urged by some that it was not the Sultān but Sūhabhaṭṭa and other converts who were responsible for the religious persecution.[31] But, as Jonarāja has observed in this connection, it is an established rule, that the master is responsible for the fault of his servant [32] Besides, the account of Firishta, quoted above, makes it clear that Sikandar was not as innocent in the matter as is pretended by his supporters, for he personally supervised the demolition of temples and, in at least one case, he was not satisfied by merely razing a temple to the ground, but saw to it that its foundations were dug up. This one instance, if true, is sufficient to prove his personal zeal and bigotry. After all, it was not Sūhabhaṭṭa but Sikandar who was honoured by his co-religionists with the sobriquet *Butshikan* (destroyer of idols)

Sikandar died in A.D. 1413 and was succeeded by his son Mīr Khān who assumed the name 'Alī Shāh. The king, at the beginning of his reign, left the management of affairs in the hands of Sūhabhaṭṭa who remained the Chief Minister till his death and continued his policy of persecuting the Hindus. According to Nizām-ud-dīn, he perpetrated various kinds of oppressions and tyranny

on the people, with the result that most of the Hindus left the country and some killed themselves[33] Firishta writes: "That statesman (Sūhabhaṭṭa), with all the zeal of a convert, persecuted the few Brahmins who still remained firm to their religion; and by putting all to death who refused to embrace Mohamedanism, he drove those who still lingered in Kāshmir entirely out of that kingdom."[34]

Jonarāja gives more details. He begins by saying that while Sikandar put some limits to the persecution of the Hindus, these were now exceeded and there was no restraint What he probably means is that, while the religious bigotry in the preceding reign took the forms mainly of destroying temples and demolishing the images of gods, Sūhabhaṭṭa now more violently persecuted the Brāhmanas He imposed a fine or inflicted punishment (*daṇḍa*) on the Brāhmaṇas and forbade religious scarifices and processions (*yoga-yātrādi*). Lest the Brāhmanas leave the country to avoid the oppression and maintain their caste, orders were issued that no one might leave Kāshmir without a passport, so that Sūhabhaṭṭa might torment the Brāhmaṇas as a fisherman torments the fish after putting them in a net in river. In spite of the regulation, some left the country by unfrequented roads As to the rest, some tried to save themselves by putting on Muslim dress, while others put an end to their lives by fire, poison, drowning, hanging and jumping from a precipice In order to put a stop to Hindu learning, Sūhabhaṭṭa stopped the allowances of the Brāhmaṇas, who had to move from door to door, like dogs, for food It is interesting to note that Sūhabhaṭṭa maintained that all these he did out of his regard for Islāmic faith, and not out of any malice towards the Brāhmanas (vv 863-81)

A series of rebellions, in which a son of Sikandar played some part, disturbed the reign of 'Alī Shāh, but all were suppressed Later, the king left the country on a pilgrimage, leaving his brother Shāhī Khān in charge of the country. But 'Alī Shāh's father-in-law, the king of Jammu[35], reproached him and induced him to return with an army from Jammu. Shāhī Khān was glad at his brother's return, but was angry at the arrival of the foreign army with him He returned the kingdom to his brother but left Kāshmir with the Thakkuras and went to Jasrath, the chief of the Khokkaras (vv 928-31) The king asked him to return, but he refused Thereupon 'Alī Shāh led an expedition against Jasrath for having given shelter to his brother, but was defeated. His end is not known, but according to late accounts 'Alī Shāh was captured by the Khokkaras and died at Chadura[36]

2. *Zain-ul-'Ābidīn to Nāzuk Shāh*

Shāhī Khān ascended the throne in A.D. 1420 under the title of Zain-ul'Ābidīn. He is the greatest Sultān of Kāshmir and some have even compared him to Akbar [37] Under him the boundary of the Sultanate of Kāshmir reached its greatest extent, the country became prosperous, and the Hindus were treated with a catholicity worthy of the great Mughul Emperor

The second part of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was written by Jonarāja during his reign. We learn from this work that his suzerainty extended over Gandhāra, Sindhu, Madra, and Rājapuri. He defeated the king of Udabhāṇḍapura several times, though the latter was helped by the king of Sindhu. He also carried his victorious arms to Gogga country in Bhoṭṭa-deśa (Guge in Ladakh), and to another place named Śāyā (probably Sheh above Leh, on the Sindhu) where he saved a golden image of Buddha from the Yavanas (presumably his own soldiers) He was assisted in his campaigns by Jasrath, the Khokhar chief, who defeated the king of Madra named Maladeva and captured him, but released him by the order of the Sultān Nizām-ud-dīn also states that "Jasrat Khokkar, aided by the Sultān's power, brought the whole of the Panjab into his possession although he could not conquer Delhi Tibet and the whole country which is situated on the bank of the river Sind came into Sultān's possession" [38]

The Muslim chronicles refer to constant fight of Jasrath with the ruler of Jammu, and mention that he defeated and killed in battle Rājā Bhīm of Jammu, who had all along supported the Sultāns of Delhi [39] We are further told that several times Jasrath was defeated and took refuge in the hills Jonarāja also tells us that Zain-ul-'Ābidīn gave shelter to Jasrath when he was hard pressed by the lord of Delhi (v 1009). The beginning of hostility between Jasrath and the king of Jammu may be traced to the fight for succession between 'Ālī Shāh and Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, and it is natural, therefore, that Zain-ul-'Ābidīn would support Jasrath in the latter's fight with the Sultāns of Delhi, while the king of Jammu, whose son-in-law was deprived of his throne by Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, would ally himself with the Sultāns of Delhi

Jonarāja died in the 35th year of the reign of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, and his history was continued by his pupil Śrīvara Both these historians of Kāshmir testify to the great qualities of the Sultān.

The fame of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn rests mainly on his peaceful activities. He was a learned man, well versed in Persian, Sanskrit,

Tibetan and other languages. He had many Arabic and Persian works translated into the local language, and the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* into Persian. He was also a very successful administrator. He founded several new cities, built many bridges, and dug many irrigation canals which increased the prosperity of his subjects. He also prevented the local governors from exacting illegal cesses, and gave the peasantry much needed taxation relief. He himself took great pains to find out the truth in all complicated cases and obtained repute for his Solomon-like dispensation of justice.[40]

The Sultān's household expenditure was met by the proceeds of the copper mines. He issued orders that merchants should not hide their commodities and should sell them at a small profit, and that rates of different commodities should be engraved on thin copper-plates and publicly shown in all cities. Whenever a robbery or theft was committed, the village headman was fined and this system is said to have prevented crimes.[41]

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn tried by all possible means to undo the great wrongs that his two predecessors had done to the Hindus. Firishta has described his activities in the following words. "Preliminary to all other measures, he recalled the Brahmins who had been expelled, and caused a general toleration of all religions to be publicly notified Temples were again permitted to be built, and each individual worshipped his God agreeably to the faith in which he was educated".[42] Jonarāja also says that the king restored the old usages destroyed (by the late kings) (v. 979), including the grant of stipends to learned Brāhmaṇas (v 1082).

But the Sultān went still further He stopped the practice of Hindu widows procreating sons by others (or remarrying) at the bidding of her husband's kinsmen, and also the practice of disallowing the daughters with children, of persons dying without leaving any male issue, to perform funeral oblations, which, though contrary to Hindu law, was followed by the covetous kinsmen of the deceased. It also appears that he stopped the killing of cows by means of poison, and passed some regulations about eating beef, but the sense of the verses is not quite clear (vv 1079-81). Nizām-ud-dīn also says that the Sultān "took an agreement from the Brahmans, that they would not act in contravention of what was written in their books".[43] All these evidently show that the Sultān, as before, imposed on the Hindus the personal law as laid down in their *śāstras* (scriptures).

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn was one of the most enlightened Muslim kings of India. His court was a meeting place of Hindu and Muslim

scholars, poets, and religious men. He was also greatly interested in music and other arts.[44] Nizām-ud-dīn states that muskets were manufactured in Kāshmir during his reign.[45]

His fame as a great ruler spread outside Kāshmir. Buhlūl Lodī, Mahmūd Begarha, Maṇḍalika, the last Hindu king of Saurāshṭra, and the king of Gwalior maintained friendly relations with him. Even the rulers of Mecca, Egypt, Gilan and Khurāsān exchanged presents with him.

The last days of this great monarch were embittered by the rebellions of his three sons, Ādam Khān, Hājī Khān and Bahrām Khān, but he took energetic measures to crush them He died in c. A.D. 1470, and was succeeded by his son Hājī Khān under the title Haidar Shāh.

Haidar Shāh was in every respect a contrast to his father He was a notorious drunkard, and for some time left the administration in the hands of a Hindu barber called Pūrṇa [45a] Pūrṇa tortured people in various ways including mutilation and impaling. The king also persecuted the Brāhmaṇas and resumed the lands granted to them by Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. Taking advantage of the discontent and confusion, Ādam Khān made an attempt to seize the throne, but was killed in a fight with the Mughuls

Haidar sent an expedition under his eldest son, possibly to bring under subjugation the kings of Rājapuri, Madra and Khokkara who had probably declared their independence after the death of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn

Haidar enjoyed a very short reign, a little over one year, and died as a result of injuries sustained when his feet slipped in a glass pavilion

On the death of Haidar Shāh, his brother Bahrām made an attempt to seize the throne, but his attempt was foiled by a minister called Malik Ahmad,[46] who set up Haidar's son Hasan as the king.

Hasan established his capital at Nowshera. He was an indolent king and left the administration in the hands of the powerful nobles. Bahrām Khān revolted but was defeated and taken captive. He was blinded and died as a result.

The reign of Hasan was full of feuds among the nobles. A party, headed by his father-in-law, Sayyid Hasan, became very powerful. Three nobles, namely, Tāj Bhat or Yārī Bhat, Nūr Bhat and Malik Ahmad also became very powerful. According to Śrīvara, Tāj forced some feudatories of the kingdom of Delhi to pay tribute

The king appointed Tāj Bhat and Nūr Bhat as the guardians of his eldest son, Muhammad, and second son, Hasan, respectively. Malik Ahmad, who was probably the father of Nūr Bhat, joined hands with Sayyid Hasan, but shortly afterwards the Sayyid captured power and threw Malik Ahmad and others into prison.

Hasan was powerless to stop the evils, and was completely dominated by his wife, whose father was the leader of the ruling group. Hasan, however, revived all the liberal rules and regulations of Zain-ul-'Ābidin which had been abolished by Haidar Shāh. He also turned his energies to erecting monuments, and his court historian, Śrīvara, states that he (Śrīvara) has described these buildings in another work lest it would increase the bulk of the present one, that is the third *Rājataranginī*[47] The queen and the nobles also erected many edifices and Śrīvara states that the queen built a *masūdām-ajiro-dāram,* probably a mosque with a thousand doors.

Hasan was also very fond of music and the historian Śrīvara, being an accomplished musician, was highly appreciated by the king who bestowed on him lavish gifts.

A curious incident mentioned by Śrīvara is that "the King (Hasan) found that the *dīnāras* of Śrī-Toramāṇa had ceased to be current and he gave currency to new coins (double *dīnāras*) which were impressed with the figure of a serpent".[48]

Before Hasan's death, he requested his father-in-law, Sayyid Hasan, to set up the son of Ādam Khān (a son of Zainul-ul-'Ābidīn) on the throne But the Sayyid paid no heed to the king's request, and after Hasan's death, which took place about A D. 1484, set up on the throne the latter's son, Muhammad, by his own daughter.

The power and prestige of the kingdom, which had been rudely shaken during the reigns of Haidar and Hasan, collapsed altogether with the accession of Muhammad, a boy of seven. He is probably the only king known in history who lost his throne thrice, but managed to regain it every time, and died as a king after his fourth accession. He did not gain his throne even once by his own exertions, but owed it to the favour of the nobles who merely used him as a pawn. Two parties of nobles became very powerful at this time; the Muslim historians call them Chaks and the Mākrīs, but they are referred to as the Chakreśas and Mārgeśas in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* It is possible that the Mārgeśas were hereditary guardians of the valleys or wardens of the marches, and that their official surname was Persianized into Mākrī. Chakreśa also may have been an occupational surname derived from some hereditary office, the nature of which it is difficult to determine now. However, these two families

dominate the history of Kāshmir for the remaining period, till the Chaks establish themselves on the throne.

It would be convenient to indicate here the relation of the successors of Hasan before describing the history of their reigns.

- Zain-ul-'Ābidīn
  - Ādam Khān
    - Fath Khān
      - Nazūk
  - Hājī Khān (Haidar Shāh)
    - Hasan
      - Muhammad
        - Ibrahīm
        - Shams-ud-dīn
  - Bahrām Khān

Śrīvara, the contemporary author, has left a detailed and vivid account of the earlier part of the reign of Muhammad and the sufferings of the people under the rapacious nobles. The Sayyids, who controlled the government, have been violently denounced for their misgovernment by Śrīvara, but it is apparent from his description that the ministers and nobles who succeeded them were no better, and the people of Kāshmir passed through terrible misery till the annexation of the province by Akbar.

Within a few months after the accession of Muhammad, most of the Sayyid leaders were assassinated, and Jahāngīr Mākrī, who had been exiled in the previous reign by Sayyid Hasan, returned and captured power after exterminating the remaining Sayyids Shortly afterwards, Fath Khān, the son of Ādam Khān, invaded Kāshmir. Fath Khān was helped by Hasan Khān, the son of Tātār Khān, the Lodī governor of the Punjāb The lord of Rajauri also helped Fath Khān, but the latter was defeated by Jahāngīr Mākrī. Soon there was a rising in Kāshmir and Fath Khān again invaded Kāshmir Fath Khān conquered twenty-seven *vishayas* (districts) of Kāshmir and, conquering Madra, gave it to the king of Rājapuri The distress at this time was very acute and the miserable people, forced to eat the lotus-stalk, named the dish "Mārgeśa-curry" after

Jahāngīr Mākrī (Mārgeśa); half a *pala* of salt was sold for twenty-five *dīnāras*.

Next year (A.D. 1486) Fath invaded Kāshmir for the third time, and after several trials of strength, his army, led by Saifa Ḍāmara, completely defeated Jahāngīr, who left Kāshmir and died in exile. Fath then ascended the throne but took good care of Muhammad.

The victory of Fath Khān did not end the misery of the people. The foreign soldiery plundered the country while three new ministers, Mūsarājānaka or Somarājānaka, Hāji Miā, and Ibrāhīm Mākrī shared the power of government During this time Mīr Shams, the founder of the Nūr Bakshī sect, came to Kāshmir and his preachings led to some trouble.

Fath gradually lost all power, and was forced by his first two ministers to divide Kāshmir into three parts, one for himself and the other two for the two ministers Ibrāhīm Mākrī, however, challenged the power of this group, defeated them and installed Muhammad on the throne (A D. 1495) But this restoration lasted only for about nine months, after which Fath recaptured the throne (A D. 1496) and ruled for nearly twenty years[49] About A D 1515, Muhammad and Ibrāhīm, re-inforced with a large army from Sikandar Lodī, attacked Kāshmir, and in a battle, fought in the following year, so decisively defeated Fath that he fled from Kāshmir and Muhammad again occupied the throne (A.D. 1516).

This time Kājī Chak became the chief minister of Muhammad and seems to have pacified Ibrāhīm by giving the latter the Siddha country with the title of Malik. There was, however, no peace in the country which had to suffer from several invasions, one of which was headed by Habīb Khān, probably the son of Fath Khān But soon the Chaks and the Mākrīs, who had so long been united, fell out and mustered troops Muhammad changed sides but was ultimately driven out by the Chaks who set up his son Ibrāhīm on the throne in c. A.D. 1528.

Ibrāhīm made Kājī Chak his chief minister, and the defeated Abdāl Mākrī went to Bābur, who gave him one thousand soldiers. With this help Abdāl Mākrī and Fath Khān's son Nazūk Shāh defeated Kājī Chak who fled away from Kāshmir and Nazūk Shāh was crowned king (c. A D. 1529). Nazūk divided the kingdom among his ministers retaining a portion for himself, but after a reign of one year was dethroned. Muhammad then ascended the throne for the fourth and last time (A.D. 1530).

D. MINOR STATES

I. ASSAM

1. *General Political condition*

Towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D., Assam presented a confused picture of political disintegration. The old kingdom of Kāmarūpa continued under a new name and a new dynasty, and with its capital removed to Kāmatā or Kāmatāpura, situated a little to the south-west of the present town of Cooch Behar. The western limit of the kingdom was still, as of old, formed by the Karatoyā river in Bengal, but the eastern frontier varied from time to time. Though at times it extended to the Barnadi, and thus included both Goālpārā and Kāmrup, these two districts were often ruled by a number of independent chiefs, known as Bāro Bhuyās. At the extreme east of Assam, in the Upper Brahmaputra Valley, the Shan tribe, known as Āhoms, had consolidated their kingdom. They had not only subdued the primitive indigenous peoples, but had admitted many of them to their own tribe; their number was further increased by fresh immigration of the Shans from the north-east.

Between these two kingdoms in the two extremes lay a number of principalities, the chief of which were those of the Chutiyās and the Cāchāris.

The Chutiyā kingdom lay on both banks of the Brahmaputra to the east of the Subarnasri river in the north, and of the Disang river in the south. The Chutiyās are now to be found mainly in the Lakhimpur District and the adjacent parts of Sibsāgar. They had come within the fold of Hinduism in remote past, but contain a strong admixture of Shan blood They were ruling with their capital at Sadiyā at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D when the Āhoms entered the province. There were frequent wars between the two until the Chutiyās were finally subdued by the Āhoms at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D , as will be related later The kingdom of the Cāchāris lay to the south-west of the Chutiyā kingdom. It extended along the south bank of the Brahmaputra as far as Nowgong in the west, and up to the valley of the Dhansiri river in the south, with an ill-defined boundary across the central hills of Assam

Between the Chutiyā and the Cāchāri kingdoms in the east and that of Kāmarūpa on the west, the country was parcelled out among a number of petty independent chiefs called Bhuyās. As mentioned above, they were collectively known as Bāro Bhuyās, and a strong ruler of Kāmarūpa could, and often did, establish his

supremacy over them. But under a weak ruler the kingdom of Kāmarūpa often failed to exercise any effective control to the east of the Sangkosh river, and thus lay wholly outside the limits of modern Assam. It must, however, be said to the credit of these Bhuyās, that they acted in concert whenever their country was threatened by any Muslim invasion

2. *The Kingdom of Kāmatā*

The chief interest of the history of Assam during the period under review centres round the two kingdoms of Kāmātā on the west, and Āhom in the east. The kingdom of Kāmatā (var. Kāmtā) is often referred to as Kāmrup in Muslim chronicles. This is true to some extent only from the point of view of historical succession, but the centre of Kāmatā kingdom and sometimes even its boundary, lay outside Kāmrup proper, and it is therefore better to designate the new kingdom as Kāmatā rather than Kāmrup.

The history of Kāmarūpa, after the death of Vallabhadeva,[1] who was on the throne in A.D 1185, is very obscure, and the casual references to Muslim invasions in Muslim chronicles are all that is definitely known to us. Bakhtyar Khaljī, Hisām-ud-dīn 'Iwāz Khaljī[2] who had assumed independence in Bengal under the title Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Iwāz, and Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Yūzbak Tughril Khān,[3] also known as Mughis-ud-dīn Yūzbak, invaded Kāmarūpa respectively in A D. 1205, 1227, and 1257 The first of these campaigns ended in a veritable disaster as noted above[4] No details of the second are known; it was probably a mere raid and no permanent results were achieved The third began with phenomenal success and the Bengal Sultān occupied the capital without any serious opposition. But the ruler of Kāmarūpa took full advantage of the ignorance of the climate and topography of Assam on the part of the conquerors Surrounded by water on all sides and bereft of supplies, Mughis-ud-dīn made a hurried retreat through the submontane tract, by way of the Dooars He was assailed by the Hindus in a narrow pass, and though he fought bravely, he was mortally wounded His army surrendered and his family fell captive into the hands of the Rājā of Kāmarūpa It was a veritable disaster, perhaps unparalleled in the annals of early Muslim history in India[5]

Neither the Muslim chronicles, from which the above account is derived, nor the local traditions have preserved the name of this brave Hindu king who saved his country from the Muslim invaders by his daring and genius. It appears, however, from the detailed

description of the campaign that he had still his capital on the Brahmaputra, at Gauhāti, or its immediate neighbourhood.

No further light is thrown on the history of Kāmarūpa by the Muslim chronicles till the rise of the kingdom of Kāmatā. Whether this event indicates nothing more than a mere shifting of the capital, or the rise of a new kingdom under a new dynasty, it is difficult to say But in either case we do not know the cause of the change or the circumstances leading to it We are equally ignorant of the early history of this new kingdom There are a number of legends and traditions, but it is difficult to extract any reliable history from them. One of these legends refers in detail to Durlabh Nārāyan, Rājā of Kāmatā. He probably flourished at the end of the thirteenth century A D. and his kingdom extended from the Karatoyā, in Bengal, to the Barnadi in Assam. About this time, or shortly afterwards, the kingdom was invaded by the Āhoms, and hostilities continued for some time. A treaty was however concluded, and the alliance between the two was cemented by the marriage of Bhājani, the princess of Kāmatā, with the Āhom king Sukhāngphā.[6]

According to tradition, the southern part of the old kingdom of Kāmarūpa, including Mymensingh and Sylhet, was at this time under the rule of Dharma Nārāyan, a cousin of Durlabh Nārāyan. This area was invaded by the Muslim Sultān of Bengal, Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz, early in the fourteenth century A.D. The Muslim army overran Mymensingh District and then, crossing the Brahmaputra, occupied Sylhet. This probably took place in A D 1303 Starting from this base, the Muslim governor and Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh conquered Tippera and Chittagong Divisions, and these were annexed to the empire of Muhammad bin Tughluq early in his reign (A.D. 1326-27)[7] Ilyās Shāh invaded the Brahmaputra valley and pushed his conquests as far as Kāmarūpa[8] Whether this region acknowledged the authority of the Kāmatā kings or was ruled by the independent or semi-independent chiefs, called Bhuyās, is not known with certainty Epigraphic evidence shows that in A D. 1329 a petty Hindu chief had set himself up as an independent ruler in Kāmarūpa.[9]

The discovery of coins, dated 799 and 802 A H and thus belonging to the reign of Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh, in Cooch Behar and Gauhāti,[10] prove his authority in Kāmarūpa But whether it is an indication of the continuance of the Muslim authority since the conquest by Ilyās Shāh, or is to be explained by the unsuccessful expedition of A'zam Shāh mentioned above,[11] cannot be determined with certainty. There is, however, no doubt that in spite of invasions by the Muslims from the west, and the Āhom king on

the east, Kāmatā again became a powerful kingdom, early in the fifteenth century, under the Khens, a primitive people who had imbibed Brahmanical Hinduism to a large extent. The names of the first two kings of this dynasty, Nīladhvaja and Chakradhvaja, have been preserved only in legendary traditions. The third king Nīlāmbara, was, however, undoubtedly a historical figure. He was a powerful king and ruled over an extensive territory including not only Goālpārā and Kāmarūpa in the east, but also Mymensingh and Sylhet to the south-east, which had been conquered by the Muslims. He is said to have constructed a high road from his capital Kāmatāpur (near Cooch Behār) to Ghorāghāt on the Karatoyā in the Rangpur District. The capital city, Kāmatāpur, at the time covered an extensive area whose ruins have been described by Hamilton.

Reference has been made above to his fight with two Muslim Sultāns of Bengal, Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh and 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh There is hardly any doubt that Nīlāmbara routed the Muslim host of Bārbak, and the story of his later defeat by supernatural means, and his conversion to Islamic faith are merely ingenious attempt to hide the discomfiture of the Muslim army.[12]

Local traditions offer an explanation of the outbreak of war between Nīlāmbara and Husain Shāh It is said that Nīlāmbara killed his Brahman minister's son for carrying on amorous intrigues with his queen He then cooked the flesh of the dead and made his father eat it The outraged minister left the kingdom under pretext of pilgrimage and proceeded to the court of Husain Shāh At his instigation Husain Shāh sent a big army under Isma'īl Ghāzī who besieged the strongly fortified city of Kāmatā According to a local tradition the siege lasted twelve years, at the end of which the Muslim general gained entrance to the fort by means of treachery Nīlāmbara is said to have been captured and taken to Gauḍa, the capital of Bengal, but subsequently effected his escape [13]

It is difficult to put much faith in the details of this story, but there are grounds to believe that Husain Shāh gained a complete victory and annexed the whole of the Kāmatā kingdom as far as the Barnadi Hājo, in Kāmrup, became the headquarters of the Muslim Viceroy, a son of Husain, and gradually the Muslim authority was established over the chiefs called Bhuyās. The conquest of Husain Shāh, which extinguished the Hindu kingdom of Kāmatā, may be dated some time between A.D. 1498 and 1502. A little more than a decade later a new kingdom—that of Cooch Behar—arose out of its ruins. Its history will be described in the next volume.

3. *The Āhom Kingdom*[14]

A short account has been given above of the foundation of a kingdom by the Āhoms in the north-eastern part of the province which still bears their name (Assam), and its consolidation under the first three kings Sukāphā, Suteuphā, and Subinphā whose reigns cover the period from A.D. 1215 to 1293.[14a]

Subinphā's son and successor Sukhāngphā felt powerful enough to extend his kingdom at the cost of his neighbours, and launched a career of conquest and aggression. The kingdom of Kāmatā, the most powerful rival of the newly risen power, was his first object of attack. This trial of strength between the old and the new was decided entirely in favour of the latter. After prolonged hostilities, in course of which both sides suffered heavy losses, the two parties concluded an alliance to which reference has been made above.

Sukhāngphā died in A.D. 1332, and was succeeded by his three sons, one after another The chief event during these three reigns (A D. 1332-89) was a prolonged hostility with the Chutiyās. The next king, Sudāngphā, ascended the throne in A.D. 1397, after an interregnum of eight years, during which the nobles carried on the administration He fixed his capital at Charguya near the Dihing river The *Buranjis* or chronicles of the Āhoms, which form our principal source of information, have spread a halo of romance and mystery round the early life of this king. Though son of the third son of Sukhāngphā, his mother was cast out and gave birth to him in the house of a Brāhmana The new king was for this reason known as the "Brāhman Prince", and the Brāhmaṇa, who gave shelter to his mother, was made his chief adviser. Under the influence of this Brāhmana and his sons, who also occupied high posts, the Āhoms, belonging to the Mongoloid Shan stock, came under the influence of Brāhmanical Hinduism. The King was faced with a conspiracy of the Tipāmis, but suppressed it by killing their leading chiefs in a treacherous manner He tried to conciliate the Tipāmis by marrying the daughter of one of the chiefs, but this brought on fresh troubles For Tāi Sulāi, one of the Tipāmi lovers of this queen before her marriage, being caught in love intrigues with her, sought asylum with Surumphā, king of Mungkang This led to a fight between the two kings, in which the latter was driven as far as the Patkai hills Hostilities were concluded by a treaty in A D. 1401 by which the Patkai Range was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms

Tāi Sulāī now took refuge with the king of Kāmatā, and so Sudāngphā sent a military expedition against the latter But though the king of Kāmatā refused to surrender the fugitive, he

conciliated his powerful enemy by giving him his daughter Bhājani in marriage. According to some *Buranjis,* Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh took advantage of the war between Kāmatā and the Āhom kingdom to invade the former. But the two rulers of Assam combined against A'zam and forced him to retire beyond the Karatoyā.[15] Sudāngphā now turned his attention to the subjugation of the recalcitrant tribes who at last submitted to his authority.

Sudāngphā died in A.D. 1407 and was followed by two kings whose reigns were uneventful. The next king, Susenphā, who died in A.D. 1488 after a reign of forty-nine years, was involved in a war with the Tangshu Nāgās which was renewed during the reign of his successor Suhenphā. In spite of some initial successes, the Nāgās were ultimately defeated. Suhenphā was less successful in his war with the Cāchāris who defeated the Āhom army at Dampuk on the bank of the Dikhu river. Suhenphā sued for peace and sent a princess to the Cāchāri King. Suhenphā was assassinated in 1493, and his son Supimphā also probably shared the same fate four years later. His son Suhungmung ascended the throne in 1497 and assumed the Hindu name Svarga Nārāyan. This is an index of the gradually increasing hold of Brahmanical Hinduism upon this Shan royal family and the people. The new king transferred his capital from Charguya to Bakatā on the Dihing The Aitonia Nāgās revolted in 1504, but were defeated and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Āhom king and to pay him annual tribute Eight years later the Āhom king annexed the Habung country Then followed a prolonged war with the Chutiyās which lasted for more than ten years (1513 to 1523). In spite of occasional reverses, Suhungmung ultimately triumphed and annexed the whole of the Chutiyā country, which henceforth formed a part and parcel of the Āhom kingdom. To complete the assimilation between the two, three hundred Āhom families, with twelve chiefs, were settled in Sadiya, and another Āhom colony was set up on the banks of the Dihing. On the other hand, the royal family and the leading chiefs of the Chutiyās were taken to Pākariguri, and a number of Brāhmanas, blacksmiths and other classes of artisans from Sadiya were settled in the Āhom capital Early in 1527, and again in 1529. the Chutiyās made serious efforts to regain their independence, but the revolts were put down without much difficulty

In the meantime Suhungmung led an expedition against the Cāchāris in 1526, and advanced into their country as far as Maihām or Kāthkatia. The Cāchāris obtained a temporary success and reoccupied the place, but they were forced to retreat, and closely pursued by the Āhoms. Though the Cāchāris fought with courage

and valour they sustained a decisive defeat. After a temporary truce, hostilities were renewed in 1531. Suhungmung advanced up to the Dhansiri river and, after defeating the Cāchāris in several engagements, occupied their capital Dimāpur. The Cāchāri king fled with his son, and a prince named Detsung, who had given his sister to the Āhom king, was set up on the throne. But Detsung having proved contumacious, an Āhom army again invaded Cāchār and occupied the capital Dimāpur. Detsung fled, but was seized and put to death. His death put an end to all resistance, and the whole of the Dhansiri valley and the Cāchāri territories north of the Kollang river in Nowgong District passed into the hands of the Āhom king.

The most important event during the reign of Suhungmung was his fight with the Muslim State of Bengal Unfortunately, the difference between the Āhom *Buranjis* and the Muslim chronicles makes it difficult to obtain a clear view of the whole episode in its true perspective.

According to the *Riyāz-us-Salātīn*, 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh followed up his conquest of Kāmatā-Kāmarūpa kingdom, mentioned above, by an invasion of Assam "The Raja of Assam, not being able to oppose him, relinquishing his country, fled to the mountains The king (Husain Shāh), leaving his son with a large army to complete the settlement of the conquered country, returned triumphant and victorious to Bengal After the withdrawal of the king, his son devoted himself to the pacification and defences of the conquered country But when the rainy season set in, owing to floods, the roads and tracks became closed, and the Rajah with his adherents issued from the hills, surrounded the Royal army, engaged in warfare, cut off supplies of provisions, and in a short time put all to the sword" [16] There is nothing improbable in the alleged invasion of the upper Brahmaputra valley by Husain Shāh; it fits in well with the general policy of Muslim rulers to carry forward the banner of Islām into the country of the infidels wherever possible, also with the imperial ambitions and aggressive designs of Husain Shāh narrated above Besides, although the *Riyāz* was a late compilation of the eighteenth century, it is corroborated by Shihāb-ud-dīn Tālish who refers to the invading army of Husain Shāh as consisting of 24,000 soldiers (horse and foot) and numerous ships [17]

On the other hand, the Āhom *Buranjis* give the date of the first Muslim invasion of Assam as A D. 1527, and their detailed accounts substantially corroborate the statement in the *Riyāz* that in spite of some initial successes the Muslim invaders were completely routed.

As Husain Shāh died in 1519, the invasion of 1527 must be credited to his son and successor, Nusrat Shāh. It is, therefore, held by some historians[18] that the author of the *Riyāz* erroneously regarded the expedition against Kāmatā in 1498-1502, and that against Assam in 1527, as part of the same operations, whereas they were really undertaken by two different Sultāns, Husain and Nusrat, with an interval of twenty-five years. This seems to be more reasonable than the view that the Āhom kingdom was invaded first by Husain Shāh after he completed the conquest of Kāmatā (1498-1502), and next by his son Nusrat Shāh in 1527 or 1529[19] For the *Riyāz* mentions only one invasion of Assam, during the reign of Husain Shāh, and does not refer to any such invasion by Nusrat. So either his account rightly applies to Husain's reign, or may be regarded as a confusion with what took place during the next reign. But it would be illogical to apply it to both.

On the whole, it seems much safer to follow the account of the Āhom *Buranjis* which have preserved a detailed account of the protracted military operations. It may be summed up as follows:[20] In 1527 the Muslim army invaded Assam under the great *wazīr*, but was defeated on all fronts by the Āhoms who pursued it as far as the Burai river and captured forty horses and from twenty to forty cannon. In 1529 the Āhom king took the offensive and obtained some success Two years later, the Muslims renewed hostilities and advanced up the Brahmaputra with fifty ships But they were defeated by the Āhoms in a naval battle at Temani or Trimohani in Sibsāgar District, a little below the point where the main channel of the Brahmaputra bifurcates into two to form the Majuli island, and lost their ships. The Āhoms now fortified two advance posts, one at Salā, on the bank of the Bharali, and another at Singiri, further down the Brahmaputra at its junction with a smaller river. A large Muslim force attacked Singiri, but was completely routed and fled, being hotly pursued as far as Khāgarijān (Nowgong). The Muslim commander Bit Malik was among the slain, and fifty horses, with many guns, fell into the hands of the Āhoms In 1532 another strong Muslim force, led by Turbak, stationed itself opposite Singiri, and was attacked by the Āhom army under the command of Suklen, son of the Āhom king Suhungmung The prince was completely defeated and fell back upon Salā; eight of his commanders were killed, and he himself was wounded.

The Muslim army advanced along the south bank of the Brahmaputra as far as Koliabar, opposite Tezpur, and halted there for the rainy season In October the Muslims surrounded the fort of Salā, the headquarters of the Āhom forces led by Suklen, and

defeated them on several occasions. But the Āhoms obtained a great naval victory at Duimunisila, in Nowgong District, a little above Koliabar, in March, 1533. According to the *Buranjis,* the Muslims lost twenty-two ships, a number of guns, and between 1,500 and 2,500 soldiers.

The two armies were now entrenched, face to face, on the opposite banks of the Dikrai river, near its mouth. After several months of inactivity the Āhoms took the offensive and defeated the Muslim army in several engagements ending in a complete rout near the Bharali. Turbak himself fell in the fight, and the Āhoms pursued the Muslim fugitives as far as the Karatoyā river in Bengal. During the pursuit another Muslim general, Husain Khān, was caught and killed, and the victors captured 28 elephants, 850 horses together with a large number of guns, and a large quantity of gold and silver.

The real status of Turbak has been doubted by Gait who thinks that he was a mere freelance or a local chief, and the army led by him was not the royal force, but a local levy. The only ground for this supposition seems to be the fact that, before returning from Bengal, the Āhom Commander sent an envoy, with presents, to the Sultān of Bengal at Gaur, and he returned with a princess for the Āhom king But it is a very unusual conjecture, unsupported by any positive evidence, and belied, among others, by the fact that Turbak received re-inforcement before he entrenched himself on the Dikrai Besides, the political condition of Bengal, after the assassination of Nusrat in 1532, sufficiently explains the complete discomfiture of the Muslim army, and there is no need to look for any other explanation We should also remember that this was neither the first nor the last occasion, on which the Muslim invaders of Assam learnt, to their cost, that it was much easier to conquer than to retain this frontier province.

It reflects great credit upon the Āhom king that, even while engaged in fighting with the Chutiyās and the Cāchāris, as noted above, he could successfully resist the Muslim invaders The credit is all the greater because the Āhoms were as yet unacquainted with the use of fire-arms and fought against the Muslims, who possessed guns, with only swords, spears, and bows and arrows But the Āhom king was quick to learn, and henceforth used the new weapon for subduing the unruly tribes. Guns were used against the Nāgās who had rebelled in 1535 and 1536; in spite of some initial successes they submitted to the Āhom authority.

The reign of Suhungmung forms an important landmark in the history of Assam. He extended the power of the Āhoms in all

directions, and his valiant resistance to the Muslims gave immunity to Assam from further Muslim aggression for well-nigh hundred and thirty years. His reign is also remarkable not only for the rapid Hinduization of the Āhoms but also for the spread of a reformed Vaishṇava doctrine associated with the name of Śaṅkaradeva.

The great King had a tragic end His last days were clouded by the defiant attitude of the crown prince Suklen. The latter was mightily offended when his father married three captive Cāchāri princesses whom he himself loved. Other causes of estrangement followed, till Suklen had his royal father assassinated in A D. 1539. Thus died one of the greatest rulers of Assam,—the builder of the Āhom power,—after a glorious reign of forty-two years.

II MITHILĀ (TIRHUT)

While the whole of the Gangetic valley was submerged by the flood of Turk-Muslim invasions, the small Hindu principality of Tirhut, the far-famed Mithilā or Videha of old, bounded by the Himālayas on the north and the three rivers. the Kosi, the Gandak, and the Gaṅgā respectively on the east, west and south,[1] kept itself afloat like a tiny island in the sea Though occasional floods submerged it from time to time, it always raised its head again, and remained, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the last free stronghold of Hinduism in the vast stretch of land extending from the Sindhu to the Karatoyā

Reference has been made above to the foundation of a new ruling dynasty in Mithilā by Nānyadeva of Karṇāṭaka origin, in A D 1097 This family was ruling over Tirhut when the Muslim Turkish invaders swept over the whole of North India[2] Tirhut was not altogether immune from their attack[3] Apart from occasional plundering raids, Sultān Hisām-ud-dīn or Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Iwāz Khaljī, who had assumed sovereign status in Bengal some time before A.D. 1225, is said to have received tribute from Bang, Kāmrūd and Tirhut[4] But this vague claim is not supported by the account of any actual invasion Another rebellious governor of Bengal, Tughān Khān *alias* 'Izz-ud-dīn Tughril, who had advanced into Awadh and seized the town, made an inroad into Tirhut and acquired much valuable booty, but no submission (A D 1243-4)[5] The political condition of Tirhut during the rule of such powerful Sultāns as Iltutmish,[6] Balban,[7] and 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī[8] cannot be determined with certainty.

Barring occasional raids and temporary occupation of parts, or even assertion of nominal suzerainty by some Sultāns, Tirhut seems

to have escaped the fury of Muslim attack. This is particularly noteworthy for two reasons. In the first place, though the principality lay on the way from Delhi or Awadh to Lakhnāwatī, the Muslim forces seem to have systematically avoided it. Secondly, Tirhut was the refuge of orthodox Hinduism which it was the declared policy of Islām to stamp out, wherever possible. Tirhut seems to have possessed a charmed life. Arguments based on geographical factors have been advanced to explain the immunity of Tirhut from Muslim attack,[9] but they cannot be taken very seriously But whatever might have been the cause, the Karṇāṭaka rulers of Mithilā maintained their independence, while every other Hindu principality in the Gangetic valley crashed beneath the heels of Turkish cavalry.

The Karṇāṭaka kings ruled in Mithilā in an unbroken line of succession throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A D There are, however, slight discrepancies in the names of kings and order of succession as given by different authorities. The most reliable seems to be the list given above[10] on the authority of the inscription of Pratāpamalla. The name of Bhūpālasiṁha of this list is, however, omitted in other sources, and Śaktisiṁha appears as Śakrasimha in some of them All the lists end with Harisimha (also written as Harasimha) as the last ruler of this dynasty in Tirhut The regnal periods vary in different lists

Next to Nānyadeva, Harisimha was the most important ruler, and his reign forms a landmark in the history of Tirhut. Unlike his predecessors, who are mostly shadowy figures of whom very little is known, certain broad facts about Harisimha are established on unimpeachable authority He had his capital at a place called Simarāmapura,[11] modern Simraon in Nepāl, on the borderland just outside the north-eastern boundary of the District of Champāran[12] Three generations of able ministers, namely, Chaṇḍeśvara, his father Vīreśvara, and his grandfather Devāditya, all served as *Mahāsāndhi-vigrahikas* (Minister of Peace and War) of Harisimha[13] It is mentioned in contemporary literature that Chaṇḍeśvara conquered Nepāl for his master, and performed the great religious gift of *tulā-purusha* (gift of gold of the donor's weight) in November, 1314[14] This gives us a valuable datum for fixing the lowest limit of the date of Harisiṁha's accession In view of the fact that Chaṇḍeśvara, who served him in A.D. 1314, was preceded by his father and grandfather in the same post, we may assume that according to all reasonable probability, Harisiṁha ascended the throne during the eighties of the thirteenth century A.D , if not earlier.

This is, however, opposed to the traditional account of Śakrasiṁha, who was the predecessor and father of Harisiṁha according to the Mithilā tradition. The inscription of Pratāpamalla, however, calls him Śaktisiṁha and places a king Bhūpālasiṁha between him and Harisiṁhadeva. It has been suggested by some that as neither the literary tradition nor any other evidence corroborates this, Bhūpālasiṁha was the elder brother of Harisiṁha and probably never ascended the throne.[15] This gratuitous assumption has been rendered necessary by a Mithilā tradition that Śakrasiṁha helped 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī "in his fight against Hammīra (Hambira) of Ranathambhapura"[16] There are other traditions according to which the Muslims invaded Mithilā in 697 A.H (A.D 1297-8) and arrested the King.[17] None of these traditions is, however, supported by Muslim chronicles or any other reliable evidence. As the invasion of Ranthambhor took place in A D 1300, Śaktisiṁha must have been alive in that year, and if Bhūpālasiṁha reigned between him and Harisiṁha—a statement occurring in a seventeenth century epigraphic record which we have no good grounds to disbelieve—Harisiṁha's accession has to be placed at the end of the first decade of the fourteenth century This appears to be so improbable in view of what has been said above, that it seems more reasonable to disregard the local traditions and place the accession of Harisiṁha about A.D. 1280, possibly even earlier.[18]

There are several references in contemporary literature that Harisiṁha defeated the Muslims. "In the *Dāna-ratnākara* Chaṇḍesvara is described as having rescued the earth flooded by Mlechchhas." In a two-act comedy, *Dhūrta-samāgama*, which was played in the court of Harisiṁha, the King is said to have conquered the Suratrāna (Sultān)[19] These statements have been taken to refer to Harisiṁha's fight with Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq in A D. 1324. But, if, as is generally believed, king Harisiṁha was defeated in that fight and forced to seek refuge in Nepāl, the exulting references to victories over the Muslims can hardly apply to that episode In any case, it is equally likely that Harisiṁha scored successes against the Muslims either during the last days of the Mamlūk Sultāns, after the death of Balban (A D. 1287), or during the chaos and confusion that followed the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī (A.D 1316). There is nothing to be surprised at the discomfiture of the Muslim forces, probably of a neighbouring locality, when the Delhi Sultanate was passing through a grave crisis, and it had a great repercussion on the provincial administration.

Similarly the conquest of Nepāl by Chaṇḍeṣvara, mentioned above, need not necessarily be referred to a time after the defeat

of Harisiṁha by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. According to the interpretation of the relevant passage by Monmohan Chakravarti, the *tulā-purusha* gift, performed in A.D. 1314, followed upon the conquest of Nepāl, and this seems to be a very reasonable view.[20]

If we accept the above reconstruction of the history of Harisiṁha's reign, we can easily understand why Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq directed his efforts towards the subjugation of Tirhut, not attempted by any other Sultān of Delhi before him. It is reasonable to infer that Mithilā had so long escaped Muslim subjugation, mainly because it was regarded as an inoffensive petty Hindu State, not unwilling to bow down to a strong Sultān. But Harisiṁha took advantage of the temporary weakness of the Muslim rulers to hurl defiance at them and even scored some successes Such occasional resurgence of the Hindu power must have been regarded as a source of grave peril to the Muslim domination in India, and the sagacious Sultān, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, had therefore every reason to regard the subjugation of Mithilā as a major policy

Ghiyās-ud-dīn's conquest of Tirhut in A D. 1324-5 was, however, hardly regarded as an important episode of his reign. Baranī simply states, in a general way, that as soon as the Sultān reached Tirhut on his way to Bengal, "without the sword being called into requisition all the *rais* and *ranas* of the country made their submission".[21] The episode of Tirhut is altogether omitted in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, while Nizām-ud-dīn merely repeats the statement of Baranī. 'Isāmī is the first historian who gives a detailed account of the Tirhut expedition After referring to the capture of Sultān Bahādur of Lakhnāwatī and the arrival of the captive king with his brother Nasīr-ud-dīn at the camp of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn on the bank of the Kosi, 'Isāmī proceeds:

"Next day the Sultān started from the bank of the Kosi towards Tirhut. He secured two kings at one and the same time, one by war, the other by peace[22] As soon as the king of Tirhut heard of the approach of the Sultān he took refuge in a forest. The imperial army reached the outskirts of the forest. The Sultān was very much surprised at the sight of the forest It is said that he himself got down from his horse, and taking an axe in his hand cut down an old tree in order to clear the jungle. The soldiers, thereupon, cleared a passage for the army with the help of axes. In two or three days the passage was ready, and on the third day the imperial army reached the fort of Tirhut It had seven deep ditches full of water. For two or three weeks the Sultān sent his soldiers to the right and the left with orders to attack the Hindus wherever gathered, and plunder them After this he sent (Nasīr-ud-dīn) with

royal umbrella to Lakhnāwatī. The Sultān left the valiant Ahmad, son of Talbaga, in Tirhut and, having started from the camp on the next day, reached the capital in one or two months".[23]

A more detailed account is given by Firishta, who expressly says that it is derived from 'Isāmī's book, *Futūh-us-Salātīn* Yet he described the events following the siege as follows:

"The King invested the place, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Raja and his family were taken, and great booty obtained, while the government of Tirhoot was left in the hands of Ahmud Khan, the son of Mulik Tulubigha, after which the king returned towards Dehly" [24]

It will be seen that the two accounts radically differ from each other The earlier account, written by a contemporary, knows nothing of the fall of the fort and the capture of the king of Tirhut and his family. Moreover, he definitely implies that when the Sultān left for Delhi, he could not secure the submission of the king of Tirhut and left Ahmad behind to continue the siege. The two contemporary historians, 'Isāmī and Baranī, and almost all the later writers, excepting Firishta, are silent regarding any success of the Muslim arms, not to speak of capturing the fort together with the king of Tirhut and his family. 'Isāmī's book, which alone is expressly mentioned by Firishta as his source of information, contains nothing of the kind It is legitimate, therefore, to conclude that the additional information supplied by Firishta is mostly a later concoction prompted by a desire to gloss over the failure of the Muslims to subdue a petty Hindu king [25]

We may, therefore, hold that while the Muslim army overran the plains of Tirhut, its brave king Harisiṁhadeva successfully defended himself in his impregnable citadel in the dense forest of Nepāl Terai. This not only explains why Muslim historians like Baranī, Yahyā, and Nizām-ud-dīn do not refer to the fight of the Sultān with Harisiṁha, but also the verse in the *Dhūrta-Samāgama*, a contemporary two-act comedy played in the court of Harisimha, which exultingly refers to the victory of Harisimha and his ministers over the Muslim Sultān after a protracted and sanguinary fight [26]

It may be noted in passing that the citadel, where Harisiṁhadeva was besieged by the Muslim forces, can hardly be regarded as his capital Simraon, although this is the generally accepted view For no one, whose kingdom mostly extends over the plains, would think of fixing his capital city in a dense forest where no army could penetrate without cutting down trees on a vast scale. Indeed 'Isāmī clearly says that the king of Mithilā took refuge in a forest.

Such a statement would be inexplicable if he shut himself up in his own capital city.[27]

According to a well-known verse, Harisiṁha entered the mountains after leaving his capital city in Śaka 1245, on the 9th of *Pausha*, Śudi, Saturday.[28] This has been taken to refer to the flight of Harisiṁha and his conquest of Nepāl after his defeat in the hands of Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq. But, as such, the date is inadmissible for two reasons. In the first place, it corresponds to December 7, 1323, whereas according to the testimony of Muslim chronicles, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq passed through Tirhut a year later in the cold season of A.D 1324. Secondly, 9th *Pausha* in Śaka 1245, whether we take it as current or expired, was not a Saturday. But 9th *Pausha* in Śaka 1247 expired was a Saturday. This date, which corresponds to 14th December 1325, seems to be the correct one.[29] As we have seen above, according to the contemporary Muslim chronicler 'Isāmī, Harisiṁha was besieged, but not defeated, when Ghiyās-ud-dīn left for Delhi towards the end of A.D. 1324 or the beginning of 1325 If we admit, on the authority of the *Dhūrta-samāgama*, that Harisiṁha offered a stubborn resistance and even inflicted defeat upon the imperial army, the date 14th December, 1325, may be taken as a more probable date for Harisiṁha's entry into Nepāl after the end of the conflict As we have seen above, there is no evidence that Harisiṁha fell a prisoner into the hands of the Muslims, as Firishta would have us believe. It is more likely that he successfully defied the Muslim forces in the impenetrable jungles of the Terai. But though Harisimha passed over the crisis, he knew full well that he was no match for the Sultān of Delhi, and could not resist his might in the plains. So he rightly concluded that he could maintain his independence only in the hills and jungles of Nepāl. It has been assumed by the latest historian of Tirhut that Harisiṁha, after his defeat "fled from Tirhut, invaded Nepāl and settled down there for the rest of his life".[30] It is very unlikely, though not impossible, that a king deserting his people and kingdom, and fleeing for his life, would be in a position to subdue a country like Nepāl, whose geographical position and natural defences have enabled it to maintain its independence throughout the Muslim and even during the British rule It is more reasonable to suppose that he had already conquered Nepāl in the heyday of his power and glory, particularly as there are grounds for dating this event in or befoe A.D 1314, as mentioned above. It is also not unlikely that the resources of Nepāl enabled him to successfully resist the Sultān of Delhi in the jungle, when he was forced to leave the plains of Tirhut before the invading Muslim army. What probably took place in A.D. 1325 was that Harisiṁha decided

to abandon his own kingdom and settle in Nepāl which acknowledged his suzerainty. The traditional verse, mentioned above, also says that he entered (*āviveśa* or *praveśa*), not conquered, Nepāl.

However that might be, there is no doubt that after the conquest of the plains of Tirhut by the Muslim forces in A.D. 1324-5, Harisimhadeva passes out of the history of that country, and henceforth he and his family are associated with Nepāl rather than Tirhut. Their fortunes and achievements in Nepāl will be dealt with in connection with the history of that country. In the meantime we may pursue the history of Tirhut.

For the time being Tirhut passed under the Delhi Sultanate. This is proved by the coins issued by Muhammad bin Tughluq with the mint-name Tughluqpur-urf-Tirhut, and the inclusion of Tirhut by Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī in the list of imperial territories paying regular tribute during the early years of the reign of Muhammad.[31] But the same writer indicates, though he does not expressly state, that Tirhut threw off the Muslim yoke before the end of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Attention may be drawn to the following passage which has not been noticed by the historians,[32] describing the march of Fīrūz Tughluq towards Lakhnāwatī in course of his expedition against Ilyās Shāh, in A D. 1353.

"When Fīrūz reached Tirhut, its Hindu king (Rāy) and other nobles attended his court and offered presents. The Sultān made suitable returns. The province of Tirhut *now* became as obedient to the Durbar, and realised *Kharaj, as it did before.* The Muslim soldiers did no harm to Tirhut. For the proper management of the State a ruler was appointed according to the rules of succession Many provinces became organised and well administered".[33]

It would thus appear that the period of anarchy and confusion during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq enabled Tirhut to assert its independence, but Fīrūz, on his way to Bengal, restored the authority of the Delhi Sultanate. He, however, did not incorporate it in the Delhi Sultanate but left it under a Hindu King, who, in his opinion, had a legitimate claim to the throne. This fits in well with the fact that a new Brahmanical dynasty of local kings (as distinguished from the Karṇāṭaka family) ruled over Tirhut in an unbroken line of succession from about A.D. 1353 to about A.D 1526, as will be shown later But nothing is definitely known about the political condition of Tirhut during the quarter of a century that elapsed between the conquest of the plains of Tirhut by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq in A.D. 1325 and the establishment of the new dynasty by Fīrūz Tughluq about A D. 1353

One fact, more or less definitely established, is the invasion of Ilyās Shāh, Sultān of Bengal. There is hardly any doubt that this formed part of the same expedition which led him far into the interior of Nepāl in A.D. 1349-50.[34] It may be reasonably presumed that it was a daring raid for plunder and was not of much political importance,[35] save perhaps drawing the wrath of Fīrūz upon this ambitious rebel governor of Bengal. In any case this invasion took place long after A.D 1325.

There are several traditions testifying to the existence of a ruling Karṇāṭa family in Tirhut even after the departure of Harisiṁha for Nepāl in A.D. 1323 or 1325. Vidyāpati tells a story in which Narasiṁhadeva of Karṇāṭa-*kula* helped Muhammad, the Yavana king of Hastināpura, in his fight with Kāfar-rāja. The existence of a ruler of Tirhut, named Nṛisiṁha; is proved by a reference in a literary work *Dāna-paddhati*, whose author Rāmadatta, a cousin of Chaṇḍeśvara, declares himself to be his minister.[35a] If this story be regarded as true, we may presume that Muhammad bin Tughluq, like Fīrūz Tughluq after him, appointed a scion of the old ruling family, to which Harisiṁha belonged, the ruler of Tirhut under the suzerainty of the Sultān of Delhi. It is probably Nṛisiṁhadeva, or his successor, who took advantage of the disorder in the empire to throw off the yoke of the Sultanate, and hence Fīrūz selected a Hindu ruler of Tirhut from a different family, thereby finally extinguishing the rule of the old Karnāta family whose traditions and sentiments made them unreliable feudatories.

Reference is made in the *Vaṁśāvalīs* of Nepāl to Jayatsiṁha, a prince of Tirhut, belonging to the Karṇāṭa family, who played a leading part in the somewhat chaotic political condition of Nepāl after A D. 1330.[36] This also presupposes the existence of a Karṇāṭa family in Tirhut with real possession of, or pretended claim to, the throne.

It will appear from the history of Nepāl, discussed in the next section, that while Harisiṁha and his descendants were ruling as suzerains of Nepāl, there were local dynasties actually wielding sovereign authority in the Nepāl valley proper. It is not yet definitely established, what portion of the kingdom was under the actual sway of Harisimha's family. It is not unlikely that they had established themselves in the border-land between Tirhut and Nepāl, the region where Harisimha resisted the might of the imperial Delhi army.

All these scattered evidences make it likely that the members of the Karṇāṭa family played some part in the history of Tirhut till the arrival there of Fīrūz Tughluq, on his way to Bengal, in

A.D. 1353. As noted above, on the authority of Baranī, Fīrūz set up a new king on the throne of Tirhut who readily accepted the suzerainty of Delhi. This is supported by traditions of Tirhut which, though often vague, contradictory, and confusing, perhaps contain a kernel of truth. Reference may here be made only to a few traditions preserved in the literary works of the famous poet Vidyāpati, who flourished in the fifteenth century A.D. and graced the courts of several kings of Tirhut, including Śivasiṁha, the most well-known of them all. The historical references in Vidyāpati's literary works may be summed up as follows:[37]

In A.D. 1326 Harasiṁha (Harisiṁha) abandoned the kingdom of Tirhut and went into the Nepāl jungle. The Emperor of Delhi then conferred the kingdom on Kāmeśvara Ṭhakkura. The names of his descendants, so far as is necessary for our present purpose, are shown in the following genealogical tree:

Kāmeśvara Ṭhakkura
- Bhogīśvara
  - Gaṇeśvara
    - Vīrasiṁha
    - Kīrttisiṁha
- Bhaveśa or Bhavasiṁha
  - Devasiṁha
    - Śivasiṁha (patron of Vidyāpati)

Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq deposed Kāmeśvara and gave the throne to his younger son Bhogīśvara. He was a friend of Fīrūz, and was succeeded by his son Gaṇeśvara.

Gaṇeśvara was treacherously killed in L.S. 252 (A.D. 1370) by Aslān, evidently a Muslim, who wanted to usurp the throne of Mithilā. But the three sons of Gaṇeśvara, namely Vīrasiṁha, Kīrttisiṁha, and Rājasiṁha, with the help of Ibrāhīm Shāh, defeated and killed Aslān. As Vīrasiṁha also died in this battle, Ibrāhīm Shāh made Kīrttisiṁha, his younger brother, the king of Mithilā. Elsewhere Vidyāpati says that Gaṇeśvara had two sons, Kīrtti was the younger, but went to Delhi, and was given the kingdom by the emperor.

Bhogīśvara, on becoming king, had divided the kingdom with his brother Bhavasiṁha. Kīrttisiṁha died childless and so did his brother, and the two kingdoms were thus united, after his death, under Śivasiṁha.

According to the traditional account of Mithilā, Kāmeśvara Ṭhakkura founded the famous Sugauna dynasty of Brāhmaṇa kings who, as we shall see later, ruled in Tirhut till A.D. 1526. The royal family is also called Oinavāra, from the name of their native village Oinī (in Muzaffarpur District).[38]

It would appear from Vidyāpati's account, quoted above, that Kāmeśvara ruled over Tirhut from A.D. 1326 till he was deposed by Fīrūz Tughluq. This is, however, very doubtful. For, elsewhere Vidyāpati styles him merely as Rājapaṇḍita, and some scholars have expressed a doubt whether he at all became the king of Mithilā[39]. It appears, however, from other evidences that he actually ruled over Mithilā, though only for a very short period, from A D. 1350 to 1353.[40]

Again, Vidyāpati's reference to the invasion of Tirhut by Aslān and his subsequent defeat by Ibrāhīm[41] cannot be reconciled with known facts of history, though desperate attempts have been made by several scholars to make it appear historical by amending Vidyāpati's text. M. Chakravarti seems to be right in rejecting the passage of Vidyāpati as corrupt.[42] Again, the statement of Vidyāpati that Kīrttisiṁha, though a younger son, succeeded his father through the intervention of the Emperor of Delhi, cannot be reconciled with the other statement about Ibrāhīm, if we take him as the Sharqī ruler of Jaunpur. It is further contradicted by the fact that Vidyāpati himself gives the title *Mahārājādhirāja* to the elder brother, Vīrasiṁha.

As Vidyāpati was very nearly a contemporary, we can only explain away these contradictions and improbabilities by supposing a revision and corruption of the text in later times Similarly the traditions recorded in various other books cannot be held as trustworthy in all details, as they are often contradictory, and not supported by any reliable evidence It is not, therefore, possible to give a detailed account of the history of Tirhut during the reign of the Sugauna dynasty, and we may discuss it only in broad outline.

Mention has been made above of the first king Kāmeśvara, the division of the kingdom into two parts after his death, his three or four (if we include Vīrasiṁha) successors, ruling over one part, and the reunion of the kingdom under Śivasiṁha, son of Devasimha, grandson of Bhavasiṁha (son of Kāmeśvara), who ruled over the other part.

According to M. Chakravarti, however, there was no division of the kingdom and Bhavasiṁha succeeded Kīrttisiṁha.[43] Others reconcile the two by admitting the division, but regarding Bhavasiṁha as the successor of Kīrttisiṁha, the grandson of his brother.[44] In this case. however, the reunion took place in the reign of Bhava-

siṁha, not Śivasiṁha, as postulated before on the authority of Vidyāpati. It is unnecessary to describe in detail the reigns of these kings,[45] most of which were uneventful or troubled by internal dissensions and occasional invasion by the Muslims. But a great deal of importance attaches to the status of these kings *vis à vis* the Sultān of Delhi. It seems that they paid nominal allegiance, and perhaps even occasional tribute, to the Sultān, when he was strong enough to exact them But under a weak Sultān both were refused, and in some cases the king of Tirhut even issued coins in his own name. The reign of Śivasiṁha, the greatest ruler of the dynasty, offers a striking illustration of the general state of changing political conditions after the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate at the beginning of the fifteenth century A D Tirhut was now hemmed in between the two independent Muslim kingdoms of Bengal and Jaunpur. The Sharqī ruler of Jaunpur occasionally imposed his authority, taking, as usual, full advantage of disputed successions in which one party appealed to him for aid In the concluding verse of the *Purusha-parīkshā*, Vidyāpati says that Śivasiṁha gained glory in a terrible battle with the king of Gauḍa and with (him of) Gajjana.[46] The former undoubtedly refers to Bengal, and the latter, probably to Jaunpur. It is impossible to recover historical truth from the mass of legends recorded by the famous contemporary poet Vidyāpati, and his vague, general statements about the decisive victory of Śivasiṁha over the Muslims cannot be taken at their face value An important evidence of Śivasiṁha's general success and freedom from the Muslim yoke is furnished by the gold coins issued by him [47]

According to a tradition recorded by Mulla Taqyya, a courtier of Akbar and Jahāngīr, Ibrāhīm Sharqī, the Sultān of Jampur, while proceeding against Bengal to chastise Rājā Gaṇeśa[47a], was opposed by "Sheo Singh, the Zamindar of Tirhut who had rebelled against his father, Raja Deva Singh made an alliance with Raja Gaṇeśa, and thus became an independent ruler of Tirhut." Sheo Singh was defeated and taken prisoner and "the whole territory of Tirhut was again transferred to his father as a loyal servant of the Sultān". Mulla Taqyya gives the date of this event as 805 A.H (1402-3 A.D.). The date is obviously wrong as Ganeśa came to power much later (about 1417 A D.). It is, however, more likely that the Muslim ruler against whom Śivasiṁha fought was the Sharqī ruler of Jaunpur rather than the Sultān of Delhi. There may be some truth in Taqyya's statement that Śivasiṁha was an independent ruler who felt powerful enough to challenge the Sultān of Jaunpur, as it tallies with the account given above. But his alliance with Rājā Ganeśa, rebellion against his father, and defeat and imprisonment by Ibrāhīm Sharqī, as alleged by Mulla Taqyya are

not supported by any other evidence. As the date of Ibrāhim's invasion of Bengal, given by him is wrong, it is evident that Taqyya had no authentic account before him but relied mostly on current traditions.[47b]

Taqyya quoted an inscription on a mosque at Darbhanga recording its construction by the orders of Sultān Ibrāhim in 805 A.H. (1402-3 A.D.). Probably this was done when Ibrāhim came to Tirhut to punish the usurper Aṣlān as mentioned above. Taqyya might have been misled by this inscription not only to refer the later expedition of Ibrāhim against Gaṇeśa to this date but also to drag in the name of Śivasiṁha in that connection.

Śivasiṁha's copper-plate grant in favour of Vidyāpati is drawn up in the grandiloquent style of the old Hindu Emperors, and is dated in *La Saṁ* 293, *Sana* 807, *Samvat* 1455, *Śaka* 1321[48] The mention of four different eras is unusual, but the existence of the *Sana-era* at that time may be doubted, as it appears to have been introduced by Akbar by the conversion of the lunar Hijra year to a solar one. On these grounds the grant has been regarded as spurious by some.[49]

The only authentic date of Śivasiṁha seems to be *La Saṁ* 291, known from a colophon of a manuscript.[50] If interpreted in the usual manner by taking A D 1119 as the epoch of the *La Sam*, it would be equivalent to A D. 1410, but many instances are known where *La Saṁ* was counted with the initial year varying between A D. 1107 and 1120.[51]

According to Vidyāpati, Yavana forces attacked Śivasiṁha[52] who, after his fight with the Muslims, became independent king of Tirhut in L. S 293 or Śaka 1324 (A D 1402)[53] His father Devasimha had left the family residence of Oinī and founded the city of Śivasimhapura, also known as Gajarathapura. When Śivasiṁha had been three years and nine months on the throne after his father's death, he was conquered by the Musulmāns and carried to Delhi. His wife, Lakhimā, with Vidyāpati, took refuge in Banaulī which is close to Janakapura in Nepāl When no news of Śivasiṁha had been received from Delhi for twelve years, Lakhimā became *satī*[54] and Padmasiṁha, Śivasiṁha's younger brother, came to the throne, but he reigned only for a year He was succeeded by his widow Viśvāsa Devī, who reigned for twelve years.

The genuineness of this passage may be doubted. As a matter of fact, different views are current regarding the order of succession after the death of Śivasiṁha According to some, he was succeeded by his brother Padmasiṁha, after whom the sovereignty passed to Harasiṁha, a member of a junior branch of the family.[55] According

to others, Lakhimā, the chief queen of Śivasiṁha, and Viśvāsa Devī, queen of Padmasiṁha, ascended the throne after the death of their husbands.[56]

Dhīrasiṁha, the grandson of Harasiṁha, is described as a great warrior and world-famous conqueror by Vidyāpati in the opening lines of the *Durgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī*, and his brother is credited with the subjugation of the lord of Pañcha-Gauḍa (Bengal).[57] One of his known dates is *La Saṁ.* 321, which falls between A.D. 1428 and 1441.[58] The Sultanates of Delhi, Bengal, and Jaunpur, as mentioned above, were then passing through evil days, being convulsed by internal dissensions and foreign wars It is not unlikely, therefore, that Dhīrasiṁha took advantage of them to assert his independence and carry on raids against his neighbours Bhairavendra or Bhairavasiṁha, the younger brother of Dhīrasiṁha, succeeded him. He had defeated the Lord of Pañcha-Gauda during his brother's reign, and is said to have influenced Kedāra Rāya, the representative of the Lord of Gauḍa (Bengal).[59] He had the epithet Harinārāyaṇa and was the patron of Vāchaspati Miśra. Rāmachandra, the son and successor of Bhairavendra, had the epithet Rūpanārāyana and ruled about A.D 1490 He is said to have met Sikandar Lodī as a friend and conquered Gauḍa [60] The next king, Lakshmīnāthadeva Kaṁsanārāyana, two of whose known dates are A D. 1510 and 1513, is described as a great "warrior king" and the "king of kings" It is evident that for nearly three quarters of a century kings of Tirhut were playing an important role in East Indian politics in the confused political situation of the country, and fought with the neighbouring rulers of Jaunpur and Bengal. After Jaunpur was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate and Sikandar Lodī advanced through Bihār in pursuit of Husain Sharqī, he turned his attention to Tirhut (A D. 1494-5). The ruler of Tirhut submitted peacefully and offered some lakhs of *tankas* as tribute and present.[61] Next year Sikandar Lodī concluded peace with Sultān Husain Shāh of Bengal on the basis of *status quo*. Shortly afterwards Husain conquered Sāran, as is proved by his inscription at that place dated A D. 1503-4 [62] But as Sāran lay outside Tirhut, and the Muslim invaders, as mentioned above, usually avoided Tirhut while proceeding towards Awadh and Delhi, the inscription does not prove the conquest of the whole of Tirhut by Husain Shāh of Bengal,[63] particularly as Lakshmīnātha is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1510 or 1513. This view is further supported by the fact that Husain's son and successor Nusrat Shāh (A.D 1519-32) sent a military expedition against Tirhut which subjugated the province. That the victory was complete is proved by the fact that Nusrat annexed Tirhut and appointed his two brothers-in-law to govern the province. According to literary evidence Lakshmīnātha died in

A.D. 1526 With him the Hindu State of Mithilā or Tirhut was finally extinguished. There were altogether about 15 rulers in the Sugauna dynasty who ruled from c. A.D. 1353 to 1526.

During this period another family of kings ruled in the territory, south of Nepāl, on both sides of the Gandak, roughly corresponding to Gorakhpur and Champāran Districts. Two kings of this dynasty are mentioned in the colophons of manuscripts, namely Pṛithvīsiṁhadeva (A.D. 1434-35) and Madanasiṁhadeva, for whom we have got two dates, V. S 1511 (A.D. 1453-54) and *La Saṁ* 339 (A.D. 1446 to 1459). He was the author of the *Madana-ratnapradīpa*. He is referred to as king Madanasiṁhadeva, son of king Śaktisiṁha, and adorned by many *birudas* One of these is *Viprarāja* which shows that he was a Brāhmaṇa. Another is *Daityanārāyaṇa*, which links him with the kings of the Oinavāra line many of whom assumed titles ending in Nārāyana It also shows that the king was of Vaishṇava faith. This makes it probable that it was he who issued the series of coins, found in the region over which he ruled and bearing the legend "*Govinda-charana-praṇava-madana*" on the obverse and '*Śrī-Champakāraṇya*' on the reverse On general grounds also these coins are to be referred to the 15th century A.D, and indicate the existence of a Hindu kingdom in the Champāran District. The three kings Pṛithvīsimha, Śaktisimha and Madanasimha may be presumed to be its rulers.[64]

It has been suggested that these kings represent a branch of the Oinavāra family which established a separate kingdom after the death of Śivasiṁha.[65] Curiously enough, the traditions and legends of Mithilā, which refer to all sorts of possible and impossible historical events, are quite silent about them.

S Lévi has suggested that these kings belonged to the family of Harisimha, evidently on the similarity of names of two kings, Madanasiṁha and Śaktisimha, presumably successors of Harisiṁha, who, according to Chinese chronicles, ruled in Nepāl respectively in A D. 1387 and 1413.[66] The epithet *bipra* or Brāhmana, however, goes against this view

Casual references are made to other kings in the same region. Thus an inscription of A D. 1500, engraved on the Lauriya Nandangarh Pillar of Aśoka, mentions "*Nṛipa-Nārāyana-suta-nṛipa Amarasiṁha*".[67] Whether Amarasimha, son of king Nārāyana, was a ruling chief of this region and, if so, whether he belonged to the dynasty of Champāran mentioned above,—all these and cognate questions cannot be answered at present. But it is not unlikely that there were many powerful feudatory chiefs in this region who occasionally declared independence whenever a suitable opportunity presented itself

The survival of the small state of Tirhut, a tiny Hindu island in the Muslim ocean, must be regarded as an event of the highest importance from the point of view of medieval Hindu culture. As has been very rightly pointed out, "it gave refuge to a number of Paṇḍits and students flying from the flames of foreign invasions that burnt up the neighbouring centres of learning".[68] Sanskrit learning flourished under the patronage of the Hindu rulers in Mithilā, such as it did nowhere else in Northern India during the seven hundred years that followed the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. Mithilā School was not only instrumental in preserving the old Sanskrit works and traditions dealing particularly with laws and usages, but also contributed a great deal that was new, specially in the branch of Nyāya. A detailed account of all this will be given in the chapter on Literature It will suffice here to state that during the period under review Mithilā produced famous scholars like Chaṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura and Vāchaspati Miśra, whose names are even now remembered all over India. Thus the contribution of the small State of Tirhut or Mithilā to the preservation and development of Hindu culture, during the medieval age, exceeds far in importance, and gives a special value to, the annals of its political history.

III. NEPĀL

According to tradition of Nepāl, King Nānyadeva's descendants, right up to Harisiṁha, ruled over Nepāl in an unbroken line of succession during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D But, as mentioned above, this is hard to reconcile with the fact that throughout the same period the *Vaṁśāvalīs* of Nepāl refer to indigenous kings ruling in unbroken succession.[1] The only possible explanation seems to be that the descendants of Nānya were really rulers of Tirhut, but maintained a sort of suzerainty over Nepāl, the nature of which probably varied from time to time and cannot be precisely defined [2] The conquest of Nepāl by Harisiṁha, to which reference has been made above,[3] may be regarded as a practical assertion of the suzerainty rather than a fresh conquest.

This is supported by a local tradition to the effect that the chiefs and peoples of Bhatgaon welcomed Harisiṁha to the palace without any resistance This is attributed to the power of the goddess Tulajā, the patron deity of Harisiṁhadeva[4] But a less mysterious explanation may be found in the long-standing claim of suzerainty on the part of the king of Mithilā. That the occupation of Nepāl was not effected without some fight, appears clearly from the boast of Chaṇḍeśvara that he was "victorious over all the kings of Nepāl".

Lévi drawn attention to the slight differences in the wordings of this boast in two different works of Chaṇḍeśvara In the *Kṛitya-ratnākara* Chaṇḍeśvara is an aggressive conqueror of Nepāl. In the *Kṛitya-chintamaṇi*, he is the heroic defender.[5] If the change is a deliberate one, the first may refer to the original conquest, and the second to the defence of the kingdom against the Muslims No actual invasion of Nepāl by any Muslim force at this period is recorded, but it is interesting to refer in this connection to a single coin bearing the name of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī which was probably minted in Nepāl. It has been inferred from this coin that the ruler of Nepāl acknowledged the suzerainty of 'Alā-ud-dīn, but this is very problematical.[5a]

Not much is known about Harisimha's rule in Nepāl. The unsettled nature of the time is indicated by the invasion of Nepāl, in A D. 1328, by Ādityamalla, the king of the Khasiyas of Western Nepāl.[6] It is suggested by Lévi that Harisiṁha had probably by this time gone back to Tirhut where local dynasties, originating from him, ruled prosperously for a long time[7] But, as we have seen above,[8] the Ṭhākurs who ruled in Tirhut from about A D. 1353 to 1526, to whom Lévi obviously refers, belonged to a local Brāhmana family and do not claim any connection with the Karnāṭa family to which Harisiṁha belonged.

As a matter of fact the fate of Harisiṁha's family after he settled in Nepāl is a moot point to decide Harisiṁha is mentioned in almost all the *Vaṁśāvalīs* as the king of Nepāl and is said to have ruled for 28 years But there is no unanimity in the *Vaṁśāvalīs* of Nepāl about his successors Later chronicles mention three kings, as successors of Harisimha, and legitimate rulers of Nepāl These are.[9]

1. Matisiṁha—15 years.
2. Śaktisiṁha—22 (27 or 33) years
3. Śyāmasiṁha—15 years

All these are recognized as Sūryavamśī kings of Bhatgaon. The official genealogy, as given in the epigraphic records of the Malla kings during the seventeenth century, however, completely ignores the above three kings, and none of them is referred to in any manuscript of Nepāl.

The later chronicles, however, not only give the names of these three kings, but also describe some incidents of each reign The most interesting of these is the mention of diplomatic relations between them and the Emperor of China For this enables us to check the veracity of these chronicles The Chinese texts, according to Lévi, leave no doubt that the Chinese Emperors sent embassies

to, and received embassies from, the successors of Harisiṁha mentioned above, with slight variations in names, due, perhaps, to the error, either of the Nepālese or of the Chinese scribes.[9a] It is thus definitely proved that at least during the period of diplomatic intercourse, namely between A D. 1387 and 1418, the Chinese knew of no other kings in Nepāl except the descendants of Harisiṁha.

Nevertheless the Nepālese *Vaṁśāvalīs* have preserved a continuous list of indigenous kings, many of whom must have been contemporaries, ruling over petty States in addition to those of Patan and Bhatgoan. It is possible here to refer to a few leading rulers only As mentioned above,[10] Jayarudramalla died in A.D. 1326, and this roughly coincides with the date of Harisiṁha's conquest Almost all the *Vaṁśāvalīs* agree that Harisiṁha ruled over Nepāl, but the political history after his death is given differently. According to the later chronicles, after the reigns of Harisiṁha and his three successors mentioned above, Jayabhadramalla, the son-in-law of the last king Śyāmasiṁha, ascended the throne. He was followed by five kings, whose names end in Malla, the last one being Aśokamalla. The names of none of these are known from other sources.[11]

Some *Vaṁśāvalīs* and the Introduction of *Mudita-Kuvalayāśva* mention Vallārasiṁha as the successor of Harisiṁha. Then follow three Malla kings ending in Aśokamalla.[12]

In both cases Aśokamalla was succeeded by Jayasthitimalla, with whose reign the history of Nepāl again enters upon a firm ground which is never lost

Much important information regarding the period is supplied by a semi-Sanskrit *Vaṁśāvalī*, discovered by Bendall in 1899,[13] composed towards the end of the fourteenth century A.D. It makes no mention of the invasion of Harisimha, and continues, without any break, the history of the indigenous Malla kings after Jayarudramalla, who died in A.D 1326 [14] The infant son of Jayarudra died a few days after his father's death, and Nāyakadevī, the daughter of Jayarudra, was married (after being crowned Rānī according to another *Vaṁśāvalī*) to Harichandra belonging to the royal family of Banaras Harichandra was poisoned, after some years, in A.D. 1335, and thereafter his brother Gopāladeva, accompanied by Jagatsiṁhadeva, described as belonging to Karṇāta family and a native of Tirhut, seized the person of Nāyakadevī. The allies, who appear to have taken Bhatgoan and Patan, however, fell out and Gopāla was beheaded by the followers of Jagatsiṁha (A.D. 1341) Jagatsiṁha seized the kingdom and married Nāyakadevī, but was put into confinement, it is not mentioned by whom, after only a few days Nāyakadevī also died, ten days after giving birth to a daughter,

Rājalladevī (A.D. 1347). Mention is made of Paśupatimalladeva, but his connection with the above persons or incidents is not stated. Possibly he represented a rival line of kings and had some share in the imprisonment of Jagatsiṁha,[15] for it is said, immediately after, that "by the consent of both royal families Jayarājadeva was made king in 467" (A.D. 1347, about five months before the birth of Rājalladevī), and this "was subsequently ratified by general consent". The two royal families were probably the Siṁhas and the Mallas.[16] Jayarāja, who was born in A.D. 1317, was the son of Jayānanda, the successor of Anantamalla (A.D. 1279-1307) as mentioned above,[17] and was succeeded by his son Jayārjuna In the meantime Rājalladevī had been married to Jayasthitimalla who eventually dethroned Jayārjuna and became ruler of Nepāl.

The historicity of Jayarājadeva is proved by both literary and epigraphic evidence. Manuscripts were copied during his reign in A.D. 1353-4, 1356, and 1361.[18] Far more important are two inscriptions, one dated A D. 1357, at Patan, and the second, dated A.D. 1372, in the shrine of Svayambhūnātha, about six miles from the temple of Paśupati at Kathmandu.[19] Both of these refer to the depredations, particularly burning and pillage of temples, caused by the invasion of Shams-ud-din Ilyās Shāh of Bengal. The second inscription specifically states that the invasion took place during the reign of Jayarāja in the year 470[20] of the Nepāl era (=A.D 1350). The *Vaṁśāvalī* discovered by Bendall, mentioned above, also refers to this Muslim invasion during the reign of Jayarāja. It states that Jayarāja was forced, in A D 1348 and again in 1349, to draw upon the treasury of the Lord Paśupati In 1349, "Samasadina, the Suratrāna of the East, came to Nepāl, broke Paśupati into three pieces and burnt the whole of Nepāl".[21]

The second inscription,[22] referred to above, clears up the mystery and obscurity that hitherto surrounded the history of Nepāl at this period It tells us that some time after the invasion of Ilyās Jayarāja died, being burnt in his house while asleep. He was succeeded by his son Jayārjuna. At that time Jayasthitimalla was protecting the famous town of Kāshṭhamaṇḍapa (Kathmandu). Mention is then made of Rājaharshamalla and his two brothers, who distinguished themselves by defeating the enemies Rājaharshamalla, with the consent of the two kings, like Indra and Upendra, rebuilt and decorated the Dharmadhātu *stūpa* in the year 492 (=A D. 1371-2).

It would thus appear that the internal dissensions were merely patched up for a time by the accession of Jayarāja, but the seeds of disunion were not rooted out altogether A rival, Jayasthitimalla,

established himself at Kathmandu, and whatever might have been his original status, there is hardly any doubt that by A.D. 1371-2 he was practically recognized as an independent ruler. He is not only referred to as the moon of the Kshatriya ocean, but it is expressly said that Rājaharshamalla had to take permission from the two kings, an expression which could only imply that like Jayārjuna, Jayasthitimalla also enjoyed sovereign status, at least *de facto*, if not *de jure*. It is only a short step from this position to the sovereignty of the whole of Nepāl. The political situation in Nepāl after the ruthless invasion of Ilyās Shāh must have helped a strong adventurer to secure the throne. For, though the Muslim invasion was nothing but a raid, it destroyed the prestige of the ruling family and created a state of disorder where one could easily fish in troubled waters. Jayasthitimalla evidently based his claim to the throne upon the Karṇāṭa origin of his wife's father Jagatsiṁha. But to increase this glory still further, Jayasthitimalla and his descendants traced their descent through the male line direct from Harisiṁha, and the whole genealogy was transformed to substantiate this claim.

Jayārjunamalla, who came to the throne after the Muslim invasion in A.D. 1349-50, is known from colophons of manuscripts to have been ruling from A.D. 1361 to 1382. He died in A.D. 1382, when Jayasthitimalla became the sole ruler.[23] According to the *Vaṁśāvalis*, he ruled for 43 years, and must have died at the end of A.D. 1395 or at the beginning of 1396.[24]

These dates, authenticated by unimpeachable evidence of manuscripts and inscriptions, raise an interesting problem. As we have seen above, there was diplomatic intercourse between China and Nepāl between A.D. 1387 and 1418, and during this period the Chinese do not know of Jayasthitimalla and his successors, but only the descendants of Harisiṁha, mentioned above, as rulers of Nepāl.

There is a reference to a ruler named Jayasiṁha Rāma in a manuscript copied in A.D. 1395-6, and in another document, thirty years earlier, along with Jayārjuna. There is also a casual mention of a person of the same name accompanying Jayasthitimalla in the procession of Matsyendranātha in A.D. 1387.[25] The royal name ending in 'siṁha' naturally recalls to memory the Karṇāta family of Harisiṁha, and indirectly corroborates the Chinese evidence that this family was not extinct in Nepāl even at the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. Perhaps, as Lévi suggests,[26] the kings of his family lived at Bhatgaon as nominal suzerains, while the indigenous rulers, mentioned above, reigned at the other two capitals,

Patan and Kathmandu, as their nominal vassals. In any case the Chinese evidence hardly leaves any doubt that, side by side with the indigenous rulers of Nepāl, the kings of Karṇāṭa family, descended from Harisiṁha, exercised an effective power somewhere in the Nepāl valley and were recognized as the rulers of Nepāl by the imperial court of China.

Jayasthitimalla was a capable ruler. He restored the unity and prosperity of Nepāl by thoroughly curbing the power of the feudal chiefs whose mutual dissensions had brought ruin upon Nepāl by dividing it into two or more autonomous States. He was a patron of literature and introduced many social and economic reforms. Among others, he fixed, by rule, the status of the different castes and classes, and made regulations about measures and weights He assumed the titles Dayitanārāyaṇa and Asuranārāyaṇa.[27]

Jayasthitimalla had three sons who at first ruled conjointly after their father's death, as is proved by colophons dated A.D. 1398 and 1400. But in A.D. 1411 the manuscript of *Siddhi-sāra*, comsposed by the youngest, Jayajyotirmalla, gives his name alone, with imperial titles. An official inscription, dated A D. 1413, shows that he was then the sole emperor. He ruled at least up to A.D. 1426-7 The assumption of imperial titles probably marks his virtual defiance of the imperial authority of Harisiṁha's family. Jayajyotirmalla was a contemporary of Śaktisiṁha of this family who, according to the Chinese chronicles, ruled between A.D. 1413 and 1418 These Chinese chronicles state that when the Chinese Emperor tried to renew the friendly intercourse in 1427 he got no response.[28] This shows that some time between A D 1418 and 1427 Jayajyotirmalla, who had already assumed imperial titles, finally extinguished even the nominal pretensions of the Karṇāṭa family of Harisiṁha. It is to be noted that Śaktisiṁha sent his presents to the Chinese Emperor from Palamchok, to the east of Nepāl valley proper.[29] Presumably he had to leave Nepāl before A D 1418

Jayajyotirmalla was succeeded by his son Jayayakshamalla, whose known dates range over more than half a century, between A D 1427 and 1479. The Nepālese chronicles refer to his victories all round, extending as far as Mithilā, Magadha, Vaṅga and Tibet These are no doubt hyperboles, but there may be some truth in the claim that he defeated the Gurkha chiefs and established his authority over the whole of Nepāl by subjugating the hill tribes and subduing the rebellious nobles of Patan and Kathmandu.[30]

Before his death (about A.D. 1480), he divided his kingdom among his three sons and one daughter, thus creating the four independent States of Bhatgaon, Banepa, Kathmandu and Patan

Patan was shortly afterwards united to Kathmandu, and thus, towards the end of the period under review, Nepāl was divided into three independent States, all ruled by the members of the same family, whose quarrels and dissensions paved the way for the Gurkha conquest in A.D. 1768.

E MALABAR AND THE PORTUGUESE

I MALABAR

The whole of the western coast of India, from Goa to Quilon, was outside the Tughluq Empire, and consisted of a number of small principalities, mostly Hindu Ibn Batūtah gives a short account of some of these States which he visited on his way to China in A.D 1343-4.[1]

Ibn Batūtah boarded a sailing vessel at Gandhār near the mouth of the Narmadā, and after passing through a few harbours reached Sandāpūr, modern Goa It was an island, surrounded by a creek, in the midst of which were thirty-six villages and two cities, namely, the old one, built by the old Hindu rulers, and a new city built by the Muslims, when they first conquered it (pp 176-7)

Passing through a small island, probably Anjidiv, Ibn Batūtah reached Hinawr (probably modern Honavar) inhabited by Muslims who were "powerful at sea" and "earned their living by maritime trade". The ruler was a Muslim, Jamāl-ud-dīn Muhammad, but he acknowledged the suzerainty of a Hindu, probably the Hoysala king (pp 179-80).

Though Ibn Batūtah speaks in a general way of the coast of Malabar—the pepper country—as extending from Goa to Quilon, it appears from his detailed description that Malabar proper was reached three days after he left Hinawr.

Ibn Batūtah found twelve Hindu States in Malabar. Some of them were very powerful, possessing an army of fifty thousand men, while others were very weak, and could not muster more than three thousand Yet they lived in peace and amity. That the rulers were all Nairs follows from the statement that "the rulers in this land bequeath their sovereignty to the sons of their sisters and exclude their own children" (p. 183)

Although the rulers were Hindu, there was a strong Muslim community in each State. Though they usually lived apart, they received very fair and liberal treatment and enjoyed perfect freedom of worship which the Muslim rulers denied to the Hindus. In Fākanar (a place in South Canara) the thirty war-ships of the Raja were in charge of a Muslim commander. The ruler of Jurfattan,

which has been identified with Cannanore, possessed many ships which went to Oman, Fars, and Yemen (p. 186).

After a brief halt at Calicut, to which reference will be made later, Ibn Batūtah proceeded by way of river to Quilon. On his way he passed through a Jewish settlement at Kunjākarī living under a Jewish chief, but paying tax to the Hindu ruler of Quilon.[2] This Hindu Raja held the Muslims in high regard, and they had a prosperous settlement under their own chief and judge, both of whom hailed from Persia (p. 193).

II. CALICUT

The most powerful chief in Malabar, during the 14th and 15th centuries, was the ruler of Calicut, called Zamorin. Reference has been made above[3] to the rule of the Perumals in Kerala and the last king of this dynasty, Cheraman Perumal. Various stories are current about his pilgrimage, after abdication and conversion to either Christianity or Islām. These traditions have little historical value, and were evidently circulated to explain the growth of Muslim and Christian settlements in Malabar about this time.[4]

The date of Cheraman Perumal is not definitely known, but most probably he flourished between A D. 750 and 825. The end of the rule of the Perumals gave rise to a number of small principalities in Malabar, the most important of which was Calicut. Many traditions are current, tracing the line of the rulers of Calicut, called Zamorin, in an unbroken line of succession from Manavikraman, the son of Cheraman Perumal and a Nair girl belonging to the family of the Eradis of Nediyiruppu. It is said that as this son could not succeed his father under the matriarchal system prevalent among the Nairs, Cheraman Perumal, at the time of his abdication, gave him, "as a special mark of regard and affection his sword and the small strip of territory on the coast which later on became the port of Calicut".

Whatever we might think of this story or of the traditional account of the kingdom in subsequent times, there is no doubt that it was the most powerful kingdom and the chief centre of trade in Malabar as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D.

The riches derived from trade enabled the Zamorin to extend his authority along the Malabar coast from Cannanore to Cochin. The Hindu ruler of Cochin traced his descent from the Sūrya-Kshatriya clan to whom Cheraman Perumal is said to have given the country round Cochin when he divided his empire In course of time the kingdom was split up among five branches of the dynasty, who formed a sort of federation, the oldest male member among

all the branches taken together having the right to succeed to the nominal headship. This naturally gave rise to internal dissensions, full advantage of which was taken by the Zamorin of Calicut. By offering his help to one of the rival parties, he could easily establish his political influence in Cochin, and in this way he conquered a large part of the region round Cochin and reduced the Raja to a state of vassalage.[6] According to the historical chronicles of Kerala, "the Cochin Raja paid an annual tribute to his suzerain (Zamorin), obtained his overlord's recognition before his accession, sent contingents to the Zamorin's army, and refrained from striking coins and roofing his palace with tiles. He had to send all his pepper to Calicut, and the Christians were deprived of the right of navigation which was transferred to the Moors".[7] This is partly corroborated by the Portuguese accounts[8] according to which the kingdom of Cochin, like Cannanore, was subject to the Zamorin, who often drove the king of Cochin out of his kingdom and restored him at his pleasure. The king of Cochin, we are further told, gave him every year a certain number of elephants and could not strike coins nor roof his palace with tiles.

Ibn Batūtah, who visited the city of Calicut no less than six times, and stayed there for nearly three months on his first visit, has left an account of its commercial importance. It was "one of the chief harbours of the country of Malabar, where people from China, Sumatra (*Jāwa*), Ceylon (*Saylān*), the Maldive islands (*Mahal*), Yemen and Fārs come, and here gather merchants from all quarters of the globe. And the harbour of Calicut is one of the largest in the world".[9] The trade and commerce were in the hands of Muslims, mostly traders from Arabian ports. Ibrāhīm, a merchant from Bahrein, was the head of the merchants in this town and held the office of 'Shāh Bandar' or 'receiver-general of duties'. He was the chief officer in the customs house with whom foreign merchants and captains negotiated. The judge of Calicut was also a Muslim. Another Muslim, the ship-master Misqāl, "possessed great riches and many ships for trading purposes in India, China, Yemen and Fārs".[10]

Thus, although the ruler was Hindu, the Muslims strongly dominated not only the commerce but also the politics of the kingdom of Calicut. The king gave absolute freedom of worship to the Muslims, though he forbade the slaughter of cows and the eating of beef.[11] The religious toleration, the good administration which guaranteed security and impartiality of treatment to all, and, above all, the friendly attitude of Zamorin to all foreign traders, were some of the causes that made Calicut the chief centre of trade in Malabar.

But these very virtues of the Zamorin proved his undoing on the advent of the Portuguese

III. THE WESTERN TRADE

In order to view the history of the Portuguese in India in its true perspective, it is necessary to make a few preliminary observations about the maritime trade of India. Economic factors have often profoundly influenced the course of history, and sometimes even revolutionized it. The foreign trade and maritime activities of India, during the period under review, suddenly changed the course of history, not only of India but of the whole civilized world.

Reference has been made in the preceding volumes to the maritime trade carried on by the Indians since remote antiquity, both in the eastern and in the western seas The rise of the Arabs as a great maritime power in the ninth century A D was the first direct challenge to the supremacy of the Indians in the Western Sea. An authentic account of the rivalry between the two maritime powers is not available But the position in the fifteenth century A. D. may be summed up as follows:[12]

1 Indian owned ships, from Gujarāt, Malabar, and various ports on the eastern coast, brought spices and other costly goods from Malacca, "then practically the sole *entrepot* for China and the Spice Islands" On the west, Indian ships carried on trade with Hormuz in the Persian Gulf and various ports on the coast of East Africa, and pilgrim traffic to the Red Sea The main centre of this trade was Gujarāt, but Malabar and Konkan had also a large share in it in the fourteenth century A D., as is proved by the detailed statement of Ibn Batūtah [13] A few junks from China still reached India,[14] but most of them stopped at Malacca The junks of China were strongly built,[15] the timber being fastened by iron nails The ships owned by Indians and Arabs (including Egyptians) were built mainly, if not exclusively, in India, but they were very frail as their heavy planks were made fast with cocoanut cordage and wooden pins.

2 The Arabs exercised a strict monopoly in the trade from Malabar to the Red Sea The eastern goods brought by Indian ships to Malabar ports, together with the Indian pepper and cinnamon from Ceylon, were carried in Arab ships to Jidda and Ormuz. They also shared with Indian ships the carrying trade between Gujarāt on the one hand and Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and East Africa on the other. From Ormuz Indian wares found their way in smaller boats, more suited to the navigation, to Basra, where the trade routes divided; some caravans started for Trebizond, and others for Aleppo

and Damascus. On the shores of the Mediterranean the goods were purchased by Venetians and Genoese for distribution over Europe Jidda played the same role in the Red Sea as Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. To the north of Jidda navigation was hampered by reefs and shoals, and so goods were transferred to smaller boats that went to Suez. From Suez the merchandize crossed the desert to Cairo on camels, and thence went down the Nile to Alexandria.[16]

The most important consequence of this state of things was that the Arabs were almost the sole purveyors of the eastern spices which were much prized in Europe. They controlled the entire trade between India and Europe except the small volume that passed over land route, either from the north-west of India or from the head of the Persian Gulf.

But the Arabs were also mere intermediaries. The goods carried by them to the Mediterranean ports were taken over by the Italian merchants, mainly from Genoa and Venice, who distributed them throughout Europe.

The cost of transmitting wares from India to Europe was very heavy, due to the large number of transhipments and high duties imposed by the various authorities through whose jurisdictions they had to pass. It has been calculated that when the wares from Calicut (in Malabar) reached Cairo, the ruler of the place, by various devices, exacted nearly one-third of their price as his own dues.[17]

In spite of heavy expenses the mercantile houses of Genoa and Venice reaped enormous profits, as the Indian goods fetched a very high price in European markets.

It could hardly be expected that the monopoly of Venice and Genoa in the profitable eastern trade would be looked upon with equanimity by the adventurous maritime nations like the Spanish and the Portuguese The wonderful geographical discoveries by these two nations in course of the fifteenth century A.D. induced the Pope, Alexander VI, to regulate the enterprise into the unknown world by dividing it between them. He issued no less than four bulls for this purpose in A. D 1493-94, by which the countries to the east of Europe were assigned to Portugal

By this time the Portuguese had not only explored the entire western coast of Africa but even proceeded beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The lure of capturing the eastern trade naturally turned their attention towards an all-sea-route to India. For this would enable them to import goods from that country at a much cheaper cost and, by one stroke, transfer to them the huge wealth hitherto flowing to Genoa and Venice. Thus it was that Vasco da Gama was commissioned to find out a direct sea-route to India from Portu-

gal *via* Cape of Good Hope. On July 8, 1497,[18] Vasco da Gama left Lisbon with three vessels, of a tonnage varying from 60 to 150, on this perilous undertaking.

IV. THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA

On May 17, 1498,[19] the inhabitants of the small village of Capucad, eight miles to the north of Calicut, saw the strange spectacle of three sailing vessels at anchor manned by white-skinned peoples unknown to them. The rural folk were amused, perhaps a little bewildered, but little did they dream that these were harbingers of untold sufferings to them and to their country

These were the vessels which, under the leadership of Vasco da Gama, by mere accident, touched the land at a point lying within the kingdom of the Zamorin of Calicut, to whom reference has been made above It was almost providential that da Gama had not anchored off Gujarāt, for this principality was then ruled by the Muslims, who were the sworn enemies of the Portuguese, their most deadly rivals in over-sea trade.

The Zamorin, as usual, welcomed the strangers and provided all facilities to them in Calicut which was then an important centre of spice-trade.[20] This alarmed the powerful Muslim traders of Calicut who, not unreasonably, concluded that once the Portuguese got a footing in Calicut, they would extend their activities to all other ports and thus bring irretrievable ruin upon the Muslim traders They therefore sought by every means in their power to prejudice the mind of the Zamorin against the new-comers. One objection which they urged before Zamorin's officers proved to be prophetic. The Portuguese, they argued, had not certainly undertaken this long and tedious journey from their distant home "for mere purposes of trade, of which, being a wealthy nation, they had no need, but only to spy out the country with the view of returning and conquering it by force of arms and plundering it".[21] The machinations of the Muslim traders, aided by large bribes to the officials, brought about an estrangement between the Portuguese and the Zamorin, and the high-handed actions of the former almost precipitated a crisis In a fit of anger the Zamorin ordered that the goods in the Portuguese factory should be seized, and Vasco da Gama, together with his companions who were already prisoners, should be killed. But the chief Brāhmaṇa (priest?) and other officers induced the king to rescind the order, and brought about a reconciliation between him and the Portuguese. So when Vasco da Gama left the Indian shore on August 29, 1498, he had collected valuable information regarding trade and the route, and esta-

blished friendly relations with the ruler and Hindu population of Calicut.

The successful venture of Vasco da Gama induced the king of Portugal to send a larger fleet of 13 vessels under Pedro Alvarez Cabral on March 9, 1500. Cabral had a series of adventures on the way and reached Calicut with only six vessels on September 13, 1500. The Zamorin cordially welcomed him, and a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded between the two Thereupon the Portuguese established a factory at Calicut, but the Muslim traders placed every possible obstacle on their way of successful trade in spices. Cabral complained to the Zamorin and, in order to hasten his decision, attacked and seized a Muslim vessel that was loading in the harbour. These irritated the Muslim traders who attacked the Portuguese factory, killed Ayres Correa, the factor in charge, with fifty-three of his men, and destroyed the whole building. In revenge, Cabral destroyed ten Muslim vessels and bombarded the town of Calicut for two days. He then set sail and reached Cochin, another Hindu State, whose relation with the Zamorin has been noted above Cabral signed a treaty of friendship with the Raja of Cochin, promising to conquer Zamorin's kingdom for him, and established a factory. Here, too, the Muslim traders were actively hostile, but the Hindu Raja helped the Portuguese in every way, even to the extent of placing a guard over the factory building and allowing the Portuguese to sleep within the walls of his palace When the fleet sent by the Zamorin to chastise the Portuguese was sighted near Cochin harbour in January, 1501, the Raja of Cochin warned them of the danger and offered assistance The fleet of the Zamorin sailed away, chased by Cabral. While still at Cochin, Cabral received friendly messages of co-operation from the Rajas of Cannanore and Quilon. On his return journey Cabral visited Cannanore and received on board an ambassador from the Raja to the king of Portugal with presents and the offer of free trade in his kingdom. Thus the two great feudatories of the Zamorin sought to recover their independence with the help of the Portuguese

On the basis of the report submitted by Cabral, the Portuguese king now entertained the ambitious project, not only to divert all Indian trade to Portugal by curbing the Arab ventures, but also to plant the Christian religion in India With these ends in view he despatched in 1502 a fleet of twenty ships under Vasco da Gama.

As the first discoverer of the direct sea-route between Europe and India, Vasco da Gama occupies a unique place in the history of the modern world But in his treatment of the Indians he may be described almost as a monster in the disguise of human form, a

worthy compeer of Sultān Mahmūd and Tamerlane, though on a much smaller scale.

When his fleet reached Anjidiv, south of Goa, he committed a horrible cruelty described as follows by a European historian: "A rich Muslim pilgrim vessel on its way to India from the Red Sea was intercepted by da Gama's fleet, plundered and sunk; there were many women and children on board; but to these no mercy was shown; and we actually read that da Gama watched the horrors of the scene through a porthole, merciless and unmoved".[22]

After halting at Cannanore for a few days, and renewing friendship with its king, da Gama proceeded to Calicut. The reputation of the Portuguese as a fighting power had reached so high that all the Indian and Arab ships had left the harbour, and the Zamorin, fearful of vengeance, sent a Brāhmaṇa as an envoy with the most conciliatory proposal. He sent twelve Muslims, who were guilty of outrages against the Portuguese during their last visit to the city, and a large amount recovered as fines for plundering the Portuguese factory. But da Gama was not satisfied, and made the expulsion of all the Muslims out of the country 'a preliminary condition to peace'. This being refused, da Gama bombarded the city for an entire day, killing many people and causing great damages to the city.

While still off Calicut, da Gama seized "a fleet of two large ships and twenty-two smaller vessels" which, laden with rice, had sailed from Coromandel After having plundered the ships, da Gama "ordered his men to cut off the hands and ears and noses of all the crews. This done, their feet were tied together, and in order to prevent them from untying the cords with their teeth, he ordered his men to strike them on their mouths with staves and knock their teeth down their throats They were then put on board, to the number of about 800, heaped one on the top of the other, and covered with mats and dry leaves; the sails were then set for the shore and the vessel set on fire".[23] The refined cruelty reserved for tne Brāhmana envoy sent by the Zamorin has perhaps no parallel in the history of the civilized world His hands and ears were cut off, and he was sent back with the severed limbs carefully packed and a letter telling the king to make curry out of them and eat it.[24]

It has been truly observed that "da Gama had no bowels of compassion".[25] But his lieutenants were worthy of the Captain The friendly Raja of Cannanore having complained to da Gama against some Muslim ships leaving his harbour without paying the harbour duties and the price of goods, Vincente Sodre was sent to help him Sodre at once decided to sink all the ships, but the Raja prevented this cruel deed The Muslim owner of the ships, an inhabitant of

Cairo, settled all pecuniary claims to the satisfaction of the Raja, but as he was reported to have uttered some insulting words, Vincente Sodre "had him tied to the mast and flogged with a rope's-end until he fainted. Having filled his mouth with dirt, and tied over it a piece of bacon, he sent him back to his ship with his hands tied behind him".[26]

The Indians thus had a foretaste of the barbarous and inhuman cruelties which characterized the Portuguese almost throughout the period of their dominance in Indian waters.

Vasco da Gama established a factory at Cochin and erected a defensive palisade at Cannanore. He then returned to Portugal, leaving Vincente Sodre with six vessels and a caravel to patrol the coast. The Portuguese could not save Cochin from the revenge of the Zamorin who overran the country, forcing its Raja and his Portuguese friends to take refuge in an island. But in 1503 three Portuguese squadrons arrived in Cochin, one of them commanded by the famous Affonso d'Albuquerque. The troops of the Zamorin were driven away from Cochin, and peace was concluded between the rulers of Calicut and Cochin. It was on this occasion that the Portuguese built at Cochin their first fortress in India.

In 1505, the Portuguese king adopted a new policy. Instead of sending annual expedition, and leaving a small garrison to protect the factories, he decided to appoint a Viceroy who would reside in India for three years. Francisco d'Alemeida, the first Viceroy, arrived in September, 1505, and made Cochin his headquarters. He strengthened and rebuilt the fort there, and also erected forts at Anjidiv (south of Goa) and Cannanore. The former was shortly abandoned and the Portuguese troops were concentrated in Cochin and Cannanore. There were several clashes with Muslim trading vessels in which the Portuguese were uniformly successful The Zamorin of Calicut, alarmed at the growing power of the Portuguese in Indian waters, made a serious effort to drive them away. "In March 1506, an engagement took place between a large fleet of Muhammadan traders, armed and equipped by the Zamorin, and a Portuguese fleet of four vessels, resulting in the capture of the largest Muslim ships and a veritable massacre of their crews, with no casualties among the Portuguese".[27]

The intention of the Portuguese to settle in India permanently, so clearly revealed by the establishment of a residential Viceroy and a standing fleet, as well as the construction of forts, alarmed the Muslim rulers of Bijāpur, Gujarāt and other smaller States. The establishment of Portuguese supremacy in Arabian Sea had also seriously affected the interest of Arabia and Egypt by depriving

them of the duties levied on Indian goods. So when the Muslim rulers of India appealed to the Sultān of Egypt for aid, he readily agreed, and sent a fleet under Amīr Husain who, in January 1508, severely defeated a Portuguese fleet, sent against it, off Chaul, in Konkan coast, less than twenty miles to the south of Bombay. The son of the Portuguese Viceroy, who commanded the fleet, lost his life. But next year, in February, 1509, the Viceroy Almeida avenged the death of his son by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Muslim fleet off Diu on the Gujarāt coast.

In November, 1509, Affonso d'Albuquerque succeeded Viceroy Almeida, under the lower title of Governor of India.[28] Earlier in the year the Portuguese had made an unsuccessful attack on Calicut. One of the first acts of Albuquerque was to carry out the specific instruction of the king of Portugal to destroy Calicut, for, said he, nothing he would undertake with greater pleasure than the destruction of Calicut The naval expedition arrived off Calicut on January 3, 1510. The Zamorin was absent, as was already ascertained by the spies of the Raja of Cochin, and the town, which contained but few troops, was sacked by the Portuguese. But then the people drove away the Portuguese who sailed back Albuquerque himself received two wounds and a number of high officers were killed.

The first achievement of Albuquerque was the conquest of Goa which belonged to the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers of Bijāpur. On March 4, 1510, he occupied the defenceless city which offered little resistance, though he was forced to abandon it in the face of an attack by Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān. But Albuquerque stormed the city in November, 1510, strengthened its fortifications, and decided to make it his headquarters. In order to increase its commercial importance Albuquerque took steps to force all ships to put into Goa. He also provided all encouragement and facilities to traders, so that even Muslim traders in spices settled there In order to have a substantial number of friendly people, he authorized a large number of Portuguese to marry Indian wives, and encouraged them by allotting lands, houses and cattle.[29]

The Muslim Sultān had increased the taxes, but Albuquerque reduced it to the rate prevalent under Hindu rule. He further conciliated the Hindus by appointing them to government offices in larger numbers. He established a mint for the coinage of gold, silver, and copper money.

The fall of Goa and the defeat of the Sultān of Bijāpur made a profound impression on the Indian rulers. The Captain of the Egyptian fleet, who had been waiting at Cambay for reinforcements, now sailed back to Suez The Muslim Sultān of Gujarāt released

the Portuguese prisoners and sent an ambassador to Albuquerque to conclude a treaty of peace by offering Diu to the Portuguese for erecting a fort.[30] The Zamorin also made friendly overtures, offering a site within his kingdom for the construction of a Portuguese factory. This was established in 1511, but finally abandoned in 1525.

The greatest achievement of Albuquerque was the conquest of Malacca in 1511. It was a master-stroke of policy, designed to ruin the profits enjoyed by the Muslim rulers of Arabia and Egypt and the trade of Venice with them. The capture of Malacca was hailed with joy in Portugal, and the Pope celebrated it by a series of splendid ceremonies.

Taking advantage of the absence of Albuquerque, the Sultān of Bijāpur had sent a force under Pulad Khān, who seized not only the mainland territories of Goa but even the island itself. Pulad Khān then fortified himself in Benasterim, only six miles from the city of Goa, which commanded the principal passage from the mainland to the island of Goa. A new commander, Rassel Khān, with a large force and artillery, replaced Pulad Khān and besieged the city. As soon as Albuquerque returned to Cochin he made arrangements for the relief of Goa. He himself reached the place in October 1512 and after a gallant attack forced the Bijāpur commander to surrender Benasterim and evacuate the island (1512) This victory enhanced his reputation and the Sultāns of Bijāpur and Gujarāt again sent envoys to conclude peace.

Albuquerque then proceeded to Aden and Jidda in 1513, and, apart from diplomatic success, obtained possession of Ormuz, an important centre of trade He died in December, 1515, after an eventful career in course of which the power and reputation of Portugal were firmly established in the eastern countries.

Four governors succeeded Affonso d'Albuquerque, the last of whom, Vasco da Gama, now sixty-four years old, reached India in September, and died in December, 1524 During the next five years there were three governors, the last of whom, Nino da Cunha reached India in November, 1529. One of his first acts was to transfer the headquarters of the government from Cochin to Goa This scheme had been originally proposed and highly favoured by Affonso d'Albuquerque, but was strongly opposed by a large section of the Portuguese officials in India They sent a strong remonstrance to the king of Portugal against it, and even suggested the rendition of Goa to the Sultān of Bijāpur in order to gain his friendship and co-operation. Albuquerque sent a long reply,[31] answering all the arguments of his hostile critics. On receipt of this letter King Dom Manoel of

Portugal decided to retain Goa, and fifteen years after the death of Albuquerque it became the Portuguese capital in India.

A RĀJPUT STATES

1. Vol. V, 89-92.
1a. For a full account of the capture of Chitor by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, cf *IHQ*, VII, 287.
2. According to Nensi, Māldev ruled Chitor for seven years
3. Eklingajī inscription of V S 1545, Verse 22 Bhavnagar Inscriptions
4 Ibid, verse 25
4a. For a different view see above, p. 70
5. Eklingajī inscription of V S 1485, Verse 16. Bhavnagar Inscriptions
6. Rogers—*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol I, p 207
7. Tod—Vol. III, p 1802 ff
8. Kumbhalgarh inscription of A D 1460, also, Chitor Kirtistambha inscription quoted by Ojha in *Rājputānā kā Itihāsa*, Vol II, Part I, p 251.
9. Ibid, also Eklingajī inscription of V S 1545, verse 29
10. Introduction to *Rasikapriyā*, commentary of the *Gītagovinda*, (Nirnayasagar Press), p. 2, v 9.
11 Bhavnagar Inscriptions, p. 98, verse 42.
12 Ibid, verse 38
13. It should be noted that from the beginning of the fifteenth century A D. the *Khyats* of Mewār and Mārwār give somewhat contradictory accounts. The Mewār version may be read in Tod's *Annals* of *Mewār* and has been generally followed by later writers The Mārwār version will be found in the Mārwār Khyats which are followed in Reu's *Bhārat kā Prāchīn Rājavaṁśa*, Vol III, as well as Ram Karna's *History of the Rāṭhors* In this chapter an attempt has been made to arrive at an impartial account after a careful examination of both points of view
14 Ranpur inscription of V S 1496, Bhavnagar Inscriptions, 113 ff
15. Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, p 148, Firishta, Briggs, IV, 40. For a detailed account of the struggle between Kumbha and the Sultāns of Gujarāt and Mālwa, cf above, pp 161 ff, 177 ff The dates and details of the campaigns are given differently by different authorities
16 Bayley, op cit 150, Briggs, op cit, 41-2 and 219 The litho ed of Firishta has Amhār instead of Aheerwara Nizām-ud-dīn writes Amhār on p 232 (*TA* III) and Ajmere on p 325 (ibid) (Ed)
17 Briggs, op cit, 222-3
18 Bayley, op. cit, 152 f n
19 Muhanote Nensi's *Khyat* and Eklingajī inscription of V S 1545 verse 66. The English translation is inaccurate
20 Eklingajī inscription of V S 1545, verse 64.
21 Ibid, verses 68-69
22 Ibid, verse 72
23 Tod's *Annals of Mewar* is a panegyric on the achievements of the rulers of Mewār The account given in Nensi's *Khyat* and followed here is more acceptable Compare also Tessitori, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts*, Section I, Part II, 62.
24 Muhanote Nensi, *Khyat*
25 Bayley, op. cit., 264; Briggs, op cit 263 Cf above, pp 182-5
26 Briggs, op cit, 92
27 Bayley, op. cit, 275.
28 Ibid, also Briggs, op cit, 94
29 Briggs, op cit., 95
29a Sarda has discussed the credibility of these accounts (*Rana Sanga*, 87. f n)
30 *HIED*, V. 16-20
31 Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma*, 529
32. Bayley, op cit., 318, Briggs, op cit, 102
33 Bayley, op cit, 319 f n
34 Bayley, op cit, 326, Briggs, op cit, 102
35 *IA*, XIV, (1873).
35a See Vol V, 50.
36. IA. XL, 181
37 Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, 1922-3, p 3

38. *IA*, LVI, 51.
39 Bijāpur Inscription of Dhavala and Bālāprasāda, EI, X, pp. 20 ff. Cf. also Vol. IV, 96, 102 In an old manuscript examined by Tessitori, the origin of the Rāṭhoras is traced to Kalyanı ın the Karnāṭaka (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts*, Section I, Part I, p. 12)
40. *IA*, XL, 301.
41. A list ıs gıven also ın Bikāner Sūraj Pol Praśasti, dated V.S. 1650 (*JPASB*, Vol XVI. 272).
42. Cf. Vol. III, 65.
43 Tessitori, op. cit, pp. 61-2
44. Tod, Vol I, 228-230.
45. For a crıtical discussıon of the dıfferences between the Feudal system of Medıeval Europe and the system prevaılıng ın Rājputāna, cf. *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, by P Saran (Delhı, 1952), pp. 1-23

B ORISSA

1. See above, Vol. V. 209.
2 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol I, p. 273; *JASBL*, XVII (1951), 35.
3 R D. Banerji, op cıt., 276; *contra*, M. Chakravarti ın *JASB* (old series), LXIV (1895), 135-146.
4 Above, p. 197, where Bhānudeva II ıs a printıng mistake for Bhānudeva III. It ıs necessary to poınt out that the Muslım hıstorıans of this period refer to Orissa as Jājnagar, probably a corruptıon of Yayātınagara. The identification of Jājnagar was for long a matter of dıspute but there ıs now a general consensus of opinion that ıt stands for Orıssa (*PIHC*, IX. 215)
5 P. 92 ff.
6 Accordıng to some scholars, Orıssa was ınvaded by Vijayanagara durıng thıs reıgn (R. D Banerjı, op cıt, 282), but thıs ıs not perhaps correct
7 The account of the Reḍḍis is mainly based upon (1) M S Sharma, *The History of the Reddı Kıngdoms*, and (2-3) two artıcles of N Venkataramanayya in *PIHC*, VII 295, XIII, 158 ff
8 *TA*, I 273
9 *TA*, III, 448
10 Badāūnī. Tr by Rankıng, I. 348-9, f n. 10.
11 Brıggs, I 479 Elsewhere Fırıshta says that the kıng of Bengal sent customary presents (Briggs, IV. 360)
12 English translatıon of *Tabaqāt-ı-Nāsırī*, p 592, fn
13 Brıggs, II 388. Gondwara ıs evidently a mıstake for Gondwana
14 R D Banerjı, op cıt, 287
15 The date of Bhānudeva IV's accessıon is still a matter of dıspute The latest known date of his predecessor, Narasimha IV, ıs A D 1402, and the earlıest definıtely ascertained date of Bhānudeva IV is A D 1414 An ınscrıptıon found at Srīkurmam equates the 3rd *Aṅka* year of Bhānudeva IV with a date ın the Śaka year expressed by the words sun (ı e 12), arrow (5), and sea (4) Venkataramanayya read the date as 4512 and, referrıng ıt to the Kalı era, placed the accession of Bhānudeva IV ın A D 1409 (*JOR*, XIX 135-47) This was orıgınally suggested by M S Sharma ın *The History of the Reddı Kıngdoms*, p 189 But this vıew is opposed by D C Sırcar (*JOR*, XXII 47 ff), who further maıntaıns, on good grounds, that kıng Bhānudeva mentıoned ın the ınscrıptıon is Bhānudeva III and not Bhānudeva IV. All that can be definıtely saıd ın the present state of our knowledge, therefore, ıs that Bhānudeva IV ascended the throne some tıme between A D 1402 and 1414.
16 *PIHC*, XIII 160
17 Vemavaran Grant, 1 16 (*EI*, XIII. 241)
17a Cf *TA*. III 475 ff. *PIHC*, XIII, 160-1
18 *Further Sources*, III. 47
19 *SII*, VI, 784
20 Ibıd., 1168
21 Guḍāri-Kaṭaka has been ıdentıfied with Varanāsı ın the Paralakimidı Zamındarı (*PIHC*, XIII, 166) P. Mukherjee locates ıt in the "Gunupur Taluk, Koraput distrıct" (op. cit 19)
21a. Cf. pp. 261, 296 above.
21b Briggs, IV 369, 375 *TA*, III. 458, 459 The real nature of the invasıon and the extent of the ınvader's success cannot be ascertained. The elephants of Orissa were then looked upon as very useful from mılıtary poınt of vıew, and many Muslim rulers raıded Orissa to secure them

22. *BK*, 71.
23. Ibid, 83-4.
23a. Above, p. 296, which also contains a detailed account of the conquests of Hamvira.
23b. See p. 325, f n. 20a.
24. According to the Idupulupadu grant dated A D 1500, Vira Rudra, king of Utkala, defeated the king of Gauḍa. The earliest reference to Husain Shāh's invasion of Orissa is to be found in a series of coins issued in A D. 1504-5 The latest reference is contained in the Velicherla plates of Pratāparudra which state that the king of Gauḍa fled on his approach There were probably several invasions, or, more properly speaking, a series of border raids, culminating occasionally in regular invasions, during the first decade of the sixteenth century A.D. It is probable that the state of hostilities continued beyond 1510 It appears from the biographies of Chaitanya that hostilities were in progress when he first went from Bengal to Puri in 1510, and again in 1513 or 1514 when he returned to Bengal. Cf. *HBS*. 147-8, P. Mukherjee, *The History of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, 73-5 Mukherjee's elaborate arguments to prove that Husain Shah's invasion took place after October, 1510, is unconvincing
25. P. Mukherjee, op. cit, 78 An inscription at Hampi, dated January, 1510, describes Kṛishṇadeva as "fever to the elephants of the Gajapati" From this Venkataramanayya inferred that hostilities between the two had broken out before that date (*Further Sources*, I 189). But, as P Mukherjee rightly points out (op cit. 77-8), such expressions need not be taken to imply actual war. The war certainly broke out in 1513, but barring the above inscription, there is no reference to any campaign of Krishṇadeva against Orissa at an earlier date Venkataramanayya also now evidently adheres to this view (cf p. 311 above).
26 According to Venkataramanayya, "after Krishnarāya s return from Simhādri, the army which he left behind proceeded against Orissa, and after laying the country waste advanced upon Cuttack and sacked it" (*Further Sources*, I 211) This view, repeated on p. 313 above, is based upon both literary and epigraphic evidence. P Mukherjee argues against it, pointing out that similar claims were put forward on behalf of other kings, and some Gajapati kings are said to have conquered the city of Vijayanagara; op cit 93-95 (Ed)
26a P Mukherjee, op cit 86
27 *Further Sources*, I. 230-1 Above, p 313
28 *Sources*, II. 143
29 *Further Sources*, I, 233
30 R. D Banerji, op., cit 333-4; Mukherjee, op. cit p 86, f n 175
31 A detailed account is given by Firishta (Briggs, III, 360 ff) P. Mukherjee's arguments to prove that Telingāna was not conquered in A D 1525, and Pratāparudra had nothing to do with it (op cit, 87-8) are neither cogent nor convincing Cf *Further Sources*, I 231
32 Op cit., 330.
33 Ibid, 333.
34 *Sources*, 149.
35. Op cit, 325.
36 *Further Sources*, I. 230
37 Ibid

C KĀSHMIR

1 Vol. V, p. 102
2 The name is given as Dalcha in *RT*, II, v. 144 and Dalacha in *RT*, v 142 (Calcutta Edition); Ḍulucha and Dulcha in *RT*, II, vv 152 and 154 in Peterson's Edition Other forms are Dalju, Zulchu and Zulquadr Khān (Sufi *Kashmir*, 118). Some historians have assigned a Turkish, Mongol or Tatar origin to him According to the *RT*, II, v 152 (all the verses in this chapter including those in the notes refer to *RT*, Peterson's Edition, unless otherwise mentioned), Ḍulucha was the *chamūpati* (leader of the army) of Karmasena, but Abu-'l Fazl calls him Kalju, the commander-in-chief of the king of Kandāhār (*Ain*, II 383)
3. The name of Riñchana is written in various forms such as Ratanju, Ranju Shah, Rechan, Renchan, Ramchan Shāh, Ranjpoi and Ratanchan Riñchana, used in the *RT*, II (v 158), seems to be the correct form *RT*, II (vv 157 ff) gives a detailed account of the family and early career of Riñchana According to this authority there was a simultaneous invasion of Kāshmir by Dulucha and Riñchana (v 168), but others differ

Riñchana has been identified with king rGyāl-bu Rin-c'en of Ladakh (Pandit D. R. Sahni and A. H Francke, References to the Bhottas or Bhauttas in The Rajatarangini of Kashmir, *IA*, XXXVII, 187); but the identification, though probable, raises many difficulties and L. Petech rejects it (L. Petech· *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, 112. Issued as a supplement to *IHQ*, XV)

4. After referring to the invasion of Riñchana, Jonarāja suddenly introduces "Rāmachandra, the moon of his dynasty," as having opposed the invader at every step (v 198), but does not refer to Sūhadeva any more. He then refers to the marriage of the invader Riñchana with "the queen Koṭā", "the white lily (*kalha*, *kalpa*, in Calcutta Edition) in the garden of Rāmachandra's household" (v 201) Dr. Sufi calls Rāmachandra the commander-in-chief of Sūhadeva and Kotā, his daughter. There is no authority in the *RT* for the first statement, and the expression used by Jonarāja may mean that Koṭā was the wife rather than the daughter of Rāmachandra After stating all this the *RT* says that the king left the city (II, v 202), but it is not quite clear whether he means Sūhadeva or Rāmachandra
5 The chronology of the kings of Kāshmir, as adopted in this chapter, differs from that given in the *CHI*, III, Ch XII, but generally agrees with the *RT*. The question has been fully discussed by the author of this chapter in *JASL*, XXII. 85
5a. The date of Riñchana's death, as given in the *RT*, corresponds, according to Dr. Vogel, to Friday, November 25, 1323 (*IA*, XXXVII, 186, f n.).
6 *RT*, II. v 225
7 *RT*, II. v 281 (Calcutta Ed v 247). Eng Tr by J C Dutt, 26
8 For the popular tradition, cf. Sufi, *Kashir*, 123 ff
9 RT, Eng. Tr 15
10. *RT*, II vv 255-7. Jonarāja does not state the relationship, if any, of Udayana with Riñchana or the old royal family, but refers elsewhere (v. 230) to Udayanadeva of Gandhāra, who may be the same person According to H. C Ray (*DHNI*, I 179) Udayana was a relative of Riñchana, and according to Sufi (op cit 127-8) he was the brother of Sūhadeva, but none cites any authority It appears from the *RT*, II. vv. 256 and 261 that Udayana was the chief of the Lavanyas
11 *RT*, II v. 333. Eng Tr. 31.
12 The account given here of the Hindu rulers is based upon Jonarāja The other versions, which differ materially on some points, may be consulted in *CHI*, III, Ch XII, and Sufi, op cit.
13 For example, Nizām-ud-din and Firishta.
14 *CHI*, III, 227
15 Sufi has expressed surprise that Koṭā Rānī, "being the wife of a staunch Muslim, adopted a course which throws doubts on her adhesion to the Muslim faith" (op cit, p. 127). Evidently he never even thought of the possibility that her husband Riñchana might not, after all, be a staunch Muslim
16. Eng Tr 32
17. Briggs, IV 453
18 Sufi op cit, 133
19 Jonarāja says "The king, now king only in name, died after having suffered troubles for one year and ten months in Kashmir" (*RT*, II v 387, Eng Tr 35) It is not quite clear whether this period is included in the total reign-period of twelve years assigned to 'Alī Sher, or represents a period before he formally assumed sovereignty after his brother's death
20 *RT*, II v. 407, Eng Tr. 37.
21. Jonarāja does not mention the relationship between Shihab-ud-dīn and 'Alā-ud-dīn According to Firishta, they were brothers (Briggs, IV, 458, also cf *TA*, III. 640) and this view has been adopted in *CHI*, III, 278
22. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Ed S N Majumdar, 58
23. Sufi, op cit, 137-8.
24. *RT*, II, vv 501, 503, Eng Tr 44, being based upon the Calcutta edition, is slightly different
25 *RT*, II, v 509 A comparison of v 533 with v 460 of the Calcutta edition shows that Hindu Khān was the name of the king's brother whom he appointed his successor Evidently his name, given as Hindal by Firishta and Nizām-ud-dīn, is a corruption of Hindu Khān or *vice versa*
26 *RT*, II, vv. 507-8 Though not mentioned here, vv 576 and 611 leave no doubt

that these two sons were born of queen Lakshmī

26a L. Petech, op. cit, 115 Jonarāja calls this minister Uddaka

27 Vv. 708 ff.; Eng. Tr. 57.

28. Calcutta ed., vv. 594 ff and Eng. Tr. 59-60 Peterson's edition, vv 750 ff. give a fuller account.

29 Eng. tr. 60; vv. 603-4 (Calcutta Ed.)

29a. Briggs, IV. 464-5. This is corroborated by *RT*, v 765

30. Briggs, IV 464-6 (Italics mine). It is to be noted that according to Firishta the rite of *satī* was stopped by Sikandar. But neither Nizām-ud-dīn nor Jonarāja makes any reference to it On the other hand the latter states that Sūhabhaṭṭa had stopped the practice of cremating the dead bodies (vv 1317-18); and thus there was no occasion for *satī* Though Zain-ul-'Ābidīn restored to the Hindus their right to cremate dead bodies, one should accept with utmost caution Sir Wolseley Haig's statement with reference to Sikandar that "with many innocuous Hindu rites the barbarous practice of burning widows with their deceased husbands was prohibited", and also his righteous exhortation that Zain-ul-'Ābidīn "might well have excluded from his scheme of toleration the immolation of widows" (*CHI*, III, 280-1). Sir Wolseley Haig does not cite any authority for his incredible statement: 'The fierce intolerance of Sikandar had left in Kāshmir no more than eleven families of Brahmans practising the ceremonies of their faith" (*CHI*, III. 281).

31 Sufi, op. cit. 148 ff. Sufi tries to minimise the enormity of the acts of the Sultān by pointing out that similar religious persecutions took place also in Europe about this time But in spite of all these he admits that "one cannot entirely exonerate him (Sikandar) from the heavy responsibility of countenancing the religious persecution practised by his ministers and officials ..." (p 149).

32 *RT*, II, v. 782.

33 *TA*, III, 650.

34. Briggs, IV, 467

35 According to Jonarāja, 'Alī Shāh's father-in-law was the king of the Madras (*RT*, II, v. 924) But Nizām-ud-dīn calls him the king of Jammu (*TA*, III, ii, 650)

36 Some support for this statement is found in the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (Tr. by K K. Basu, G O.S, p 200) which states " in the month of Jamādī-ul-auwal, 823 A.H (May-June, 1420 A.D), Sultān 'Alī, King of Kashmir, who took his cohorts to Thatha, had on his way back been opposed by Jasrath, when the Sultān's army was driven pellmell, a portion being still in Thatha, and a part only came out Incapable of sustaining the attack, it made a stampede Sultān 'Alī was made captive, and his baggage and provisions were plundered" Slightly different accounts of 'Ālī Shāh's hostility with Shāhī Khān are given by different authorities

37 But cf Sufi, op cit, 175 ff

38 *RT*, II, vv 1102-7, *TA*, III, 652; Briggs, IV, 469

39 Briggs, I, 516

40 *RT*, Eng tr 79-82

41 *TA*, III, 653

42 Briggs, IV, 469

43 *TA*, III, 654

44 *TA*, III, 653

45 *TA*, III 657 In spite of Nizam-ud-din's statement, it is doubtful whether muskets were manufactured in Kāshmir at this time Śrīvara states that gun-powder was introduced during this reign and has given a detailed description of fireworks which he must have seen For details cf *BV*, XVI, 11 The question of the introduction of firearms in India will be discussed in chapter XIV, Appendix

45a Śrīvara calls him Pūrna in three places (*RT*, III, p 195, v 52, p 196, v 61 and p 201, v 122) and Rikteṭara in another (p 193, v 33) Firishta calls him Booby (Briggs, IV, 475) For various other names cf *TA*, III, 673, f n 5

46 Āyukt-Āhmada-Malleka, *RT*, III, p 208, v 196

47 Ibid, p. 227, v 185

48 Ibid, p. 229, v 213

49 Ibid, p. 311, vv 570-72 The version of *RT* has been mainly followed Cf also *TA*, III, 668.

D. MINOR STATES

I. ASSAM

1 Above, Vol. V, p 43.
2 Ibid., 133.
3 Ibid, 141.
4 Ibid., 123-4
5 Full details are given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, and are quoted by Barua, *Early History of Kamarupa*, pp 228 ff Cf also *HBS*, 53-4
6 E A Gait, *A History of Assam*, p. 77 For the traditions and legends about Kāmatā, cf Barua, op cit., 242 ff
7. For the status of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur, see above pp. 193-5. According to *'Ālamgir-nāma* (p. 731), Muhammad bin Tughluq "sent 100,000 horsemen, well-equipped, to Assam, but the whole army perished in that land of witchcraft and not a trace of it was left" No other Muslim chronicle refers to this expedition, and it seems to refer to the conquest of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur who, at least nominally, acknowledged the supremacy of Muhammad Tughluq, and may therefore be taken to act on his behalf It may also be a confused echo of Muhammad Tughluq's expedition against Qurachal mentioned above, on pp 73-4. But some historians have accepted it to be a historical fact (Gait, op cit., 35; S N Bhattacharyya, *A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy*, p 61) Bhattacharyya finds a corroboration of the expedition in the discovery of a number of coins of Muhammad Tughluq, dated 733-4 A H. (A D 1332-4), in the Mymensingh District in Bengal But this is satisfactorily explained by the conquest of this region by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur.
8 This is proved by a coin with the mint name "Chawlistān *alias* Kāmrup" issued in 759 A.H (A D 1357-8) Mr Stapleton's view that the expedition was directed against, and confined to, the north and east of the old course of the Brahmaputra in the Mymensingh District is not supported by any argument sufficient to reject the evidence of coins, which proves an effective establishment of Muslim authority in Kāmarūpa some time before A D 1357.
9. Raut Kunchi Grant (*Social History of Kamarupa*, Vol. I, p 251 Quoted in *HBS*, 110, f.n. 1).
10 S N. Bhattacharyya, op. cit, 64.
11 P 203 It has been referred to later in this chapter in connection with the reign of the Āhom king Sudangphā
12 S. N Bhattacharyya, op. cit, 65-7.
13 For the local tradition, cf Barua, op cit, 263, Gait, op cit 43, cf also *Riyāz-us-Salātin*, Eng. Tr, p 132; *HBS*, 146 Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol III, 410-12
14 The account of the Āhom kingdom is based on the local chronicles known as the *Ahom Buranjis* (see Bibliography) An English version of them will be found in Gait, op cit, Chapter V
14a Vol. V, pp 44-5
15 Above, p 203, cf HBS, 118, JASB 1873, p 235
16 *Riyāz*, Eng Tr, pp. 132-3
17 Although this argument is put forward as convincing in *HBS*, 147, it is not really so, for Tālish might really refer to the army that invaded Kāmarūpa
18 Gait, op cit., 87-8
19 *HBS*, 147, 157-8
20 Gait, op cit, 87 92

II. MITHILĀ

1 This is the traditional boundary (Singh 2-3; above, Vol V, p 47) The Purneā District lying to the east of the Kosi river is not included in Mithilā, as envisaged in this chapter
2 Vol. V, 47-8.
3 A great deal has been written regarding the relation of Tirhut with Muslim powers Much of it is based on mere legends or vague general statements which are not supported by any reliable evidence The confusion between Bihār and Tirhut, which were two separate States in medieval India, and the inclusion of Purneā in Tirhut are responsible for applying to Tirhut what merely applies to Bihār (modern South Bihār) or Purneā alone. All these references, which will be found in Thakur (391 ff) and RKC (109-113), are omitted here Even the treatment of legendary history is complicated by the fact that names of kings of Mithilā, alleged to have been fighting with or

allied to Muslim rulers, have been identified with different kings by different writers. Only those Muslim invasions or raids on Tirhut are referred to in this chapter which are based on some reliable evidence, but even all these cannot be regarded as authentic historical facts It has been held, for example, in *CHI* (III, 260) that Muhammad Bakhtyār took possession of the south-eastern parts of Mithilā which is defined as the country west of the Mahānandā. On the basis of this statement Thakur holds that Bakhtyār "not only conquered but annexed Mithilā, at least its south-eastern parts" (p. 393), although he correctly takes Tirhut or Mithilā as the country bounded on the east by the river Kosi (p. 2). The whole theory seems to rest on the statement in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* that "Muhammad Bakhtyār led his troops towards the mountains of Kamrud and Tirhut" This vague statement can hardly justify the theory of conquest, far less, of annexation.

4 Raverty, 587-8. According to Badāūnī, Hisām-ud-dīn "became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengāla and Jājnagar and Kāmrūd" (Ranking's Tr. I, 86). This shows what little reliance can be placed on later Muslim chroniclers who magnify a plundering raid or nominal suzerainty into complete conquest and annexation It must be noted, however, that the simple statement in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, as quoted above, is reproduced in *TA* (I. 59) without any embellishment. Dr. K. R. Qanungo also takes an exaggerated view of the conquest of 'Iwāz, though he does not refer to Badāūnī The following statement, in *HBS*, p. 22, about the weak political condition of Tirhut which gave 'Iwāz the opportunity of aggression against Tirhut is very misleading: "The old Karnāṭaka kingdom of Mithilā was about this time breaking into fragments after the death of Arimalladeva and these princes in despair of holding their possessions in the plains hemmed in between the Muslim province of Oudh on one side and the territory of Lakhnawati on the other—were seeking compensation in the valley of Nepal The ruler of Eastern Tirhut could not but come within the sphere of influence of Laknawati' Arimalla was not a king of Tirhut, but of Nepāl, and there is no evidence to show, either that Tirhut was broken into fragments, or that its rulers took any aggressive attitude against Nepāl at this time or at any subsequent date before A D 1314

5 Raverty, 737, See also Vol V. 141

6. No authority has been cited for the statement that "Iltutmish is said to have conquered portion of Mithilā" (RKC. 110) Further statements that follow are also not supported by any evidence Firishta refers to Iltutmish's expedition against Bihar (Briggs. I, 208), but nothing about Tirhut which constituted a separate State According to Prof S. H Askari there is an inscription of the time of Iltutmish in Tirhut (*RKC*, 110, f n 3), but no account of it has yet been published.

7 It has been stated in the *History of Bengal*, Vol II, that the first expedition sent against Bengal by Balban under Malik Turmati, governor of Awadh, advanced by way of Tirhut (*HBS*, 61). There is, however, no mention of Tirhut in Baranī's account of the first expedition under Amir Khān, governor of Awadh, or in Firishta's account of this and the second expedition under Tirmuny or Malik Turmati of Yahyā It is to be remembered that, generally speaking, the Muhammadans "on their way to Lakhanāwatī marched from Oudh via Bihar. and did not try to pass north of the Ganges" (MC, 407).

8. Thakur's statement (p 276) that 'Alā-ud-din Khaljī conquered the whole of Bihār, including Tirhut, is based on vague unreliable traditions, and his arguments do not bear a moment's scrutiny (His reference to Firishta and *Āin-i-Akbari* seems to be wrong) The alleged supremacy of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī over Nepāl has been discussed in connection with the history of that country

9. MC, 407-8

10. Vol V, p 48 For additional names. cf. Petech, 195

11 Some call it Sivarāmapura (Singh, 59)

12 "The ruins of Simraon still exist in Nepalese lowlands about 15 miles from the base of the hills in the Nepalese district of Rotahat" (Thakur, 252 f n 1).

13 MC., 410.

14. Ibid., 411.

15. Thakur, 279.

16. Thakur, 275; RKC, 113

17 RKC, 113.

18. Thakur, relying on Mithilā traditions, places the accession of Harisimha about A D 1303 or 1307 (p 279), but M Chakravarti places his reign in the last decade of the thirteenth century (p 411), and R.K. Chaudhari plaecs his accession in A D 1285 (RKC, 113) The colophon of a MS. of *Bhaṭṭikāvya-ṭikā* gives the date *La Sam* 159 for Śrīmad-dharasimhadeva, who may be easily identified with Harisimhadeva, also called Harasimhadeva. As will be noted below, the initial date of *La Sam* era varies between A.D 1107 and 1120. It is not, therefore, surprising that the astronomical details given in the colophon do not agree, if *La Sam* 159 is taken to be equivalent to A.D. 1279, on the generally accepted view that *La Sam* commenced in A D. 1120. The colophon may, therefore, be taken to indicate that Harisimha ascended the throne about A D 1279 (Petech, 195, Sastri, *Catalogue*, VII. p 66, No 5067)
19 MC, 411,
20 M C, 411 The Vamsavalis of Nepāl refer to the invasions of the country by Tirhut ruler in A.D 1291 and 1311 (Petech, 103)
21 *HIED*, III, 234
22 Evidently the two kings were Bahādur and Nasīr-ud-dīn
23 This extract from 'Isāmī's *Futūh-us-Salātīn*, composed about the middle of the 14th century A D, is based on the Hindi translation of Rizvi (*TKB*, I 90) Professor R K Chaudhary informs me that there is a striking agreement between the account of 'Isāmī and that given in an unpublished MS. of *Bastin-ul-uns* whose author accompanied Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq to Tirhut The work was composed in the first year of the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq The MS is now in the British Museum (Add 7717)
24 Briggs, I, 406-7.
25 There are other instances of similar exaggeration by later Muslim chroniclers, even in respect of Tirhut, as will be related later in connection with the conquest of that kingdom by Sikandar Lodī
26 MC., 411, f n It is somewhat disconcerting to find that Firishta's account should be unanimously accepted, even after the discovery of *Futūh-us-Salātīn*
27 The same argument applies to Firishta's statement "that as the king was passing near the hills of Tirhoot, the Raja appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods" (Briggs, I, 406-7)
28 Lévy, II, 224 For a slightly different form of the verse cf *AIOC*, II, 564
29. Ibid
30 Thakur, 283-4
31 TKB, I, 37 *HIED*, III, 236, where instead of 'early years' we find 'twenty-seven years' It is to be noted however, that Tirhut is not included in the list of 23 provinces constituting the empire of Muhammad bin Tughluq, unless Telinga, repeated twice, be taken as a mistake for Tirhut It appears to be very likely, in the light of later events, that Tirhut was not incorporated in the empire as a province under a governor but was left to its Hindu ruler on condition of paying tribute. For the list of 23 provinces, Cf Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p 203, f n 1 For the coins of Muhammad bin Tughluq, cf. Rogers, *Indian Museum Coins*, Part I, p 63, Nos. 12911-2
32 Presumably because it has not been translated by Elliot
33 *TKB*, II, 41 (Italics is mine)
34 This will be discussed in the next section
35 There is no reason to suppose that Ilyās's invasion to Tirhut had any more lasting result than that of Nepāl The statement in *HBS* p 104, that Ilyās Shāh 'conquered' or 'subjugated' Tirhut is hardly borne out by Barani's passing remark that Ilyās 'invaded Tirhut, as will be seen from the account given in this chapter The detailed accounts of the conquest of Tirhut, its division into two parts etc (RKC, 120) do not rest upon any reliable evidence
35a MC, 412-13 For other identifications of Narasimhadeva cf RKC, 107, Thakur, 266
36 Cf the next section
37 *IA*, XXVIII, 57-8, for Ganesvara cf Thakur, 297-8 MC, 416.
38 Thakur, 293
39 MC, 415
40 Thakur, 295, 290 It is not a little curious that on p 407 Thakur states, or rather reproduces, with approval, the statement in *HBS*, 103-4 that "the successors of Harisimha held their court at Simraon, and Kāmeśvara, the nominee of Ghiyās ud-dīn Tughluq at Sugauna" This not only contradicts his two statements, namely (1) "The Sultan of Delhi gave the kingdom to

Kāmeśvara in c. 1353 A D" (p 290), (2) that Kāmesvara "ruled for a very short period and was probably deposed by Feroz Shah" (p. 295), but also his observations on p 288 on the "tragic exit" of the Karnāṭa family "from the political stage of Northern India" after Harisimsa's flight to Nepāl.

41. Thakur, 297 ff.
42. MC., 416.
43. MC., 417.
44. Thakur, 44.
45. For these, cf the general histories of Tirhut mentioned in the bibliography
46. MC., 421, f n 3; IA, XIV 192.
47. These coins were found in a village called Pipra in the Champāran District. They are described by R D Banerji who refers them to Śivasimha (*Ann. Rep Arch Surv. of India*, 1913-14, p 248, pl LXVII 13)

    Thakur expresses doubts about the genuineness of the coins (pp 319-20), but evidently on wrong presumptions One of his grounds, namely the "extensive find-spot" (sic) of Śivasimha's coins, seems to be due to a misunderstanding of R D. Banerji's statement

47a See above, p 188

47b For Taqyya's account. cf Askari, op cit p 36 f n 31 and Sukhamay, op cit, pp. 23-5, where the date '850' given by Askari has been corrected to 805

48 For the text of the inscription with an English translation, cf. IA, XLIV. 190-91 The *La Sam* date is taken by some as 292 The *Śaka* and *Vikrama Samvat* dates correspond regularly to 10th July, A D 1399 This corresponds to *Fasli San* 807, but not to *La Sam* 292 or 293 if its initial era is taken to be A D 1120 or 1119 (Bhandarkar's List No 1470) But, as noted below, the epoch of the *La Sam* varies between A D 1107 and 1120

49 *JASB*, 1899, p 96, MC, 421-2

50 M C, 422

51 *HBR*, 237. As stated in the next sentence *La Sam* 293 is made equivalent to *Śaka* 1324, which would make A D 1109 as the starting date of the era It is noteworthy that in the copper-plate grant mentioned above, *La Sam* 293 is given as equivalent to *Saka* 1321 This pushes back the starting point of the *La Sam* by three years For, even if we take the grant as spurious, the forger would be normally expected to give equivalent dates

52 MC, 421

53 IA, XVIII 58 According to a Bayaz of Mulla Taqyya a 17th century writer, Sivasimha rebelled against his father and occupied the throne When Ibrāhīm Shah the Sharqī, Sultan of Jaunpur proceeded against Rājā Ganesa of Bengal (p 206) Sivasimha, instigated by the latter, opposed Ibrāhīm and was defeated and captured by him who thereupon restored the dispossessed father of Sivasimha to his throne (*Bengal Past and Present* Vol LXVII, 36) This event probably occurred in A D 1415-16 The truth of this uncorroborated story may be doubted

54 *IA*, XVIII, 55 As an instance of the absolutely untrustworthy character of popular legends on which the historians of Tirhut (Thakur, RKC) seem to have relied too much, reference may be made to one which gives a diametrically opposite version There is a legend about Vidyāpati that by an exhibition of his miraculous powers of seeing things which were happening at a great distance, he released Śivasimha who was taken captive by the Emperor of Delhi (*IA*, XIV, 189).

55 MC, 423.

56 Thakur, 320-324

57 *IA*, XIV, 192 3; MC, 427

58 But see footnotes 48 and 51 above

59 MC., 427, f n 4

60 Thakur 335-6 But the conquest of Gauḍa seems merely a conventional phrase

61 Dorn writes on the authority of *Makhzan-i-Afghāna*, that "Sikandar proceeded to Sirhut (mistake for Tirhut) whose Raja, submitting, received him solemnly and offered some lakhs of Tankas as a tribute and present, for the receipt of which the Sultan left Mubarak Khan behind" (*History of the Afghans*, p 58) There was thus no conquest, and the concluding part of the passage clearly implies that there was no question of annexation Badāūnī's account, as usual (see f n 4 and 25), is misleading, for he remarks that "the Sultān proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it" (A D 1490) (Ranking's Tr I, 416).

62. *JASB*, 1874, p. 304; cf *HBS*, p 146, f.n. [1]
63. According to *HBS* (p. 146) "the occupation of the whole of North Bihar including the Trans-Gandak area" by Husain Shāh is proved by his inscription at Sāran.
64. The history of this family is based on Bendall's account in *JASB*, 1903, pp. 19-20. For the coins Cf V A Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol I, p 293.
65. Thakur, 340.
66 Lévi, II, 229.
67 Thakur, 341.
68. MC, 408.

III. NEPĀL

1. Vol V, pp. 47-8, Lévi, *Le Népal*, Vol II, p. 219 This is also supported by official records like the Inscription of Pratāpamalla (IA, IX, 163 ff).
2 Lévi, 219. Bendall, *JASB*, LXXII, Part I (1903), p 14
3 See pp. 397, 401
4 Lévi, 225
5 Ibid.
5a The coin has been described by Durga Prasad in *JASB*, Vol. XXV, Num. Suppl., pp 37-8. That the coin was minted in Nepāl is a mere inference based on the symbols on the coin
6 Bendall, 10.
7 Lévi, 226
8. Cf pp 404 ff.
9 The account of these kings is based on Lévi, 226 ff
9a Lévi, 230 ff An entirely different view is taken by Petech (*Mediaeval History of Nepal*, pp 145 ff, 201 ff) He takes these persons to be members of an aristocratic family founded by Aneka Rāma (A D 1332-1356), whose son Jayasimha Rāma Mahātha (A D 1360-1396) assumed the status of "Lord Protector of the Realm" and, during the last decade of the fourteenth century, wielded far greater authority than the nominal king Jayasthitimalla, in Patan. According to Petech "the Rāmas must have told the imperial envoys that *they* were the sovereigns of Nepal, and that the Mallas were only their vassals" (op cit. 210). Apart from the highly incredible nature of this assumption, it hardly fits in with the picture of Nepāl under Jayasthitimalla which Petech himself has drawn (op cit, 139)
10. Vol V, p 47
11. Lévi, 233.
12 Lévi, 232
13. For this MS and the historical account, based upon it, that follows. cf Bendall, pp 3, 10 11. The MS is noticed by MM H P Sastri in his *Catalogue of the Nepāl Durbar Library* Also cf Petech. Appendix VI
14 For an account of the kings up to Jayarudramalla, cf Vol V, pp 46-7. [Some corrections should be made in this account Ratnadeva, mentioned in 1 32, on p 46, was probably a feudal chief and never exercised royal authority. Someśvaradeva, mentioned in the same line, ascended the throne in A.D 1178 and is known to have been ruling in A D 1180 (*Itihāsa*, a Bengali Quarterly, Vol VIII, Part 3, pp 148-50, *Mediaeval History of Nepal* by Luciano Petech, pp 70-71) The last-named book gives a more detailed, but somewhat different, account of the history of Nepāl than that given in Vol. V, pp 47-9] —Ed
15 According to Jayaswal's reading and interpretation, Paśupatimalla was imprisoned (*JBORS*, XXII 87)
16. Lévi, 231
17. Vol V, p 47
18 Lévi, 232, Sastri—Catalogue, II 68
19 The second inscription was discovered by Jayaswal and discussed by him in *JBORS*, XXII, 81 ff Both the inscriptions are noticed by S K Saraswati (*PIHC*, XIX, 205).
20. The date was read by Jayaswal as 467, but Saraswati reads it as 470 This is presumably the correct date, as the *Vaṁśāvali* gives the date of the invasion as 469. Evidently the raid of Ilyās Shāh extended over parts of the two years 469 and 470.
21 Neither Bendall nor MM H P Sastri, who dealt with this manuscript, noticed

this important passage, which was first brought to light by K P Jayaswal (*JBORS*, XXII, 87, 95).
22. For the text of this inscription, cf. K P. Jayaswal, op cit. 93.
23. Petech, op. cit., 132.
24. Lévi, 233-4 Petech, op. cit, 137.
25 Lévi, 235. Petech, op cit, pp 125, 128-30, 145-9
26 Lévi, 230 But Petech holds an altogether different view (op. cit, pp. 105 ff., 201 ff.).
27. Lévi, 234; Bendall, 12-13
28. Lévi, 228.
29. Lévi, 238 Petech, op. cit, 145-54.
30. Lévi, 238.

E MALABAR AND PORTUGUESE

1. *IBH*, 176-196 (The page references to this book are given in the body of the text).
2. Ibn Batūtah uses the word *jizya* for the tax (p 192) This does not prove that *jizya* was a secular tax, as some have argued (*IBH*, 192, f n 4), but merely shows that a Muslim writer was under the impression that everyone following a religious system other than that of the ruler had to pay a tax similar to the *jizya*,—a custom with which he was only too familiar.
3 Vol IV, 164
4. Above, Vol III, 451, f n 3
5 K V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p 79
6. Ibid., 127-81
7 Ibid., 131.
8 Ibid, f n 2
9 *IBH*, 188
10 *IBH*., 189.
11 Ayyar, op cit, 89.
12 *JRAS*, 1939, pp 64, 174
13 *IBH*, 176 96
14 According to Ibn Batūtah the Chinese ships entered only the harbours of Quilon, Calicut, and Hīlī on the western coast of India (*IBH*, 185). Quilon being the first port, the Chinese frequented it more often than the other two (*IBH*, 193)
15 A detailed description of the Chinese ships is given by Ibn Batūtah (*IBH*, 190)
16. R S Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, p 6
17. Ibid, 7-8
18 Opinions differ as to the exact date of departure I have followed *CHI*, V. 3 Correa fixed it as the 25th March which is accepted by Danvers For other views cf Danvers, I 44
19. The date of arrival naturally varies according to the assumed date of departure K G Jayne accepts 8th July as the date of departure, but gives 21st May as the day when the ships anchored off Calicut (*Vasco-da-Gama and his successors*, p 52)
20 The account of the Portuguese in India that follows is primarily based on CHI, V, Ch I and F C, Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol I (London 1894).
21 Danvers, op cit, 50
22. *CHI*, V. 6
23 Danvers, op cit, 85
24 Ibid. For a similar act of Muhammad Tughluq (pp 63-4) there was at least the excuse that the victim was a rebel
25 *CHI*, V. 6.
26 Danvers, op cit, 86
27 *CHI*, V 8.
28 Ibid., 9
29 Danvers op cit., 217
30 Ibid., 212
31. Quoted in full by Danvers (op cit, 259).

CHAPTER XIV

ISLAMIC POLITICAL THEORY, ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION, LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

I THEORY OF STATE

The political theory of Medieval Islām was based on the teachings of the *Qur'ān*, the traditions of the Prophet, precedent, and Greek thought. The first three can be lumped together as Muslim theology which was expanded and developed by Muslim jurists, and which, so far as political notions and organization were concerned, defined their legal basis. The Greek philosophers provided the ideas which were put forward as the rational justification for the institutions adopted or developed by the Muslims It inevitably followed that the philosophic interpretation also affected the attitude of the people towards the institutions.

The *Qur'ān* laid down only the broad principles of social life and political organization. It emphasized the need of solidarity and unity among all Muslims and condemned any attempt to break away from the organized community, it made it obligatory on all Muslims to obey constituted authority, it enjoined consultation for the purpose of administering the affairs of the community [1] To prevent the misuse of power, it laid down that a man's first obligation was to God and, therefore, no believer should obey an authority if its injunctions transgressed the dictates of religion.[2] It is obvious that these teachings only enunciate the fundamental principles on which Islamic policy could be based, but they do not seek to bring into existence any well-defined institution

The Prophet, as the teacher and leader of his followers, gradually found himself to be the head of a State. The process was slow and gradual, and the Muslims had time to develop a few institutions suited to their needs and ideals. Their attitude was essentially practical; in the light of their principles, they tried to administer their affairs We find the Prophet consulting his immediate disciples informally on all mundane problems as they came up for solution; as new tribes came into the fold of Islām, he appointed trusted Muslims to guide them in managing their affairs in accordance with Islām. This included the administration of law and the settlement of disputes.

Sometimes the collection of religious taxes was also entrusted to these deputies.

The death of the Prophet confronted the Muslims with several problems of great difficulty. It was obvious that it would be suicidal for the young community to remain without an organization, but what was to be its nature? Who was to be the head of the Muslim State? Was it necessary to have a single head? How was he to be selected? Beyond the principles enunciated by the *Qur'ān*, already mentioned, there was little to guide the community The Prophet had abstained from nominating a successor or laying down any rules Sectarian traditions to the contrary may be dismissed as later fabrications in face of the historical evidence that they were not advanced at the time of election. Nothing, however, could be more natural than what actually happened The leaders met in their usual assembly house and chose one, who, by his piety and eminence, seemed to be the natural leader The most significant fact in the election is that the separatist tendency of the Ansār who proposed that there should be two *Imāms*, one for the Quraish and the other for themselves, was ruled out because that would have divided Islām. The decision of the leaders, whose choice fell on Abū Bakr, was communicated to the people who confirmed it by giving allegiance The importance of this election in Islamic history cannot be over-emphasized It provided the later jurists with a precedent on which they could base their theories of succession, not only to the caliphate, but also to kingship. The immediate significance, however, did not lie in the method of election; the person elected was to exercise a deep influence on the subsequent history of the Muslim world. Certain Bedouin tribes refused to pay *zakāt* They did not forsake their faith in Islām, in refusing to pay the legal taxes they were trying to revert to tribal anarchy; they wanted to break away from the central authority This endeavour was considered an act of apostasy by the Caliph who, in spite of the critical nature of the situation, decided to wage a *jihād* against the rebels to bring them back to their allegiance He thus re-emphasized the principle of the indivisibility of Islām [3] A natural corollary was that the entire Muslim world should offer allegiance to a single head, who was called *Imām* or *Khalīfah* [4] This principle, however, received a rude shock, when the 'Abbasids, having successfully revolted against the Umayyads, failed to establish their authority in the western extremity of the Muslim world The Western Caliphate thrived in north-western Africa and Spain, and did not own allegiance to the 'Abbasids Similarly the Fatimid schism established itself in Egypt and carried on secret and open hostilities against the house of 'Abbās. The activities of the Fatimids, however, strengthened the position

of the 'Abbasids in the eastern lands of Islām where, because the Fatimid Caliphs had identified themselves with the Ismā'īlī heresy, allegiance to the house of 'Abbās came to be identified with orthodoxy. The Sultāns of Delhi recognized the suzerainty of the 'Abbasid Caliphs. Their names were read in the *khutbah* and found mention on the coinage. Even when the Mongols put an end to the Caliphate of Baghdād by executing Musta'sim-billah, and the Muslim world was left without a Caliph, the *khutbah* and the coinage both continued to mention vaguely the leader of the Muslims, and the Sultāns styled themselves his lieutenants. The only exception was Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh who claimed the Caliphate for himself.[5] There is some inconclusive and controversial evidence to show that his father, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, also was styled a Caliph.[6] Muhammad bin Tughluq established relations with the 'Abbasid Caliphs of Egypt, who had been set up by the Mamlūks after the downfall and dispersal of the 'Abbasids at Baghdād.[7] The rise of the Mongol power, however, dealt a great blow to the claims of the 'Abbasids.

The Mongols destroyed the Caliphate of Baghdād, and when they themselves were converted to Islām they favoured the theory that every independent Muslim empire constituted a Caliphate by itself. The theory was not new; it had sustained the Western Caliphate; it was the basis of the claims of Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh and possibly also of his father But with these exceptions it did not find favour at Delhi until a descendant of Chingīz Khān, Bābur, the first of the Indian Mughuls, established an empire in India

The position of the Caliph is generally misunderstood by non-Muslims. Muslim jurists as well as thinkers like Ibn Khaldūn emphasize that the Caliphate is a canonical necessity and, therefore, allegiance to a Caliph is demanded by the law of Islām [8] This religious character of the institution and its occasional divorce from political authority has sometimes created the misconception that the Caliph is an arch-priest, resembling the Pope. The parallel is misleading and erroneous As there is no priesthood in Islām, there can be no arch-priest The Muslims, as an organized community, have certain functions and responsibilities which have been defined by *Shar'*, the law of Islām. The basis of these responsibilities is canonical and hence it is a religious duty to discharge them Yet all of them are not strictly of a religious character and some of them are social and political The main purpose of organizing the Muslims into a well-knit group is to create the environment which is necessary to cultivate a religious and normal life. It is. however, obvious that the creation of the proper environment includes a large number of secular activities; indeed the very orga-

nization of the Muslims into an independent and sovereign group is a political concept. The maintenance of the independence and sovereignty of the group is political activity. This function the community discharges through its elected leader, the Caliph.[9] The Caliphate, therefore, is a political institution so far as its functions are concerned, though its basis and sanction are canonical.

There is another aspect of the Caliphate which explains its nature. One of the main functions of the organized Muslim community, according to the jurists, is "to enjoin the ordained and to prevent the forbidden," or, in other words, the encouragement of virtue, both positive and negative. The Muslim code of ethics and good life is enshrined in Muslim Law or the *Shar'*. It is the duty of the community to enforce the law. This function also can be performed through an organ which has, at its command, the coercive power of the State. The enforcement of the law, therefore, is one of the primary functions of the Muslim State which was organized in the form of the Caliphate The enforcement of law is a recognized function of all States, but in a Muslim State, the law being based on revealed principles and injunctions contained in the *Qur'ān*, it has a divine origin and possesses a sacred character. Therefore, its maintenance is a religious duty. Once again, then, the Caliphate is a political institution, but it performs a duty which Muslims consider to be essentially religious. As the cohesive principle binding the Muslims is religious, and because they have been organized to serve the purpose of religion, all their institutions whose primary function is to maintain the religious nature of their organization are religious, even though their normal activities may be secular in nature This would show that the Caliph was no priest. He might, in his capacity as the leader of the community, sometimes, take upon himself the duty of leading them in prayers, or he might delegate this duty to others, but he was not ordained in any sense of the word, nor did he have a privileged position in religion. He was the chief executive of a community organized on the basis of religion, and his election was a canonical necessity, but he had no religious authority As the enforcer of the law, he had, in all controversial matters, to choose the interpretation which appealed to him as the best, but this authority all lay organs entrusted with similar functions must possess This is the basis of all judge-made law.

Another principle, inherent in the position of the Caliph as the enforcer of the law, is its sovereignty. Being based on revelation, the law possessed a divine origin It was not open to any individual to endeavour to alter it or to question its authority. It had to be interpreted and reinterpreted with changing conditions, and it was

naturally expanded in the process of being applied to diverse and complex conditions of life. In this process, principles of jurisprudence were borrowed and sometimes invented, but the authority of the fundamentals and even of interpretation on which unanimity had been achieved was never questioned The Caliph, therefore, was subservient to the law. The *Shar'* was the sovereign; the Caliph was its servant and minister [10] In all societies organized on secular basis, the law is the will of the sovereign; in Muslim society the sovereignty of the law was the primary principle. The Caliph, however, enjoyed great prestige as the chief enforcer of the *Shar'*. Throughout the Middle Ages, so great was the prestige of the Caliphate that no potentate, however mighty, considered himself lawfully enthroned without the permission of the Caliph, who found it politic to vest authority in rulers and their successors so long as they were true to their allegiance.[11]

Philosophic justification for the canonical position was not long in coming. Indeed, at times it caught popular imagination to such an extent that jurists and thinkers alike considered it necessary to point out that whatsoever might be the attitude of philosophy the real sanction for the Caliphate was canonical. Their motive was sound; philosophical concepts change, but canonical law is firmly rooted in sanction and authority. For this reason, Muslim political thinkers seldom ventured beyond the realm of apology and justification They never struck a bold path, not even of suggesting better methods of organizing the community so that it might discharge its canonical responsibilities more efficiently Perhaps, with more independent thinking, the principles of election and consultation could be translated into more democratic political institutions They had considerable scope for growth among Muslims, whose religious, social and economic systems would have nurtured democracy But it is, perhaps, unjust to expect men to rise above their environment.

The line which political philosophers generally took in Medieval Islām was briefly this The human mind finds itself in a state of conflict. On the one hand, man is a social animal, and human life can find fulfilment only in organized society. He, therefore, endeavours to build up and maintain social and political institutions On the other hand, he is also swayed by purely selfish motives There is something perverse in him that leads him to undermine the very institutions he has built, whenever he can thereby serve his own interests better This conflict is eternal and is based on two fundamental needs of humanity, which can be described as social and individual. As both the needs are real, and human life

would become impossible if either of them is neglected, it is necessary to bring about a proportion between them. But, what is the proper method of adjusting the two to the benefit of humanity? Left to themselves men would not be able to bring about a proper adjustment between the two; hence an arbitrator is required This arbitrator is the law revealed by God through His chosen servants [12] Certain perverse men, for reasons of selfishness, and others, because of ignorance, would not obey the law, hence it is necessary to have one who would punish the criminals and lead the ignorant on the path of rectitude. Without such an enforcement of the law, social life would be impossible. Hence the Muslim philosophers share with many others the dread of anarchy They did not believe, as Rousseau did, in the existence of a free and happy society prior to the organization of the State The nearest approach to Rousseau's idea is found in the passage by Ghazzali where he speaks of the cities of the world living in a state of heavenly bliss before they were reduced to unwilling obedience and bondage by tyrants and wicked monarchs, but here he is hardly thinking of pre-political society [13] The Muslim philosophers consider it impossible for a man to be happy in a state of anarchy Rousseau's hypothetical state of nature does not find favour with them

The dread of anarchy led the Muslim philosophers to emphasize the importance of the monarch Ghazzali thinks of the State as a living organism and compares it to the human body [13a] In working out the details of the analogy he calls the monarch the heart of the system [14] His existence is the primary necessity of social life, for without a ruler to guide the affairs of mankind, all order would vanish and the very existence of the human race would be endangered [15] It is he whose sword cleanses the world of anarchy as well as of evil Very great is his responsibility, for he will be questioned on the Day of Judgment regarding the condition of his people and about all acts of justice and injustice committed by him [16] Great too is the reward awaiting the just monarch, for he will find a place under the banner of the Prophet on the Day of Reckoning [17] Later writers, in spite of the protests of the jurists, insisted that the righteous monarch was 'the Vicegerent of God and His Shadow on the earth' [18] This emphasis on the importance of the monarch's position was greatly exaggerated by writers attached to the Mongol courts, and they, like Abu-'l-Fazl, evolved a theory of the righteous monarch being chosen by God and, as such, playing the role of the ideal philosopher king of the Greeks [19] Such idealization of the monarch could not permit the growth of a philosophy demanding any popular share in ordering the affairs of the realm. The thinkers, who so eulogized the kingly office, thought that they had done their

duty when they had pointed out to the monarchs their heavy responsibilities and painted the degradation of irresponsible and wicked monarchs in hues borrowed from the abysmal fire.[20]

How did the Sultān of Delhi fit into this picture? He owned a nominal allegiance to the Caliph, but, for all practical purposes, he was an independent ruler. The Caliph would have found it impossible, except by stirring up rebellion, to bring the Sultāns of Delhi under effective control. This was not the first time that such a situation had arisen; there had been rulers, other than the Sultāns of Delhi, who could not be dislodged by the Caliphs if they wanted to do so. The jurists had legalized such a position by classifying governorship into three categories. The first of these was the ordinary governorship with limited powers where the authority delegated was carefully defined. The second was governorship with unlimited powers where all authority was handed over to the incumbent. The third was governorship by usurpation; such governors enjoyed the same authorities as the governors of the second category; the difference was in the method of their appointment. Governors by usurpation were potentates who had won dominions by their swords, and there was no alternative to giving them recognition.[21] The governors of the last two categories were required to rule in accordance with the law of Islām, to recognize the Caliph as their suzerain and to co-operate with him in defending the lands of Islām if required to do so In their own dominions they were independent of any external control.

II. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE SULTANATE

Inside his dominions the Sultān enjoyed the same authority and performed the same functions as the Caliph in his Caliphate. In this matter law and philosophy both recognized him to be the representative of the Caliph, in so far as the Sultān was vested with the powers of the Caliph, he had to perform the duties of the Caliph Indeed the law did not distinguish between the two beyond the recognition of the inferior position of the Sultān and his duty to co-operate with the Caliph, and, for that, with other Muslim rulers in defending the frontiers of Islām. Hence all that has been hitherto said regarding the Caliph in connection with his prestige and duties applies also to the Sultān.[22] Philosophy also accords him the same recognition

a. *The Sultān's functions*

The Muslim jurists assign the following functions to the Sultān:—

1 To protect the Faith as defined by *ijmā'*;
2. to settle disputes between his subjects;

3. to defend the territories of Islām, and to keep the highways and roads safe for travellers;
4. to maintain and enforce the criminal code;
5. to strengthen the frontiers of Muslim territory against possible aggresion;
6. to wage a holy war against those who act in hostility to Islām;
7. to collect rates and taxes;
8. to apportion the shares of those who deserve an allowance from the public treasury;
9. to appoint officers to help him in his public and legal duties; and
10. to keep in touch with public affairs and the condition of the people by personal contact.[23]

These functions, it will be noticed, arise from the Sultān being the chief executive officer of the Muslim community within his dominions. He had a responsibility towards his non-Muslim subjects as well which was carefully defined by Muslim law. On accepting the suzerainty of the Muslim empire and the payment of taxes, the non-Muslim peoples acquired the rights of protection, the maintenance of their rites and worship, the observance of their social code and the enforcement of their personal law.[24]

The concentration of all executive authority in the hands of a single person has led unwary writers into painting the Sultāns of Delhi as paragons of despotism; in actual practice their authority, like all political power, had serious limitations. The first was that he was subservient to the *Shar'* and, because he depended for active support mainly on Muslim soldiery, any open breach of the *Shar'* would have had serious consequences. Besides, he could not interfere with the personal law of any group among his subjects, partly because of the legal reason that the monarch had no authority to do so, and partly because such interference would not be tolerated. The Muslims and Hindus alike considered it their duty to rebel against a monarch who prevented them from the exercise of their duties in the light of their religion.[25] The sovereignty of a single individual is a legal myth; every monarch has to depend on the active co-operation of a strong group and the passive support of the population. The Sultāns of Delhi had to rely on the active support of the nobles who, for one reason or another, were willing to make common cause with them.[26] The monarch had also to ensure the co-operation of a fairly large number of *'ulamā'*, the learned theologians and lawyers, because of their influence with the Muslim population. Then there were the many public servants in various

branches of the administration who put their experience and technical knowledge at the service of the State. Nor could the ruler forget the cultivators of the soil, the Hindu peasants and tribal heads.[27] The ultimate force of the State consisted of the Muslim fighters who shed their blood for the glory of Islām. No monarch has alienated any of these elements with impunity or succeeded in his projects without their support. The hostility of the people seldom proved fruitless.[28] There is no sanction for unbridled tyranny except the timidity of the people, and the Indian populace during the Middle Ages was by no means timid or even forebearing; on the other hand, the people were mostly warlike, refractory and rebellious Besides, those were the days of dense forests and limited means of communication, and the differences between an army and an armed rabble was proverbially very small.

Reference has already been made to the fact that Abū Bakr's election as the first Caliph was taken by the jurists of Islām as a precedent to be followed by the community Two main aspects of that election are important The elders did not even discuss the question of relationship to the Prophet, thus proving that considerations of legitimacy did not claim their attention They also established "the principle of free election by the assembled community and its confirmation by general homage"[29] This idea became firmly grounded in the minds of Muslim lawyers, and they laid down the same rules for the election of the Sultān. The majority of the jurists are of opinion that a monarch elected by the most influential men at the capital is entitled to the allegiance of the people, but they are not unanimous regarding the qualifications of these electors[30] The failure to work out a satisfactory method of general election resulted in mere logical quibbles about the minimum number of electors, thus reducing the election to a mere formality Generally the form of an election was maintained by the Sultāns of Delhi The nobles and the learned and most influential theologians at the capital agreed upon a candidate and proclaimed him the Sultān Then a formal oath of allegiance was sworn by them and, later, by the populace Of course this was often an election only in name because the candidate had decided the issue by victory in battle or by overwhelming force; but it had the advantage of being legal and conforming to the wishes of the jurists and the people I should not be forgotten that another force was at work: most of the Sultāns were Turks and, in spite of their zeal for Islām, Turkish and tribal ideas still influenced their minds. The nobles did not always take hereditary rights into consideration, for not many Sultāns were succeeded by their sons, but they did try to limit their choice to the ruling house. The changes in the dynasties

seem to have been fortunate, proving that they were not made without reasons of State.

The right to dethrone a monarch is the logical corollary of an elective monarchy. Though some jurists hold that an election is so holy and binding that the electors could be released from their vows only by the sovereign himself, the majority of lawyers believe that the monarch could be deposed if he failed to carry out his trust. Injustice is considered to be a sufficient cause for dethronement. All writers agree that a man suffering from mental or physical disability cannot continue to be a sovereign. Great importance is attached to loss of power of judgment and eyesight[31] The fact that a number of Delhi Sultāns, mostly incompetent, were removed from the throne, shows that the monarch was not considered too sacrosanct to be touched if he proved himself useless to the State

The Sultāns of Delhi maintained great splendour in their courts and processions which had a great utilitarian value, for it captured the imagination of the people and impressed them with the majesty of their rulers. When the Sultān rode out in a procession, any suppliant could draw his attention by holding up a petition or crying aloud for protection.[32] The general audience was the occasion for the persecuted and the needy to claim the Sultān's protection[33] It was in these public *darbārs* that the monarch discharged the formal duties appertaining to his office. Matters requiring discussion and deliberation or involving secrecy were dealt with in the council chamber where only those officers were admitted whose advice was required.[34] The private audience was less exclusive and was attended by the greater nobles and officers of the State.[35] The more important members of the secretariat were also in attendance[36] The bulk of State business was transacted here by the Sultān

b. *The Household*

The diversity of the business and the requirements of a spectacular ceremonial necessitated the attendance of a large number of officials of various ranks. They had to be carefully marshalled, the order of their precedence exactly defined, and even the manner of their salutation formally prescribed The dignity of the monarch required that everything should work smoothly. All this required a big staff of officers, ushers and heralds Besides, there were the Sultān's bodyguards, his personal attendants, the palace guards, the staff required to serve the inmates of the royal palace, and a host of other workers. The entire organization was under the *wakīl-i dar* who also supervised the payment of the allowances and salaries

to the Sultān's personal staff. Almost equal in importance and rank was the *amīr-i-hājib* who was also styled *bārbak*. He was the master of ceremonies at the court. He and his assistants, the *hājibs*, stood between the sovereign and his subjects, and nobody could enter the royal presence without being introduced by them. A big institution like the imperial household required a large commissariat; this was divided into departments called *kārkhānahs* whose traditional number seems to have been thirty-six. The literal meaning of the word *kārkhānah* is a workshop; most of the *kārkhānahs* in the royal household were factories to manufacture articles for court use The *jāmdārkhānah*, for instance, turned out the best cloth in the empire. Muhammad bin Tughluq employed no less than five hundred workers in gold brocade and four thousand weavers of silk, who manufactured the cloth required by the household and for making the robes of honour which were so profusely bestowed[37] The *kārkhānahs* also manufactured arms, engines of war, armour and other fighting equipment. Royal stables also were counted among the *kārkhānahs;* there was a big organization under the *akhūrbek* for breeding and maintaining horses not only for the Sultān's household but also for his army.[38] The *kārkhānahs* catered not only to the needs of the royal husehold but also to the requirements of the army and various departments of the State. The court also was the greatest patron of learning and fine arts and was instrumental in promoting culture.

c. *Ministers*

At the head of the civil administration was the *wazīr*. Under certain weak Sultāns the *wazīr* enjoyed almost unlimited authority, but this was exceptional. Under strong monarchs also he enjoyed great authority. The central finance office was his immediate concern, but he was also responsible for the other offices at headquarters[39] He appointed and superintended the civil servants, and organized the agency for the collection of the revenue; he also exercised complete control over the various channels of expenditure His assistants examined all the accounts submitted by the various departments of the government; it was in his office that the statements were compared, checked and passed. The *wazīr* took measures—sometimes humiliating and unpleasant—to recover money illegally spent by local officials. All the requirements of the military department had to be referred finally to him; his office kept accounts, disbursed salaries and allotted assignments. His department paid the stipends to deserving scholars and men of learning, and distributed doles to the poor and the needy. No branch of public administration was outside his purview, and every subject from the

mightiest governor to the lowliest peasant in the land had dealings with him or his assistants.[40] The *wazīr's* department was called the *dīwān-i-wizārat*, and mainly dealt with finance. He was assisted by a *na'ib wazīr* who acted as his general assistant. Next to him was the *mushrif-i-mumālik* who was the accountant-general for the empire. The *mustaufī-i-mumālik* was the auditor-general. Originally the *mushrif's* duty was to enter the accounts received from the provinces and the various departments, and the *mustaufī* audited them. Copies of the statements of accounts were sent to the *mushrif* as well as to the *mustaufī* and this naturally resulted in unnecessary duplication of work, though there was the advantage that the accounts were checked by two different authorities. In Fīrūz Shāh's reign, however, the work was redistributed. The *mushrif* began to deal with income and the *mustaufī* with expenditure The *mushrif* was assisted by a *nāzir* who supervised, through a large staff distributed all over the empire, the collection of revenue; he also audited the local accounts. Later a *waqūf* was added to assist the *mustaufī* in the same way as the *nāzir* assisted the *mushrif*.[41]

There were three other main ministries, which, together with the *dīwān-i-wizārat*, were compared to four pillars supporting the vault of the State. The first of these was the *dīwān-i-risālat* which dealt with religious matters, pious foundations, stipends to deserving scholars and men of piety. This office was presided over by the *sadr-us-sudūr*, who generally was also the *qāzī-i-mumālik;* in the latter capacity he controlled the department of justice.[42] The *dīwān-i-arz* was the office of the *'āriz-i-mumālik* who was the controller-general of the military department. This ministry maintained the descriptive rolls of horses and men. The *'āriz* was the inspector-general of the forces, and he or his provincial assistants enlisted recruits and fixed their pay.[43] The third ministry was the *dīwān-i-inshā* which dealt with State correspondence. It was under the *dabīr-i-khās* who was also the confidential clerk of the State. All the correspondence, formal or confidential, between the sovereign and the rulers of other States or his own tributaries and officials, passed through this department which employed a large number of *dabīrs* who had already established their reputation as masters of style.[44] Another minister was the *barīd-i-mumālik* who was the head of the State-news-agency. It was his duty to keep himself informed of all that was happening in the empire; ubiquitous agents reported all news which had any significance or importance The headquarters of every administrative sub-division had a local *barīd* who sent regular news-letters to the central office. This system assured the obedience of provincial and local officials and pro-

vided a safeguard against the oppression of the people by local bureaucrats.[45]

The ministers were servants of the crown and responsible only to him There was no question of the ministers acting as a team to resist the Sultān's will. They enjoyed their authority in the capacity of being experts and heads of well-organized bureaucratic departments. Generally a noble was appointed *nā'ib-ul-mulk* or 'Lord Lieutenant of the empire'; his authority varied according to the character of the emperor. Sometimes it was an empty title; at other times it invested the holder with practically absolute authority. He was the head of the military organization and was entrusted with the government of the centrally administered areas.[46]

d. *Finance*

The financial resources of the State were well defined. The main source of income was the State demand on agricultural produce. The methods of assessment were sharing, appraisement or measurement, the last was based on a system of schedules of average produce for each sub-division to calculate the probable produce in the area, brought under cultivation by each individual peasant which was measured.[47] The general rate of the State demand was a fifth of the gross produce, which was raised to a half under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī The proportion seems to have been reduced again to the original level after his death Muhamad bin Tughluq made an unsuccessful effort to increase the rate of the demand again in the Doab. Bābur raised the demand to a fourth of the produce, and that seems to have been the proportion until Akbar raised it to a third A capitation tax called *jizya* was levied on the Hindus at the rate of ten, twenty or forty *tankahs* per annum according to the wealth of the assessee.[48] Imbecile old men, cripples, blind, and those who had not enough to pay the tax after defraying the cost of living were excused. Monks and priests, if they did not work to earn their living and devoted all their time to worship and devotion, were also exempt.[49] *Jizya* was charged in lieu of military service which was, theoretically, compulsory for all Muslims; therefore it was not charged from women and children or from government servants[50] There is evidence to believe that the cultivators also did not pay *jizya*[51] The assessment must have been lenient because it does not seem to have brought any great income to the State[52] The other sources of income were the import duties, the State share in spoils of war, the imposts on mines and on treasure-troves if they contained coins of pre-Muslim days. The import duties ranged from 2½ to 10 per cent, the rate of demand under the other heads being a uniform twenty per cent.[53] Muslims paid a poor tax called

zakāt and were sometimes given the privilege of paying a tenth of the gross produce instead of the usual demand on the land which they possessed.[54] This, however, was a rare privilege.[55]

e. *Assignment and Valuation*

The State, for the sake of convenience, often assigned the revenue of an area to an official instead of paying his salary in cash.[56] This system required a careful valuation of the different areas so that the State might know the figures of estimated average produce. This was possible by maintaining schedules of average produce based on the figures of previous years. The system of paying salaries in the shape of assignments of revenue has led some writers to confuse it with feudalism; actually it was only a method of payment and did not confer any permanent rights to the assignee, whose assignment could be resumed or exchanged for another assignment by the State, which, during the Sultanate period, also kept its administration in its own hands. No assignment was permanent or hereditary.[57] Assignment and valuation provided the medieval equivalent of a modern budget, and the State, as a further safeguard, sometimes earmarked certain sources of income for specified purposes.[58]

f *The Army*

The army was administered by the *'āriz-i-mumālik* whose duty was to keep up the strength and the efficiency of the forces and to provide equipment, horses and rations[59] His office maintained the descriptive roll of each soldier; 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī introduced the system of branding horses.[60] The army was posted on the frontiers, in places of strategic importance, and also at such centres from which it could be easily moved to deal with rebellion or disturbances.[61] The main army was the cavalry to which the utmost importance was attached; it was the lack of good cavalry in the armies of the Hindu *rājās* which resulted in their defeat and subjugation Elephants also played an important part in the army of the Sultāns. The Sultanate also maintained infantry which, however, played only a secondary part The use of fire-arms was known, at least since the days of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī;[62] a corps of engineers was maintained to act as sappers and miners and to man the various siege engines known to the medieval world[63] Every army had a corps of well-trained scouts and a unit of surgeons and ambulance[64] Forts played an important part in the strategy of defence State granaries and *banjāras* kept the army well stocked with provisions[65] The battle array was simple; troops were divided into the centre, the two wings, two flanking parties, the vanguard, and the rearguard. In front

stood elephants protected by iron plates, with towers on their backs carrying warriors and archers. The elephants were preceded by four lines of infantry and archers with gaps for the cavalry to ride out and give battle to the enemy.[66] It was considered politic to prevent the predominance of any single race in the army, and therefore the army of the Sultanate had Turks, Afghāns, Persians, Mongols and Indians.[67] Hindu soldiers joined Muslim armies in large numbers since the days of Mahmūd of Ghaznī Hindu soldiers helped Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak in his conquests. Throughout the history of the Sultanate they were employed in large numbers in various capacities in the army.[68] The army was organised on decimal basis, though later we hear of units of 50 and 150 as well.[69]

g. *Social Services*

The department of religious affairs was under the *sadr-us-sudūr*. It maintained the mosques and provided *imāms* and preachers with stipends or grants in land. It also subsidized the educational system by giving grants to deserving scholars and teachers [70]

Educational institutions were mostly founded by pious donors who left large endowments for their maintenance. Monarchs, nobles and traders vied with one another in promoting education, and the State helped the effort by its patronage of learning and scholarship. The result was that the colleges of India in those days were repositories of all that was best in the arts and sciences of the Middle Ages; the Sultanate of Delhi was the preserver of all that was left of Islamic culture and learning in the East after the Mongol cataclysm. Khusrav speaks highly of learning among the Hindus, particularly of their knowledge of science, mathematics and *yoga* [71] Hindu genius, sometimes under the patronage of Muslim rulers, sometimes quite independently, blossomed forth in a renaissance of literary and religious activity The greatest contribution of the Muslim rulers was the encouragement of the contemporary vernacular languages which broke the artificial barriers created by the insistence on Sanskrit as the medium of expression, and opened the flood-gates of literary and religious activity. Muslim poets and thinkers sometimes adopted the local languages for expressing their emotions and thoughts; Malik Muhammad Jāyasī is an outstanding example, and his *Padumāvatī* is still considered to be a classic in Hindī poetry. The royal court also patronized painting, music and architecture.[72] There also existed a number of hospitals in the capital as well as in other large cities.[73] The Sultāns also disbursed large sums of money to the poor.[74]

h. *Provincial and local government*

The empire was divided into a number of provinces and tributary states. The latter were free to manage their affairs so long as they did nothing prejudicial to the safety of the empire. They were particularly required to protect imperial officials and Muslims resident in their territories and to maintain good standards of administration. It has already been mentioned that jurists classified governorships into two categories: those with limited powers and those with unlimited powers. For geographical reasons the Sultāns gave unlimited powers to the governors of Bengal who were treated as semi-dependent monarchs. They were required to own allegiance to the Sultān of Delhi and to send him tribute, mostly in the shape of elephants. They were also expected to maintain good standards of administration, but they were left practically independent to manage their affairs. When the Sultanate was weak, sometimes even the formal allegiance was withheld Other governors were under full control and their powers were well defined. A governor was the head of the provincial government and its chief executive officer; but his power was kept in check by the presence of the deputies of the central government in all the departments of provincial administration, which was a replica of the organization at the centre All the ministries at the capital had control over the corresponding departments in the province The governor's military power was kept in check by the fact that the provincial military department was under the local *'āriz* who was responsible to the *'āriz-i-mumālik* at the centre.[75] The organization of provincial administration was the same in Bengal, the only difference being that the provincial departments were not under the supervision of the central government.

i. *Sub-divisions*

With the growth and development of the provincial administration it was found necessary to divide the provinces into *shiqqs* which were put under *shiqqdārs*.[76] When the empire decayed and provincial dynasties were established, the *shiqq* emerged as a *sarkār*, and the officer in charge of a *sarkār* was called *shiqqdār-i-shiqqdārān* or the chief *shiqqdār*. The reason was that the *shiqqdār* had sunk to the position of a *parganah* official The *parganah* was an important administrative unit, because it was here that the government came into direct contact with the peasant The main officials were an *'āmil*, later called a *shiqqdār*, a *mushrif* also known as *amīn* or *munsif*, a treasurer, two *kārkuns* and a *qānūngo*. The *'āmil* was the chief executive officer and the head of the *parganah* administration The *mushrif* was the chief assessment officer; the fact that he was also called *amīn* (an honest repository of a trust) and *munsif* (a just

judge) throws a great deal of light on the ideals of agrarian administration of the Sultanate, because the *munsif* was appointed to adjudicate justly between the State and the peasant. The revenue was deposited with the treasurer. The *kārkuns* were the registrars of the *parganah;* one of them maintained the books in Persian and the other in Hindī, hence one was called *Fārsī-nawīs* and the other *Hindwī-nawīs*. The *qānūngo* maintained the previous records of produce and assessment.[77] In addition to these, certain authorities mention a *choudhrī* who was appointed to represent the peasants and keep the administration informed of their condition and demands.[78] The village was the basic unit of administration. It was permitted to maintain its traditions of self-government. The Government, in permitting the village to enjoy the privilege of managing its own affairs, entrusted it with the responsibility of maintaining peace in the area under its control. The village dealt with the administration through its headman, and maintained an accountant, called *patwārī*, to keep its records of cultivation, produce, assessment and payment of the State demand.[79] The State, while welcoming and encouraging the co-operation of the headman, used circumspection in defining his relations with the villagers, because headmen and influential sections of the village often tried to make the weaker peasants pay their share. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji gave strict orders that the villages should never be assessed as a whole, and that "the strong should not be allowed to shift their burden on the weak."[80] The headmen, some of whom were hereditary, were given a small percentage on the revenue which they had helped in realizing.[81] The revenue administration had a large percentage of Hindu personnel, particularly in the local sub-divisions, because they possessed the necessary experience and knowledge of rural conditions.[82]

7. *Means of communication*

In order to maintain regular and speedy communication between the different parts of the empire a regular postal system was organized. Ibn Batūtah gives the following account of it from his personal experience.

"In India the post is of two kinds The horse-post called *ūlāq* is run by the royal horses stationed at a distance of every four miles The foot-post has three stations per mile; it is called *dāwa*, that is to say, one-third of a mile The mile (*mīl*) is known among the Indians as *kuroh* Now, at every third of a mile there is a well-populated village, outside which are three pavilions in which sit men with girded loins ready to start. Each carries a rod, two cubits in length with copper bells at the top When the courier

starts from the city he holds the letter in one hand and the rod with its bells in the other; and he runs as fast as he can. When the men in the pavilion hear the ringing of the bells they get ready. As soon as the courier reaches them, one of them takes the letter from his hand and runs at top speed shaking the rod all the while until he reaches the next *dāwa*. And the same process continues till the letter reaches its destination. This foot-post is quicker than the horse-post; and often it is used to transport the fruits of Khurāsān which are much desired in India. Placed in secure baskets the fruits are carried by the couriers who run at top speed till they reach the sulṭān. In the same way notorious criminals are transported. Each is placed on a frame of wood and is carried on their heads by the couriers who go at full speed. Similarly, water for the sulṭān's use is carried from the Ganges to Daulatābād when he resides there The Ganges is the river to which the Hindus make their pilgrimage It lies at a distance of forty days' journey from Daulatābād When the news officers write and despatch the news of the new arrivals in the country to the sulṭān, they write out the news in full and vigorously, telling him the physical features, the garment, the number of the companions, servants and slaves and horses of the new-comer; they communicate further how he behaves on the march and at rest and his whole conduct, leaving out no pertinent detail whatever. When the new-comer reaches Multān, the capital of the province of Sind, he stops there till the issue of the royal orders for his coming and entertainment. There every person is honoured according to his deeds and conduct and ambition, no recognition whatever being made of his descent and parentage "[82a]

Elsewhere Ibn Batūtah informs us that some time the postal superintendent (*malik-ul-barīd*) also acted as news-writer. In Multān, for example, the former "used to write the news of that city and its dependencies to the sultān—the news concerning all its events and arrivals "[82b]

k. *Hindu Chiefs*

No description of the administrative organization of the Sultanate would be complete without the discussion of the power and influence of the Hindu chiefs A large number of powerful hereditary lords existed under the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj whose sway extended from the Himālayas to the Narmadā.[83] These local chieftains had been left much to themselves by the Rājput rulers. The tributaries had never been particularly amenable to control; their intransigence had, in places, been sanctified by tradition and a strange sense of honour; for instance, the Mawassi and Girāssi chiefs

in Gujarāt "felt themselves bound in honour to withhold tribute till a body of soldiers appeared against them even under the British Government".[84] The chiefs were mostly left in possession of their estates by the Muslim rulers. They were, however, almost always ready to withhold tribute and to create trouble; the slightest weakening of the Government being a signal for revolt. The Sultāns, however, succeeded in bringing them under control, partly by violence, and partly by conciliation. Those who submitted were treated generously and sometimes advanced to positions of responsibility and authority.[85] As they were not, except in extreme cases of rebellion, deprived of their domains, their potential power seldom decreased. The smaller chieftains were employed by the State to help the officials in the realization of the revenue. The *khūts* and the *muqaddams*, as these smaller chieftains were called, played an important part in the rural administration of the empire [85a]

III. LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

It has already been mentioned that Muslim polity was based on the conception of the legal sovereignty of the *Shar'* or Islamic law. No one was above the law, and all—the monarch and the subject alike—were subservient to it. This was so universally recognized that there are cases on record in which subjects have sued monarchs in ordinary courts of law.[86] The *Shar'* is based on the principles enunciated by the *Qur'ān* and is composed of three important elements:—

(i) The *Qur'ān;* a clear injunction of the Holy Book has an over-riding authority on every other factor

(ii) The *hadīs* or the traditions of the prophet The Muslims hold that the Prophet was the best interpreter of the revelation contained in the *Qur'ān* and, therefore, his sayings and actions are considered to be of vital importance. Muslim scholars have developed an entire science of sifting trustworthy traditions from those which are considered to be forged or unreliable. Any tradition which has been reported by unreliable narrators, or is not in consonance with the principles enunciated in the *Qur'ān* or with reliable traditions, is rejected After careful research scholars have agreed upon a body of traditions which are generally held to be authentic. These traditions have played an important part in the development of the *Shar'*, because wherever the *Qur'ān* does not contain a clear injunction, the help of the *hadīs* is invariably sought.

(iii) *Ijmā'* or consensus of opinion Wherever legal opinion is unanimous regarding the interpretation of a verse of the *Qur'ān* or a tradition of the Prophet, it is generally not considered safe

to differ. Unless the judge has very strong reasons to differ from an interpretation which has received universal approbation, he is expected to concur.

It is apparent from this discussion that interpretation plays an important part in the development of the *Shar'*. Like any other system of law, the *Shar'* has always possessed a considerable amount of judge-made law, because in applying the principles of the *Qur'ān* and the teachings of the Prophet to the complex need of a growing society, the lawyers and the judges had to interpret and re-interpret them. In this way there grew up several well-defined schools of law in Islām, each with its own characteristics. Some of them were fundamentalists, others rationalists in varying degrees. The *Shī'ah* and *Khārijī* sects were founded as the result of political cleavage, but they developed their own schools of law Orthodox Islām, generally called Sunnism, evolved four main schools of law, Hanbalī, Malikī, Shāfi'ī, and Hanafi Of these, the last two attained greater popularity The first two are more fundamentalist and the Hanafī school gives greater importance to rational deduction than any other school. The four schools are called after their founders, all jurists of great eminence. The Hanafī school was greatly strengthened by the two immediate disciples of Imām Abū Hanīfah, one of whom, Imām Abū Yūsuf, has left an important treatise on the law governing the State demand on agricultural produce and agrarian administration [87] It was this school which had the largest following in India and the State was also guided by this system [88] It may also be mentioned that the Hanafī school had the most liberal attitude towards non-Muslim inhabitants of a Muslim Empire [89]

a *Law applying to the Non-Muslims*

The *Shar'* recognized three broad principles regarding the responsibility of non-Muslim residents in a Muslim State They, by acknowledging the authority of a Muslim State, had not undertaken to give it active support; they could, therefore, discharge their responsibility by refraining from rebellion and paying a tax, called *jizya*. If they did render active support by joining the army or the civil service of the State, the individuals, co-operating in this manner, would be exempt from the tax.[89a] Then, the personal law of Islām, or those portions of the *Shar'* which laid down duties of a religious nature for the Muslims, would not apply to them; under this head also came *zakāt*, the poor-tax which every Muslim should pay. Thirdly the *zimmī*, as the protected and allied peoples were called, would be free to maintain their institutions, their forms of worship,[89b] their personal law and, if they so desired, their own

organs to impose their personal law. It was, however, open to a *zimmī* to go to a Muslim court, if he expected to secure better justice there. In all cases where the litigants differed in religion, the case was taken to a Muslim court. When the two litigants belonged to the same religion, the court applied their personal law, and when the litigants happened to be non-Muslims, the court took the advice of men learned in that law Wherever the litigants belonged to two different religions, even if one of them was a Muslim, the courts decided the cases on principles of equity The Muslim State was, however, faced with one difficulty: it had to have a criminal code which could be applied universally. This difficulty was solved by Muslim jurists before the conquest of any part of India. They laid down that the Islamic criminal code was to be applied, but where it came into conflict with the moral notions of the *zimmīs*, it should not apply to them, if such a procedure could be adopted without danger to the State or society For instance, suicide was an offence, but the Muslims tolerated suicide by non-Muslims for religious purposes like *satī*, provided that it was not the result of coercion and previous permission of the government had been obtained.[90] It was also laid down as a principle that the punishment of criminal offence should be lighter for the *zimmīs*, because it was not fair to expect them to have the same respect for the Islamic code as the Muslims had It may be pointed out that the Islamic code was much less severe than any other code which had currency in that age[90a]

b. *The Law Courts*

The Sultān, as the enforcer of the law and the head of the State, exercised three functions He was the arbitrator in the disputes of his subjects; he was the head of the bureaucracy, he was the commander-in-chief of the forces In his first capacity he dispensed justice through the *dīwān-i-qazā*; in his second capacity, through the *dīwān-i-mazālim*; while he himself or his military commanders sat as a court-martial to try rebels, though it was considered necessary to obtain a ruling from qualified lawyers The department dealing with rebels and those charged with high treason was later organized into *dīwān-i-siyāsat* consisting of lawyers and inquirers into questions of fact[91] Finally, the accused were produced before the monarch, who heard the prosecution and the defence and, after consulting legal opinion, gave his decision It was the monarch's sole prerogative to order the execution of a criminal, and capital punishment could not be awarded without reference to him. Cases of capital punishment recommended by other courts were also referred to this department. Cases of complaint against any official of the State were heard in the *mazālim* court. The mo-

narch generally sat twice a week as a *mazālim* court and was advised by the chief *qāzī*.[92] In the provinces, the governor, the *dīwān* and the provincial *qāzī* constituted the provincial *mazālim* court.

The ordinary civil and criminal litigations were the charge of the *qāzī-i-mumālik*, who had his deputies in the provincial capitals and a *qāzī* in each town of any considerable size. The chief *qāzī* was an official of great prestige and was chosen for his learning as well as piety. The *qāzī's* function was to find out facts and apply the law. He was responsible neither for summoning or bringing the accused or the witnesses to the court, nor for the execution of his decrees.[93] These functions were performed by another branch of the department of justice which was under the *amīr dād* who also had deputies in the provinces and a *dādbek* each in towns where *qāzīs* were posted.[94] The *kotwāls*, who were the heads of the police organization in every city, discharged the duties of courts of first inquiry in criminal cases.[95] The *muhtasib* was also connected with justice because he inquired into all open breaches of the law which did not come under the cognizance of the law courts and awarded the punishment if the guilt was not denied. If the accused denied the guilt, the matter was referred to a *qāzī's* court. The *kotwāl* was responsible for the maintenance of public utilities, control of markets, and prevention of nuisance, and discharged many duties now performed by a municipal committee or the police.[96] The system of appeals from a lower court to a higher court existed.[97] The monarch did not interfere with the duties of the *qāzīs* whose independence was respected; he, however, could dismiss any *qāzī* who was found unworthy of his charge. In the villages and caste or guild brotherhood, the *panchāyats* worked successfully

APPENDIX

THE USE OF GUNS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

It has been urged that the gunpowder and cannon were known and used in India during the reign of Iltutmish (A.D. 1210-36).[1] This view is based on the mention of *kushk-anjīr*, as a weapon of war, in *Ādāb-ul-harab was-shajāat*, composed by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir at the beginning of the thirteenth century and dedicated to Sultān Iltutmish A later work, *Farhang-i Sharfnāmā-i Ahmed Munyarī*, compiled in 864-79 A H. (A.D. 1459-1474), says that *'kushk-anjīr'* means 'perforator' or an instrument 'for throwing stones', or a 'stone or ball projected by the expansive force of combustible substances' (*dārūhā-i-atishin*). This evidence, however, cannot be regarded as conclusive For, without any independent corroborative evidence, we cannot attribute to *kushk-anjīr* a sense or significance in the thirteenth century which was attached to it in the fifteenth, when guns were familiar instruments of war.

A. Z Nadvi has quoted extracts from Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī's *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* to show that during the siege of Ranthambhor in 699 A.H (A.D. 1299-1300) *sang-i-maghribī* was violently gushing out from the fort and a stone fell upon Nusrat Khān, who was severely wounded He argues that *sang-i-maghribī* means western stone and refers to cannon[2] Firishta, however, takes it to mean a stone thrown by *manjanīq*. Nadvi argues that 'if it were so, then why did Baranī use a different word from *manjanīq* with the name and use of which he was quite familiar' He further points out that Muhammad bin 'Umar Makkī, who lived long in Arabia, took *sang-i-maghribī* in the sense of a stone cannon-ball, and that *Tabaqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhī*, written in the sixteenth century A.D , refers distinctly to cannon in the time of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī; one of these cannons was so heavy that it was drawn by 100 bullocks But these arguments cannot be regarded as very convincing.

We have definite evidence of the use of artillery in India in the fourteenth century A D. Nadvi interprets a passage in Firishta to mean that the Rājā of Vijayanagara brought several hundred cannon in the battlefield against Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī.[3] Firishta says, on the authority of *Tuhfat-ul-Muslimīn* (*Tuhfat-us-salayīn* according to Briggs), that in this battle which was fought in 767 A H (A D 1365-6), the Bahmanī king secured as war booty thirty hundred cannon (three hundred gun-carriages according to Briggs). Immediately after stating this Firishta says that shortly after this battle "the Bahmanī king collected a train of artillery which had never till then been employed by the Muslims in the Deccan; he gave the command to Mookurrib Khān, son of Sufdur Khān Seestany, attaching to him a number of Toorks and Europeans acquainted with the art of gunnery"[4] Firishta informs us that in the next battle with Vijayanagara, about eight months later, Muqurrab Khān used his artillery with great effect Henceforth the artillery formed an important weapon in the wars of the Deccan.

There is no doubt that guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India in A.D. 1498. Faria-e-Souza writes: "The Moors of Sumatra, Malacca, and the Moluccoes (those princes bearing the title of Moolk, that is, the several kings of the Deccan) were well disciplined and much better stored with artillery than we that attacked them in A.D. 1506".[5]

Mahmūd Begarha used artillery in naval battles. Bahādur Shāh (Gujarāt) made a collection of cannon of various designs. He employed a Portuguese Muslim convert and a Turk called Rumī Khān, who were great experts in the manufacture of cannon. Rumī Khān had brought with him a big cannon known as Egyptian cannon. It is said that it was drawn by 300 men and innumerable buffaloes. It was made in Egypt in 937 A.H. (A D. 1530).[6] Nadvi also cites many other instances of the use of guns in India before Bābur employed them in the first battle of Pānipat in A.D 1526.[7] Bābur says that the soldiers in Bengal were expert artillerists [8]

1. *Qur'ān*, III, 102, XLII, 38, etc.
2 Ibid, V 2
3. I H Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* 22-23
4 *Imām* means a leader and *khalīfah*, successor, so called because he succeeded the Prophet in his secular authority
5 *Tughluqnāmah*, p 139, *I'jaz-i-Khusravī*, preface
6 *Kulliyāt-i-Hasan Sajzī*, e g p 488, W Mirza, *Life and Works of Amīr Khusrav*, 124
7 Baranī, 491. 492 See ante p 78
8 *Proleg*, 165-166
9 *Al-ahkām-u's-Sultāniyah*, 3-16
10 *Sulūk-u'l-Mulūk* pp 15b, 16a
11 Arnold, *The Caliphate*, 73-74.
12 *Sulūk-u'l-Mulūk*, p 20a
13 Ibid, f 37a
13a The same idea prevailed among Hindu writers cf Vol II, 107 (Ed)
14. *Kīmiya-i-Sa'ādat* 8
15 *Sulūk-u'l-Mulūk*, f 20b, *Akhlaq-i-Nāsirī*, 359
16 *Adāb-u'l-Mulūk*, f 3b
17 Ibid
18 *Akhlaq-i-Jalālī*, 134, *Sulūk-u'l-Mulūk*, f 17a
19 *Siyāsatnāmah*, 5
20 *Nasā'ih Shāh Rukhi*, f 12a
21 *Al-ahkām-u's-Sultāniyah*, 32
22 *Nihāyat-ul-Arab*, 5
23 *Sulūk-u'l-Mulūk*, f 19a
24 *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī*, f 119a
25. *Qur'ān*, V, 2, *Mahabhārata*, Śāntiparva LXXVIII, 41-43
26 Baranī, 136-138, 151
27 *Ādab-ul-Mulūk*, f 33b
28 e g *Tughluqnāmah*, 47
29 Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des orients* translated by S Khuda Baksh, under the title, *The Orient Under the Caliph*, 9
30 Ibid, 264
31 Ibid, 248, 264, 267, 268
32 'Afīf, 448
33. Sarwānī, f. 67b
34. 'Afīf, 278
35 Ibid, 277-78.
36. Ibid, 279
37. *Subh-u'l-a'sha*, 51, *Masālik-ul-absār*, 30
38 Minhāj, 232, 242

39. 'Afif, 419 420
40 *Ādāb-ul-Mulūk*, c 36a, b.
41. 'Afif, 420.
42. *Subh-u'l-a'shā*, 72, *Masālik-ul-absār*, 32
43. Baranī, 60, 114, 170, 'Afif, 299, 300.
44 *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter No CV, Baranī. 91, *Qābūsnāmah* 156-157
45. *Ādāb-ul-Mūluk*, ff. 41b, 42.
46 Minhāj, 191, 192; Baranī, 26, 202 etc
47 W H Moreland. *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, and the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* discuss the various methods in great detail
48 I H Qureshi, op cit 112-119
49 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, 1051
50 N. P Aghnides, *Muhammadan Theories of Finance*, 399 (This view of the jizya is not accepted by all For other views about its nature, cf vol III, 454-6; also Ch XVII C of this volume Ed.)
51 *Dastūr-ul-albāb*, 66, 67.
52 R. P Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, 290-291
53 Aghnides, op. cit. 318
54. Ibid, 200.
55 Qureshi, op cit 102, 103
56 'Afif, 296.
57. Moreland, op. cit 221
58 Ibid, 56
59 *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī*. ff 66b, 70b
60 Baranī, 319.
61 Minhāj, 323; Baranī, 59
62 See appendix to this chapter
63 *Is C* 1937, 475. *Ādāb-ul-Mulūk*, ff 118b-120a.
64 *Ibid*, 84-86b, *Tughluqnāmah*, 133 etc
65 Baranī, 304
66 *Ādāb-ul-Mulūk*, 149
67 *Qābūsnāmah*, 171, 172, *Subh-u'l-a'shā*, 66, *Masālik-ul-absār*, 26
68 *Tārikh-i-Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāhī*, 33, *Khazā'in-ul-futūh*, 91. 95; *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain* 36, Baranī, 182
69 *Ādāb-u'l-Mulūk*, f 130, Dāūdī f 103a
70 Minhāj, 175; *Siyāsatnāmah*, 41, *Inshā-i-Māhrū* letter No VII
71 *Nuh Sipihr*, *Siphr-i-nahum*
72 Qureshi, op cit 187, 190, 225
73 *Subh-u'l-a'shā*, 29, *Masālik-u'l-absār*, 24, 'Afif. 355. 356 *Afsānah-i-Shāhan* 126a
74 Qureshi, op cit, 191, 192
75 *Tāj-ul-mā'āsir*, ff. 144b-148b 192b-193a
76. Baranī, 479, 501, etc
77. Ibid, 288-289, 431, Sarwani, f 69a Dāūdī, f 79b; Mushtāqī, 49, 50
78 Baranī, 278.
79. Baranī, 288, 289
80 Ibid, 287.,
81. Ibid, 429-30
82 *Chachnāmah*, 210
82a *IBH* 3-4 (This passage from Ibn Batūtah and the following paragraph have been inserted by the Editor)
82b. Ibid, 13.
83. Briggs, IV, 18, f n
84. Ibid, IV, 18, f.n.
85. *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 82
85a. For the treatment of *khūts* and *muqaddams* by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, whose solicitude for the poor peasants has been referred to above. cf. p 24. (Ed)
86 Ibn Batūtah. III, (Ed Defremery), 285, 286 *IBH*, 83
87. *Kitāb-u'l-Kharāj*
88. Ibn Batūtah, *Fiqh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* *Masāb-u'l-absār*,—all mention this.
89. Only the Hanafī school recognized the Hindus as *Zimmīs* whose condition has been described above, pp 23-5, and will be further discussed in Ch XVII C "Doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but Death or Islam" (*HIED*, III 183) [Ed.].
89a This rule was hardly observed in practice in India. See note 50 above. (Ed.)

89b. Under the Islamic law, twenty conditions, some of which were most humiliating, were imposed on the Zimmīs. These are given in detail by Shaikh Hamadānī in *Zakhirat-ul-Mulūk*, folios 94a-95a. Some of these conditions will be referred to in Chapter XVII C. These conditions were laid down by the Caliph 'Umar and therefore go back to the beginnings of Islām. If the Zimmīs infringed any of these conditions "they shall not enjoy security and it shall be lawful for Muslims to take their lives and possessions." For an English translation of the passage, cf. *Sources of Indian Tradition* (Columbia University Press, 1958), 490. All the Hindus were treated as *Zimmīs* That the Muslim rulers of India did not tolerate Hindu religious institutions and made it a regular practice to break idols and demolish temples (often raising mosques in their places) has been shown in the preceding chapters and also in Ch. XVII C. (Ed.).

90. Baranī, 497. *IBH*, 21.

90a This is not supported by the barbarous practices such as burning alive a Brāhmaṇa referred to above on p 104, which was declared to be in strict accordance with Islamic law Ibn Batūtah tells a gruesome story of a woman being put to an ordeal by water which he himself witnessed The test prescribed by the *nāib-us-sulṭān* to determine her guilt was this "Four pitchers were filled with water and tied to the hands and feet of the woman who was then thrown into the Jamna (*Jūn*) But she did not drown, whereby it was proved that she was a *kaftār* The *nāib-us-sultān* then ordered her to to be burnt" (*IBH*, 165). (Ed.)

This, as well as the most barbarous methods of punishment inflicted on the criminals as indicated above (pp 83, 84, 98), including mutilation, witnessed by Ibn Batūtah, (*IBH*, 152), give us a realistic idea of the "medieval barbarism" that prevailed, or continued from old times, in spite of laws and institutions conceived on a high standard (Ed)

91. Ibid, 497
92. *Sub-u'l-a'shā*, 73, *Masālik-u'l-absār*, 34, 49, 51
93. *HIED*, III, 578, *I'jaz-i-Khusravī*, II, 13 etc
94. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, 16, Minhāj, 170, Taj f 195b
95. Qureshi, op cit. 173.
96. *Ahkām-u's-Sultāniyah*, 243, 244.
97. *I'jāz-i Khusravī*, II, 13

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1. *JIH*, XV 187.
2. *Is C* XII, 405
3. Ibid, 407, Briggs, II, 312
4. Briggs, II, 313
5. Ibid, 312, cf also *HIED*, I, Appendix on "the early use of gunpowder in India" (reprinted in the *Studies in Indian History*, by Elliot and Dowson, Published by Sushil Gupta, Calcutta 1953, pp 84 ff)
6. *Is C* XII, 407-9.
7. Ibid He refers to the use of guns in Mālwa in 862 A H (A D 1457-8), in Gujarāt in 825 A H (A D 1421-2) Gunpowder was introduced in Kāshmīr during the reign of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn but it was used only in fire-works and not in fire-arms *RT*, III, pp 149-50, vv 19-29 *BV*, XVI, II
8. *Studies in Indian History* (cf Note 5), p 101

CHAPTER XV

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A. SANSKRIT

I. INTRODUCTION

The same features that characterized the preceding period continue to operate during this age also [1] Political conditions did not materially affect Sanskrit literature, and despite growing Muslim domination in parts of the country literary works continued to be produced. The creative period, however, had long been a matter of the past, there being little of intrinsic merit, though the production is immense and almost every branch of literature is represented. There is no originality Works seem to be produced only for the learned; there is no contact with the masses. This period shows a growing tendency among the authors to write school texts.

Considering that there was a close contact with the Muslims for several centuries it is rather strange that no influence of such contact is to be seen in the vast Sanskrit literature to any appreciable extent

Among the factors influencing Sanskrit literature of this period particular mention may be made of the Chaitanya movement of Bengal and Orissa which was productive of several works in drama, *Champū*, grammar, and other branches The patronage extended by the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara, Warangal, Gujarāt, etc resulted in the concentration of scholars to these regions and the production of standard works in different branches by the authors patronized in these courts Stories of Rāma and Kṛishṇa and of the heroes in the Purāṇas have always been the fountain-heads from which the poets and dramatists drew their subject-matter. During the period under review stories of Nala and Yayāti seem to have been the most popular, and a number of works appeared having their themes based on the story of the *Kādambarī*

The large number of royal authors and patrons of learning forms one of the main characteristics of this, as of the preceding age Hammīra, Kumbhakarṇa, Pratāparudradeva, Kumāragiri or Vasantarāja, Vemabhūpāla, Siṁhabhūpāla, Kāṭaya Vema, Immadi Prauḍhadevarāya, Virūpāksha, Sāluva Narasiṁha, Kṛishṇadevarāya and Tippa Bhūpāla were some of the rulers who enriched Sanskrit literature in several branches—Kāvya, Nāṭaka, poetics, dramaturgy, commentaries, music, etc. There were also large number of cele-

brated polymaths like Vidyāraṇya, Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Veṅkaṭanātha or Vedānta Deśika, and Uddaṇḍa who contributed works in Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Champū, philosophy, etc. Jains made a substantial contribution to Sanskrit literature during this period. Regional survey indicates that the bulk of production came from the South, followed by Bengal, Mithilā and Western India. Kāshmir recedes into the background.

II. BELLES-LETTERS

A KĀVYA

(1) *Mahākāvya*

The *Udārarāghava* of Sākalyamalla *alias* Mallāchārya or Kavimalla relates the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* story in a highly artificial style Only nine of its eighteen cantos are available.[2] The poet was a contemporary of Singabhūpāla (c. A.D. 1330). Agastya, the court-poet of Prataparudradeva of Warangal, composed several works, among which may be mentioned the *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūshaṇa*,[3] *Kṛishṇa-charita* (prose romance), and *Bālabhārata*, which summarises the whole story of the *Mahābhārata* in 20 cantos, beginning with the origin of the Kuru line from the Moon. Coming from a learned family of poets, Vidyāchakravartin III was the son of Vāsudeva and grandson of Vidyāchakravartin II, the author of *Gadya-karṇāmrita* He was patronized by the Hoysala king Ballāla III. His *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa*[4] describes the marriage of Kṛishṇa and Rukmiṇī in 16 cantos, the first giving the genealogy of the Hoysala kings besides a short account of the poet's family The extant nine cantos of *Narakāsura-vijaya* by Mādhava, a poet at the court of king Virūpāksha of Vijayanagara, describe the story of the conquest of Narakāsura by Kṛishṇa Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, son of Komatiyajvan and grandson of Varadāgnichit, was a polymath, having composed Kāvya, drama, *bhāṇa*, *charita*, *sandeśa*, lexicons; etc. His versatility brought him the titles Shaḍbhāshāvallabha and Kavisārvabhauma Born in the same *gotra* (i e Vatsa) as Bāṇa, he thought he inherited his qualities and styled himself Abhinavabhaṭṭabāṇa His *Nalābhyudaya* in eight cantos and *Raghunātha-charita* in thirty deal with the lives of the respective heroes. He flourished in the fifteenth century A.D

The *Harivilāsa* of Lolimbarāja narrates the life of Krishna[5] The famous Durgā festival has been described by Vidyāpati in 1000 verses in *Durgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī* Rāmachandra, son of Lakshmaṇabhaṭṭa, composed in A D. 1524, *Rasikarañjana* at Ayodhyā which describes the erotic and ascetic sentiments at the same time. Of

similar nature is the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍava-Yādavīya* of Chidambara, narrating simultaneously three stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata*. King Sāluva Narasiṁha is said to have composed *Rāmābhyudaya* in 24 cantos.[6] *Śaṅkara-vijaya* by the polymath Vidyāraṇya, who played an important rôle in the history of Vijayanagara,[7] is supposed to contain the biography of the great Śankara Divākara, at the court of Krishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara, wrote *Pārijātaharaṇa*, *Devīstuti*, *Rasamañjarī*, and *Bhāratāmṛita* on the basis of the stories in the *Mahābhārata* Kīrtirāja's *Nemināṭha-mahākāvya* narrates the life of Nemināṭha in 12 cantos, while *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* by Jinaprabha describes the life of Śreṇika. Somakīrti wrote *Saptavyasana-charita*, *Pradyumna-charita* and *Yośodhara-charita* *Vāsudeva-vijaya* by Vāsudeva,[8] at the court of Mānavikrama of Calicut, illustrates the grammatical aphorisms of Pāṇini. Adventures of Krishna form the subject of Chaturbhuja's *Haricharita-kāvya* composed in Bengal.

Peculiar interest attaches to *Kathākautuka* by Śrīvara, pupil of Jonarāja, which is an adaptation in 15 cantos of *Yūsuf wa Zuleikha* by Jāmī in Persian, and is probably the earliest instance of the utilization of Persian literature Hebrew in origin, the story glorifies Muhammad Shāh of Kāshmir The work is written in easy Sanskrit poetry The romantic Persian love-lyric has been amalgamated with the Indian Śaiva faith, the last canto being entirely dedicated to the praise of Śiva.

(ii) *Historical Kāvya*

Śrīvara, mentioned above, was the pupil of Jonarāja who wrote the *Dvitīyā* (second) *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It is a continuation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and brings the chronicle of the kings of Kāshmir down to the time of the author's patron Zain-ul-'Ābidīn (A D. 1420-70). Jonarāja however, could not complete the history of his patron, as he died in the 35th year of his reign Śrīvara continued the history, and his work, the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* or the *Tritīyā* (third) *Rājataraṅgiṇī* covers the period 1459-1486 *Rājāvalī-patākā*, begun by Prājyabhata and completed by his pupil Śuka, deals with the history till the annexation of Kāshmir by Akbar (1586)

Hammīra-kāvya by the Jain writer Nayachandra, describes the heroic deeds of Chāhamāna or Chauhān Hammīra who bravely fought with the Muslims at Ranthambhor[8a] Jaitrasiṁha's advice to his son Hammīra on politics is very informing. A work of considerable importance for Gujarāt history is the *Guruguṇaratnākara* by Somacharitragaṇi, written in 1485, describing the life of Lakshmīsaragaṇi of Tapāgachchha Some historical interest attaches to the *Jagaḍū-*

charita of Sarvānanda, poem in praise of Jain layman who helped his countrymen during the disastrous Gujarāt famine of 1256-57. *Rājavinoda*[9] of Udayarāja, a Hindu court-poet of Sultān Mahmūd Begarha of Ahmadābād, deals in seven chapters with the life of the Sultān. Though Mahmūd was notorious for his bigotry, the author depicts him as an orthodox king.

Prasaṅgaratnāvalī of Paṭṭubhaṭṭa or Potarārya gives short accounts of princes from the great Vikramāditya to Siṁhabhūpati, Rājā of Pithapur. *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa* of Vidyāchakravartin III, as already stated, contains the genealogy of the Hoysala kings. A history of the kings of Vijayanagara from its foundation is given by Vidyāraṇya in his *Rājakālanirṇaya* Rājanātha II describes in *Sāluvābhyudaya* the achievements of Sāluva Narasiṁha and his ancestors. As there is no reference to Narasiṁha's rule at Vijayanagara, the poem seems to have been composed about A D. 1480.[10]

(iii) *Shorter poems*

(a) Devotional

There are a number of *stotras* by the polymath Veṅkaṭanātha or Vedāntadeśika *Gīta-Gaurīśa* by Bhānudatta, author of *Rasataraṅgiṇī* and *Rasamañjarī*, appears to follow the model of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* On the lines of the *Gītagovinda,* again, king Purushottamadeva composed *Abhinava-Gītagovinda* *Stutikusumāñjali* by the Kashmirian poet Jagaddhara, son of Ratnadhara, consists of 38 hymns in praise of Śiva The poems of Nimāi, later Gaurāṅga and Śrī Krishna Chaitanya, are outbursts of emotional devotion. Chaitanya movement gave rise to Vaishṇava lyrics in Bengal. *Stavamālā* is a collection, made by Jīva Gosvāmin, of about 60 *stotras* and *gītas* composed by Rūpa Gosvāmin, an immediate disciple of Chaitanya Among devotional *stotras* by Jains may be mentioned Jinaprabhasūri's *Chaturviṁśati-Jinastuti* and several other hymns, and *Jina-stotra-ratna-kośa* by Munisundarasūri

(b) Didactic

Dhanadarāja, like Bhartrihari, wrote three Śatakas on Śṛṅgāra, Nīti and Vairāgya in A D 1434 *Subhāshitanīvī* of Veṅkaṭanātha is a didactic poem like Bhartṛhari's *Nītiśataka* Containing 144 verses in diverse metres, it is symmetrically divided into 12 *Paddhatis* of 12 verses each, dealing with the topics of pride, wickedness, servitude, nobility, tranquillity, etc Dyā Dviveda's *Nītimañjarī* illustrates some 200 verses of maxims by tales taken from Sāyaṇa's *Ṛigvedabhāshya*. *Śīladūta*, by Chāritrasundaragani, is not a *Dūtakāvya* as indicated by its name, but a didactic poem on the story of Sthūla-

bhadra, composed on the principle of *Samasyāpūraṇa* (taking one foot in each stanza from some standard work).

(c) Erotic and Sandeśa.

Kṛishṇalīlā of Madana relates Kṛishṇa's separation from the Gopīs in 84 stanzas in *yamaka* style of *Samasyāpūrana* type, taking one foot from *Ghaṭakarpara* in each stanza.

Of the imitations of the *Meghadūta,* which was responsible for a number of *Dūtakāvyas* in the earlier epochs, there is an abundance in the period under review. Venkaṭanātha or Vedāntadeśika, one of the polymaths of the period, wrote *Haṁsasandeśa* to vie with the *Meghadūta* His son Varada or Nāyanāchārya, who vanquished in debate Sākalyamalla, was a great scholar and composed *Kokilasandeśa* and *Śukasandeśa* There is another *Kokilasandeśa* by Uddaṇḍa, a poet at the court of Mānavikrama, the Zamorin, which is the message of a lover to his beloved at Calicut [11] It is said to be in reply to a similar poem named *Bhṛiṅgasandeśa* or *Bhramaradūta* by Vāsudeva, another poet at Mānavikrama's court. Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa has *Haṁsasandeśa* in imitation of *Meghasandeśa* *Manodūta* of Vishṇudāsa, said to be the maternal uncle of Chaitanya, is a pathetic appeal to Kṛishna with mind as messenger, and contains a description of Vrindāvana. There are *Haṁsadūta* and *Uddhavadūta* by Rūpa Gosvāmin

The Jain poets employed this form of poetry to serve religious purpose. In their Vijñaptipatras to their preceptors, conveying reports of their rainy season resorts, they dealt with philosophical doctrines and employed *Chetas*, *Manas*, *Bhakti* and the like as messengers. Merutunga's Jain *Meghadūta* describes the life of Neminātha in four cantos

(iv) *Anthologies*

Several important anthological works were composed during the period. The *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, compiled in A D 1363 by Śārngadhara, son of Dāmodara, is an exhaustive work containing 4689 verses in 163 sections. The number of authors and works cited amounts to over 300 [12] As preserving the works of South Indian authors, being a South Indian compilation, *Sūktiratnahāra* of Sūrya Kaliṅgarāja has a peculiar interest It belongs to the fourteenth century After the introductory *Paddhatis* its quotations are arranged into four *Paddhatis* dealing respectively with *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Moksha* The polymath Vedāntadeśika wrote *Subhāshitanīvi*,[13] while Sāyana, the celebrated commentator of the Vedas, composed *Subhāshitasudhānidhi* in 84 *Paddhatis* at the

instance of king Kampa of Vijayanagara. It contains an account of Sāyaṇa's family. There is the *Subhāshitāvali* of Kashmirian Śrīvara, pupil of Jonarāja, which cites from more than 380 poets In subject-matter, arrangement and method of compilation the *Padyāvali* of Rūpa Gosvāmin is different from the other anthologies. It contains 386 verses from over 125 authors. All the verses are devoted to Kṛishṇa and Kṛishṇalīlā, and have been arranged in accordance with the various aspects of Kṛishṇabhakti and the different episodes of the erotic career of Kṛishṇa The arrangement of sections generally conforms to the rhetorical classification of the Vaishṇava Rasaśāstra.

(v) *Women Poets*

Reference has been made in Chapter I to *Madhurā-vijaya* or *Vīra-Kamparāya-charita* by Gaṅgādevī, queen of Vīra-Kampana or Kamparāya. which described her husband's victorious expeditions against king Champa of Kāñchī and the Muslim chief of Madurā Abhirāma Kāmākshī, wife of Rājanātha I, wrote *Abhinavarāmābhyudaya* in 24 cantos narrating the story of Rāma in exquisite verse. Tirumālāmbā's *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya*[14] deals with the love and marriage of Varadāmbikā with her lover Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara in a highly artificial style.

B NĀTAKA

(i) *Legendary themes*

Virūpāksha, son of Harihara II of the Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara, wrote *Nārāyaṇa-vilāsa* in five acts, and *Unmatta-rāghava* in one act, describing Rāma's lamentations on the loss of Sītā There is also another *Unmattarāghava*, by Bhāskara,[15] called a *Prekshāṇaka*, which in a single act depicts Rāma's search and maddening soliloquies on Sītā's transformation into a gazelle through Durvāsas' curse and her recovery with the aid of Agastya The general plan is in imitation of the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśīya*.

Pārvatīpariṇaya by Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, sometimes wrongly ascribed to Bāṇa, is a dreary dramatization of the theme of *Kumārasambhava* in five acts, dealing with the nuptials of Śiva and Pārvatī. His other play *Kanakalekhā* describes the marriage of the daughter of Vīravarman with Vyāsavarman, both Vidyādharas, born as human beings on account of a curse The early life of Kṛishṇa has been dramatized by Jīvarāma in his *Murārivijaya*,[16] while Kṛishṇadevarāya's *Jāmbuvatī-kalyāṇa* describes in five acts the story of Kṛishṇa's recovery of the Syamantaka, his victory over Jāmbuvant, and his marriage with the latter's daughter, Jāmbuvatī. Krishṇa-

devarāya's *Ushāpariṇaya* and Pratāparudradeva's *Ushārāgodaya* deal with the Ushā-Aniruddha episode.[17] *Saugandhikā-haraṇa* is a one-act *Vyāyoga* by Viśvanātha, describing Bhīma's encounter with Hanūmat and fetching Saugandhikā flowers from Kubera's lake. On the story of Arjuna's victory over Duryodhana and the Kauravas during their cattle-raid is based the *Dhanañjaya-vijaya-vyayoga* of Kāñchanāchārya, son of Nārāyana *Vīrabhadravijaya* by Aruṇagirinātha II is a *Ḍima* describing the creation of Vīrabhadra and the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice

(ii) *Semi-historical Plays*

Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudra-kalyāna*[18] glorifies the poet's patron, the Kākatīya ruler Pratāparudra of Warangal. *Gaṅgādāsa-pratāpa-vilāsa* of Gaṅgādhara deals in nine acts with the struggle of Gaṅgādāsa Pratāpadeva, ruler of Champakapura (Chāmpāner) and the poet's patron, with Muhammad Shāh II of Gujarāt (A.D. 1443-51)

(iii) *Allegorical Dramas*

Veṅkaṭanātha or Vedāntadeśika wrote *Saṅkalpasūryodaya*, an allegorical drama, in the manner of *Prabodhachandrodaya* It is an answer to the latter and inculcates the Viśishṭādvaita philosophy Rāmānuja's doctrines again figure in another allegorical drama *Vedāntavilāsa* or *Yatirājavijaya* by Varadācharya[19] or Ammal Āchārya which describes in six acts the triumph of Rāmānuja *Bhartriharinirveda* by Harihara represents Bhartrihari as desolated by his wife's death through false rumour of his own death. Later however, consoled by the Yogic teachings of Gorakshanātha, he attains indifference, so that after his wife is recalled to life he has no attraction either for her or for his child The work is partly a didactic glorification of Hathayoga system of Gorakshanātha as a means of emancipation.

(iv) *Devotional Plays*

Vidagdha-mādhava (7 acts), *Lalita-mādhava* (10 acts), and *Dāna-kelichandrikā* (without acts division, called *Bhāṇikā*) by Rūpa Gosvāmin, and *Jagannātha-vallabha* (5 acts) by Rāmānanda Rāya are among the devotional plays on Krishnabhakti produced by the influence of the Chaitanya movement The first three illustrate the doctrinal aspect of the emotional *Bhakti* in terms of the old romantic Krishṇa legend, while the last work describes itself as a *Saṅgīta-nātaka* (musical drama) and contains Padāvalis or songs in imitation of Jayadeva. Inspired by a great devotional fervour of a refined erotico-religious character as also by scholastic learning, their interest is anything but literary and they can hardly be called dramas.

(v) *Erotic and Farcical*

Dhūrtasamāgama is a *Prahasana* by Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara, son of Rāmeśvara, who wrote under Harasiṁhadeva[20] (c. 1320) of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā. The play relates the contest between a religious mendicant Viśvanagara and his pupil Durāchāra over a lovely courtesan Anaṅgasenā, whom the Brāhmaṇa arbitrator Asajjāti keeps for himself. Of the same type as the *Dhūrtasamāgama* is the *Somavalliyogānanda* of Aruṇagirinātha I, which in humorous vein ridicules the amorous overtures of an ascetic to a fallen married woman. Of uncertain date but dealing with a similar theme is the *Hāsyārṇava* of Jagadīśvara. The *Kautukasarvasva* of Gopīnātha Chakravartin was written for the Durgā festival of Bengal. It depicts a king Kalivatsala proclaiming free love to all and banishing all Brāhmaṇas from his kingdom.

The *Śṛiṅgārabhūshaṇa* of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa is a *Bhāṇa* introducing a Viṭa narrating his visit to the street of courtesans, incidentally describing the hetaera, ram-fights, cock-fights, boxing, a quarrel between two rivals, etc Varadāchārya, whose *Vedānta-vilāsa* is noticed earlier, wrote *Vasantatilaka* or *Ammal Bhāṇa* containing descriptions of magic shows, snake charmers and like, to rival Rāmabhadra's *Śriṅgāratilaka* or *Ayyā Bhāna*, dealing with the amorous adventures of Bhujaṅgaśekhara of Madhurā.[21]

(vi) *Social dramas and Court Comedies*

Mallikāmāruta, a *Prakaraṇa* in ten acts by Uddaṇḍa, is a social drama of middle class life, following the plot of *Mālatīmādhava* in all details with improvements in some particulars. With its attractive language, melodious verse and speeches abounding in apt illustration, the drama has its own appeal. The *Kādambarīkalyāṇa* by Narasiṁha dramatizes the story of the *Kādambarī* in eight acts. Its special feature is the *antarnāṭikā* in the fifth act, which brings Kādambarī in the presence of Chandrāpīḍa Śathakopa in his *Vāsantikāpariṇaya* describes the marriage of Ahobila Narasiṁha with a wood-nymph Vāsantikā The *Bhairavānanda* by the Nepalese Maṇika, son of Rājavardhana and pupil of Nateśvara, is a secular drama with Bhairava and Madanavatī, a celestial damsel cursed by a Ṛishi to become human, as hero and heroine

(vii) *Irregular Plays*

The *Subhadrāparinaya* on the well-known topic of the marriage of Subhadrā, the *Rāmābhyudaya*, dealing with the conquest of Laṅkā, fire ordeal of Sītā and return to Ayodhyā, and the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya* describing Draupadī's birth and marriage, are the works of Vyāsa

Śrīrāmadeva (Rāmadeva) of the fifteenth century, who was a protégé of Kalachuri kings of Rāyapura. They style themselves as shadow plays, though in reality they do not differ from the ordinary plays.[22]

C. PROSE LITERATURE

(i) *Popular Tale: Romantic Tale*

After the *Bṛihatkathā*, the next oldest collection is the ***Vetālapañchaviṁśati*** found in several independent versions, including the Kashmirian versions of the *Bṛihatkathā* by Kshemendra and Somadeva, but not the Nepalese version.[23] Śivadāsa's version, in prose interspersed with verse, is noteworthy on account of considerable literary grace and narrative quality. Though a MS. of ***Vetālapañchaviṁśati*** by Śivadāsa is dated A.D 1487, Hertel would not place Śivadāsa much before A.D. 1487, so that he may be taken as properly belonging to this period. Kshemaṁkara's prose version, with verses at the beginning and end, which condemns the *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* or *Vikramāṅka-charita*, a collection of thirty-two tales of throne, belongs to this period.

Bharaṭakadvātriṁśikā, of unknown date and authorship, consists of thirty-two tales ridiculing Bharaṭakas, who were probably Śaiva mendicants. The inclusion of vernacular verses indicates its contact with the literature of the people. It may or may not be of Jain inspiration. The *Kathārṇava* of Śivadāsa has stories of fools and knaves. The *Purushaparīkshā* of Vidyāpati, who flourished under Śivasiṁha of Mithilā towards the latter part of the fourteenth century, has moral and political tales for the instruction of children on the plan of *Pañchatantra*. The tales indicate, in a simple and graceful style, what goes to constitute manly qualities. Some stories refer to historical persons and incidents. *Bhūparikrama* by Vidyāpati is a prose work describing Balarāma's journey round the earth—one of the earliest specimens of gazetteers. The *Kathākautuka* of Śrīvara, which renders in Sanskrit verse the Persian story, has already been referred to.

(ii) *Didactic Tale*

Jain literature is specially rich in stories, but their main aim is to illustrate the tenets of the Jain faith—edification rather than entertainment. *Champaka-Śreshṭhikathānaka* includes three tales one of which relates Rāvana's vain effort to avoid fate. The *Pālagopālakathānaka* of Jinakīrti tells of a woman who accused a youth of outraging her modesty on account of his refusing her overtures. Both the *Kathānakas* are of the nature of fantastic fairy tales. The

Samyaktvakaumudī, which is openly propagandist, illustrates by different tales how to obtain true religion (*Samyaktva*). The *Kathākośa* is a collection of popular tales in bad Sanskrit and Prakrit verses. Somachandra, pupil of Ratnaśekhara of Tapāgachchha, composed in V.S. 1504 (=A.D. 1448) *Kathāmahodadhi*, which is a collection of 126 Jain stories.

(iii) *Prose Romances*

Prose romances subsequent to the seventh century are nothing but imitations of Subandhu and Bāṇa. A deliberate but dreary copy of Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita*, the *Vemabhūpāla-charita* of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāna, celebrates Vemabhūpāla or Vīranārāyaṇa (A.D. 1402-20) who was the Reḍḍi king of Koṇḍavīḍu. The genealogy of this king is given from king Prolla, whose adventures culminate in his romantic marriage with princess Anantā, daughter of king Vikramasiṁha in Dakshināpatha Our hero was the grandson of Mācha, one of the five sons of Prolla. Vema's expeditions in different quarters are then described Agastya's *Kṛishna-charita* relates the life of Kṛishna based on the *Bhāgavata*. Merutuṅga gives an account of some Jain saints in his *Mahāpurusha-charita*. Chāritrasundara's *Mahīpāla-charita* is a fairy tale. The battle at Srirangam between Hoysala Narasiṁha II and the combined armies of the Pāṇḍyas, Magadhas and Choḷas, about a few years before Vīrasomeśvara's marriage and accession to the throne in A D. 1234, forms the subject of Vidyāchakravartin's *Gadyakarṇāmrita* The cause of the war between the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysala king is traced to a mythical feud between Paraśurāma and Skanda.

(iv) *Champū*

The *Champū* form of composition appears to have been popular and largely cultivated in southern India *Śrīnivāsavilāsa-champū* by Veṇkaṭādhvarin or Veṇkaṭeśa tells the love story of a southern king Śrīnivāsa Written in two parts of five *Uchchhvāsas* each, the work imitates Bāṇa's alliteration and *ślesha* with a vengeance. Anantabhatta (c A.D. 1500) composed the *Bhārata-champū* dealing with the *Mahābhārata* story in twelve *stabakas*. His nephew Somanātha wrote the *Vyāsayogicharita-champū* on the life of Vyāsarāya *Pārijātaharana-champū* of Śeshakṛishṇa deals with the well-known legend of Kṛishṇa's exploit. Chidambara, who comes shortly after the period covered by this volume, wrote the *Bhāgavata-champū* and the *Pañcha-kalyāṇa-champū*, the latter of which, at one stretch, relates the story of the marriage of Rāma, Kṛishna, Vishṇu, Śiva and Subrahmaṇya. A historical incident in the career of the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya, dealing with his love and marriage

with Varadāmbikā, is narrated in a highly artificial *Champū* entitled *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya* by the woman poet Tirumalāmbā. Virūpāksha's *Chola-champū* gives a fictitious account of the Choḷa king Kulottuṅga and his son Devachoḷa, which is contrary to epigraphic evidence.

Like the Jain writers who employed *Champū* for religious propaganda, the Bengal Vaishṇava school also wrote *Champūs* relating to the Kṛishṇa legend. In his *Muktācharita*, Raghunāthadāsa, a disciple of Chaitanya, indicates the superiority of Kṛishṇa's free love for Rādhā over his conjugal love for Satyabhāmā. Following the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the early childhood and youth of Kṛishṇa are described in a rhetorical style in the much more extensive and artificial *Gopāla-champū* of Jīva Gosvāmin, nephew of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and the *Ānanda-Vṛindāvana-champū* of Paramānandadāsa-sena Kavikarnapūra. The latter work deals with the early life of Kṛishṇa at Vrindāvana, while Jīva's work covers the entire career of Kṛishna, modifying the legend to suit the Vaishṇava theology of Bengal of which it is a Siddhānta-grantha.

(v) *Prabandhas*

The *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballālasena (16th century) narrates interesting, though unauthentic, stories of the court of king Bhoja It describes how Bhoja came to the throne, and then narrates a number of anecdotes showing such authors as Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Danḍin and Māgha as contemporaries[1] The Jain *Prabandhas* stand in a different category Written in elegant prose, they freely introduce Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa, as well as Sanskrit, verses They are semi-historical works professing to deal with historical and literary personages, but represent a motley collection of curious legends and anecdotes Though not of much historical value, they have a charming style and provide an interesting reading The *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga, completed in A D 1306, is divided into 5 *Prakāśas*, each containing several *Prabandhas* It opens with the legend of Vikramāditya and Sālivāhana, followed by the story of the Chaulukya kings of Anahilwāḍ, and the Paramāra kings Bhoja and Muñja. Then comes the account of the Vāghela kings Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala with their ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. In the last *Prakāśa* are the stories of Śilāditya, Lakshmaṇasena, Umāpati, Bhartṛihari and others Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakośa*, completed in 1348, is divided into 24 Prabandhas, and deals with seven royal and three lay personages, as also ten Jain teachers and four poets.

III RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

(i) *Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas*

But for the addition of very late interpolations to some of the minor Purāṇas, as Dr. Hazra calls them, such as the *Varāha, Padma, Brahma, Skanda, Brahmavaivarta,* and *Bhavishya,* the Purāṇas were free from the activities of revisers and interpolators during this period. Śrīdhara Svāmin's *Bhāgavata-Bhāvārtha-Dīpikā,* the famous commentary on the *Bhāgavata,* was written during this period. Most of the Upa-Purāṇas had received their final form prior to this period The *Saura, Sāmba,* and *Devī* received additional matter during this period. It is interesting to note that the *Brahmavaivarta* and *Devī-Bhāgavata* were subjected to additions owing to the activity of the scholars in Bengal.

(ii) *Dharmaśāstra—Commentaries, Nibandhas and Ritual Literature*

So far as the works on Dharmaśāstra are concerned, the period under review was but a continuation of that described earlier, *viz.* that of commentaries (*tīkās* and *bhāshyas*) and digests (*nibandhas*) The general tendency, however, was to write works more in the nature of digests dealing with all topics of Dharma. The following account gives a regional survey of the authors, belonging to Mithilā, Bengal, other parts of Northern India, and the Deccan. Under each heading the authors have been dealt with in a chronological order

Mithilā

Most prominent among the Maithila writers on Dharmaśāstra, Chaṇḍeśvara, son of Vīreśvara and grandson of Devāditya, was the chief judge and minister for peace and war of king Harisiṁhadeva, mentioned above, who ascended the throne about A D. 1280 Chaṇḍeśvara's *Smṛitiratnākara* is an exhaustive digest, dealing in seven sections with Kṛitya, Dāna, Vyavahāra, Śuddhi, Pūjā, Vivāda and Grihastha. As indicated by their titles, *Kṛityaratnākara* deals with various *vratas* and observances, *Dānaratnākara* with gifts, *Vyavahāra*° with judicial procedure, *Śuddhi*° with impurity and purification, *Pūjā*° with worship, *Vivāda*° with civil and criminal law in its eighteen divisions, and *Grihastha*° with duties of householders Along with *Vivādachintāmaṇi* of Vāchaspati, of which it formed the basis, the *Vivādaratnākara* is considered supreme authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā Chaṇḍeśvara's *Kṛityachintāmaṇi* discusses astronomical matters in relation to the performance of various religious ceremonies and *Saṁskāras* His *Rājanītiratnākara,* to be considered later under "Polity", was written at the command of the king Bhaveśa or Bhavasiṁha It

thus appears that Chaṇḍeśvara had a long literary career of over 50 years and *Rājanītiratnākara* was probably his last production composed at a very advanced age.

Another Maithila writer was Mahāmahopādhyāya Harinātha, who wrote *Smṛitisāra,* hitherto available only in MSS, on several topics of Dharmaśāstra. Saṁskāras, rites on death, Śrāddha, Prāyaśchitta, various titles of law and judicial procedure are the main topics found in the MSS. As Harinātha mentions *Kalpataru* and Harihara, and he is quoted by Śūlapāṇi, Misaru Miśra, Vāchaspati Miśra, Raghunandana, Kamalākara and later writers, the period of his activity falls between 1250 and the last quarter of the fourteenth century There is no reference to Harinātha in Chaṇḍeśvara's works, voluminous as they are, nor does Harinātha refer to Chaṇḍeśvara So they were probably contemporaries

The next Maithila writer was Rudradhara, son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakshmīdhara and youngest brother of Haladhara, who wrote several works on Dharmaśāstra including *Śuddhiviveka, Śrāddhaviveka, Vrata-paddhati* and *Varshakṛitya.* The *Śuddhiviveka* is an exhaustive treatise on purification dealing with all its aspects, while *Śrāddhaviveka* contains full particulars about the Śrāddhas Rudradhara mentions, among others, the *Ratnākara,* the *Smṛitisāra,* and the *Śrāddhaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi, indicating his posteriority to A D 1425 As he is quoted by Vāchaspati and Govindānanda and a MS of his *Vrata-paddhati* is dated L S 344 (c A.D 1463), he is earlier than A D. 1460[24]

Misaru Miśra, the celebrated author of *Vivādachandra* and *Padārtha-chandrikā* (on the Nyāya-Vaiśeshika system), is the next Maithila writer *Vivādachandra*, dealing with several titles of law and with procedure, and a recognized authority on Hindu Law in Mithilā, was written at the command of princess Lachhimādevī, wife of Chandrasimha, probably the younger brother of Bhairavasiṁhadeva of the Sugauna dynasty of Mithilā Misaru Miśra quotes Chaṇḍeśvara and criticises him, and his patron Chandrasiṁha flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century, so that Misaru Miśra belongs to this period

Finally comes Vāchaspati Miśra, the doyen of Maithila *Nibandhakāras,* who was the adviser in Dharmaśāstra of Mahārājādhirāja Harinārāyaṇa and his son Rūpanārāyana. His *Vivādachintāmaṇi* occupied a pre-eminent position of authority in Hindu Law in Mithilā in the British Indian High Courts and the Privy Council. Vāchaspati Miśra was a voluminous writer, having about a dozen works with the title of *chintāmaṇi* and several with the title of *nirṇaya.*[25] As he refers to Chandeśvara and Rudradhara, Vāchaspati

Miśra was later than A.D. 1425, and as he is quoted by Govindānanda and Raghunandana, he came before A.D. 1540. A MS. of his *Śuddhinirṇaya* was copied in Saṁ. 1416 (i.e. Śaka 1416 = A.D. 1494-5). So it appears that Vāchaspati Miśra should be assigned to the latter half of the fifteenth century.[26]

Bengal

From Mithilā, we turn to the Bengal writers on Dharmaśāstra. Two of the famous Bengal triumvirate, viz. Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana, belong to this period. Śūlapāṇi is the recognized authority on Dharmaśāstra in Bengal, next only to Jīmūtavāhana In his *Dīpakalikā*, a short commentary on Yājñavalkya, which seems to be his earliest work, Śūlapāṇi holds somewhat archaic views on inheritance. *Smṛtiviveka* was intended to incorporate several *vivekas*, small treatises on different topics of Dharmaśāstra, of which fourteen are known to have been written.[27] Practically nothing is known about the personal history of Śūlapāṇi, and his date is uncertain He names Chaṇḍeśvara's *Ratnākara* and *Kālamādhavīya*, so that he is later than c. A.D. 1375, considering that some time is necessary for the latter, a work from Vijayanagara, to be authoritative in Bengal. As Rudradhara, Govindānanda and Vāchaspati mention Śūlapāṇi's works, he is earlier than c A.D 1460

Hailing from Bāgri in Southern Bengal, Govindānanda is the next Bengal writer on Dharmaśāstra during the period under review. He was the son of Ganapatibhaṭṭa and was styled Kavikaṅkaṇāchārya His works are of particular interest to historians on account of numerous authors and works quoted therein. *Dānakaumudī*, *Śuddhikaumudī*, *Śrāddhakaumudī* and *Varshakriyākaumudī*, out of his several works, have been hitherto published. His *Arthakaumudī* is a commentary on the *Śuddhidīpikā* of Śrīnivāsa and *Tattvārthakaumudī* on the *Prāyaśchittaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi From the facts that Govindānanda quotes *Madanapārijāta*, Rudradhara and Vachaspati, is quoted by Raghunananda, and his *Śuddhikaumudī* examines intercalarly months from Śaka 1414 to Śaka 1457 (A D 1492-1535), it has been inferred that his literary activity lay between A D 1500 and 1540.[28]

Raghunandana, the last great writer of Bengal on Dharmaśāstra and the third of the famous triumvirate, was the son of Harihara Bhaṭṭāchārya and a pupil of Śrīnātha Āchārya-Chūḍāmaṇi. Tradition credits him with being a student of the celebrated Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma along with Lord Chaitanya He was called Smārtabhaṭṭāchārya or Smārta on account of his thorough mastery over Smṛti and his erudition evident in the *Smṛtitattva*

which is an encyclopaedic work on the different branches of Dharma divided into 28 *Tattvas*.[29] It would not be feasible to give even a brief summary of the *Tattvas;* their very names indicate the subject-matter Besides *Smṛti-tattva,* Raghunandana wrote several works including *Tīrtha-tattva, Tripushkaraśānti-tattva, Dvādaśayātā-tattva, Gayā-Śraddha-paddhati, Rasayātrā-paddhati,* and a commentary on the *Dāyabhāga.* The commentary has been hailed as the best on the *Dāyabhāga* by the Calcutta High Court and Bengal school respects his authority. However, his works are not in much vogue outside Bengal. If he was the fellow student of Chaitanya, he must have been born c. 1490. Raghunandana is quoted and criticised by *Vīra-mitrodaya* and by Nīlakaṇṭha which proves him to be earlier than 1600. His mention of Mādhavāchārya, Śūlapāni, Rudradhara and Vāchaspati places him later than 1500. MSS of some of his works are dated about 1575 which fixes the later limit for him His literary activity lies between 1520 and 1570.

Other parts of Northern India

Several authoritative works on Dharmaśāstra and other topics were compiled under the patronage of king Madanapāla of the family of Ṭāka kings that ruled in Kāshṭhā on the Yamunā. *Madanapārijāta, Smṛtimahārṇava* (or *Madanamahārṇava*), *Tithinirnayasāra* and *Smṛtikaumudī* are the Dharmaśāstra works ascribed to Madanapāla The *Madanapārijāta,* though ascribed to Madanapāla, was really composed by the author of *Subodhinī,* i.e. Viśvesvarabhaṭṭa, son of Pedibhaṭṭa and Ambikā, who was a native of Draviḍa country and migrated to north India after composing *Subodhinī.* The Banaras school of Hindu Law looks upon Viśveśvara as one of its leading authorities In a simple and lucid style the nine chapters of the *Madanapārijāta* deal respectively with Brahmacharya, Grihastha-dharma, Āhnikakṛtya, Samskāras, Aśaucha, Dravyaśuddhi, Śrāddha, Dāyabhāga and Prāyaśchitta, the chapter on Dāyabhāga closely following the *Mitāksharā* The *Mahārnava,* which is ascribed to Māndhātā, son of Madanapāla, is mainly concerned with describing how various bodily diseases result from past evil deeds, and prescribing various rites and penances for the eradication of bad results Viśvanātha, probably a paraphrase of the name of Viśveśvara appears to have composed the *Tithinirnayasāra* The *Smṛtikaumudī,* whose author claims the authorship of *Mahārnava,* exhaustively deals in four chapters with the *dharma* of the Śūdra, discussing the kinds of Śūdras, their *adhikāra* for religious rites, marriage observances, Śrāddha and daily duties for Śūdra Besides these, Madanapāla compiled several other works, famous among them being the *Madananighanṭu* to be described later *Madanapārijāta* and

Mahārṇava mention *Smṛitichandrikā* and Hemādri's *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, indicating A.D. 1300 as the earlier limit for Madanapāla Since the *Nṛisiṁha-prasāda*, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Raghunandana and Govindānanda quote the *Madanapārijāta*, they supply A.D. 1500 as *terminus ad quem*. MSS. of *Sūryasiddhānta-viveka* and *Madananighaṇṭu* compiled by Madanapāla, which were respectively copied down in A.D. 1402-3 and composed in A.D. 1375, narrow down the literary activity of Madanapāla to between A.D. 1360 and 1390.

Madanaratnapradīpa or *Madanapradīpa*, of which the vyavahāra section has recently been published, was divided into seven sections (*Uddyotas*) called Samaya, Āchāra, Vyavahāra, Prāyaśchitta, Dāna, Śuddhi and Śānti The work was composed under the patronage of king Madanasiṁhadeva, son of Śaktisiṁha, mentioned above,[29a] who ruled over Gorakhpur-Champāran. Manuscripts of *Amarakośa* and *Narasiṁhapurāṇa* were copied respectively in A D 1453-54 and La Sam 339 when Madanasiṁhadeva was ruling over Champakāraṇya-nagara and Gorakshapura, indicating *c*. 1425-1450 as the date of Madanasiṁha. *Madanaratna* confirms this date, as it mentions *Mitāksharā*, *Kalpataru* and Hemādri (i.e later than 1300) and is quoted by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitramiśra (i e. before 1500). Pratāparudradeva[30] of the Gajapati dynasty, who ruled at Cuttack, invited an assembly of Pandits to compile a comprehensive digest of civil and criminal law called *Sarasvatīvilāsa*. The work occupies an important position, next to *Mitāksharā*, in matters of Hindu Law in Southern India As Pratāparudradeva ruled from A D 1497 to A.D. 1540, the work belongs to the first quarter of the sixteenth century

Deccan

Now we turn to works produced in the south The polymath Mādhavāchārya, the brightest gem among southern writers on Dharmaśāstra, wrote several works of which *Parāśara-Mādhavīya* and *Kāla-Mādhava* are most important Written as a commentary on *Parāśara-smṛiti*, *Parāśara-Mādhavīya* is a digest of civil and religious law, devoting about a fourth of its extent to Vyavahāra on which original Parāśara has no verse. The style is lucid, and lengthy and abstruse discussions are avoided The work is held an authority on Hindu Law in Southern India. *Kālanirṇaya* is an extensive treatise in five chapters on time, dealing with time and its nature; year, seasons, months, intercalary months, and religious acts allowed and forbidden in intercalary months; disquisition on *tithi*, *nakshatra*, *yoga*, *karaṇa*, *śankrānti*, *eclipses*, etc.

Finally we come to *Nṛisiṁha-prasāda*, another work hailing from the South, which is an encyclopaedia of Dharmaśāstra in twelve sections.[31] The work derives its title from the deity who is invoked at the beginning of each section. The author Dalapati, son of Vallabha and the pupil of Sūrya Paṇḍita, was chief minister and keeper of records of Nizām Shāh of Devagiri. The author's master appears to be Ahmad Nizām Shāh As the *Parāśara-Mādhavīya* and *Madanapārijāta* are relied on in *Nṛisiṁha-prasāda*, it is later than A D. 1400, and as it is quoted in *Dvaitanirṇaya* and by Nīlakaṇṭha, it is earlier than A.D. 1575. Samvat 1568 or 69, which, appears at the end of several sections of the work, may be the date of its composition or of copying of the MS Thus the work appears to have been composed between A.D. 1490 and 1512.

(iii) *Philosophy*

Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha of Mādhava, brother of Sāyaṇa, is the most famous of several critical reviews of philosophical systems written in India It deals with sixteen different *darśanas* (systems) arranged from the point of view of error. First come the materialistic Chārvākas followed by Buddhism and Jainism, after which come six sectarian theologies, namely, four schools of Śaivism, Rāmānuja and Pūrṇaprajña; then come Vaiśeshika, Nyāya, Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, a grammatical school ascribed to Pāṇini, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and finally Vedānta. Mādhava also wrote *Jaiminīya-nyāya-mālā-vistara* which is an exposition of the Mīmāṁsā system in verse accompanied by a prose commentary. Earlier than Mādhava is Pārthasārathi Miśra who wrote several works on Bhātta Mīmāṁsā including *Nyāyaratnākara* (a commentary on Kumārila's *Śloka-vārttika*), *Śāstradīpikā* (an independent and popular manual on the Mīmāṁsā system according to the Kumārila School), and *Tantra-ratna*. *Nyāyasudhā* or *Rāṇaka* by Someśvara (c 1400) is a commentary on Kumārila's *Tantravārttika*.

In Vedānta, Mādhava wrote *Jīvanmuktiviveka* and *Pañchadaśī* (partly written by Bhāratī Tīrtha) which follow and support Śaṅkara's views. *Brahma-vidyābharaṇa* of Advaitānanda (fifteenth century) is a prose commentary on Śāṅkara-bhāshya, while Sadānanda, the disciple of Advaitānanda, wrote a brief outline of Advaita Vedānta in prose in his *Vedāntasāra* which is a useful introduction to the philosophy.

Vallabhāchārya in his *Anubhāshya* on the *Brahmasūtras* propounded the Śuddhādvaita system or pure monism. According to Vallabha, Bhakti is both the means and the end; it is given by God;

it comes by His grace. The teacher on earth is regarded as divine and receives divine honours.

Sāṁkhya-pravachana-sūtra of Kapila has been assigned to the fourteenth century as the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* does not refer to it and bases its account on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā*. Vijñānabhikshu[31a] in his *Sāṁkhya-pravachana-bhāshya* endeavours to minimise the distinction between Sāṁkhya and theistic Vedānta which he regards as genuine Vedānta, while Advaita Vedānta is considered its modern falsification. Vijñānabhikshu also wrote *Sāṁkhya-sāra*, *Yoga-vārttika*, *Yogasāra-saṁgraha* and *Vijñānāmṛita*, a commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*.

Vijñānabhikshu's two works on Yoga are useful manuals. Criticising Vāchaspati's views on some points, Vijñānabhikshu attempts to bring the Yoga system nearer the philosophy of the Upanishads. Godāvaramiśra, the Rājaguru and Mantrī of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa, has written *Yogachintāmaṇi* which is a compendium based on the principles and practices of Yoga as enjoined by Patañjali, Vyāsa, Vāchaspati and Bhoja.[32]

Tattvachintāmaṇi-vyākhyā by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma on Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvachintāmaṇi* is regarded as the first great work of the Navadvīpa school. He was the Guru of the great Chaitanya, Raghunātha (author of *Dīdhiti* and *Padārthakhaṇḍana*), Raghunandana, the jurist, and Krishnānanda, the great Tāntrik authority. Laugākshi Bhāskara's *Tarkakaumudī* is a symmetrical work like *Śivāditya's Saptapadārthī*, taking Nyāya and Vaiśeshika principles as one whole based on Praśastapāda's treatise. Śaṅkara Miśra's *Upaskāra* on *Vaiśeshikasūtras* is a work of some importance.

Vedāntadeśika (or Venkaṭanātha) was a prolific writer on many subjects, chief among his philosophical works being *Seśvara-mīmāṁsā*, *Nyāya-siddhānta* and *Tattva-muktākalāpa*, *Tattva-ṭīkā* and *Tātparyachandrikā* are his commentaries on Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāshya* and *Gītā-bhāshya* respectively. The *Seśvara-mīmāṁsā* treats of Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṁsā as parts of one whole, and argues that *Karma* cannot produce its fruits without the aid of divine agency.

IV. TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

(i) *Grammar*

Most of the works of this period are based upon the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. *Rūpamālā* of Vimalasarasvatī, which is not later than A.D. 1350, is the earliest and the simplest of the recasts of *Ashṭādhyāyī* now extant. Rāmachandra (c. A.D. 1400) has rearranged the material of Pāṇini in his *Prakriyā-kaumudī*, on which is based the

famous *Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita, who flourished between A.D. 1560 and 1620. Bhaṭṭoji is also credited with the authorship of the *Śabda-kaustubha.* From the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* sprang a little later smaller treatises like the *Madhya-siddhānta-kaumudī,* the *Laghu-kaumudī* and the *Sāra-kaumudī* of Varadarāja (seventeenth century), who is also supposed to have written the *Gīrvāṇa-padamañjarī.* There is a *Dhātuvṛitti* ascribed to Mādhava (fourteenth century), the brother of Sāyaṇa.

In the Hemachandra school Hemahamsavijayagaṇi put together a collection of about 140 *paribhāshās* or maxims of interpretation used in Hemachandra's grammar and wrote a commentary on them called the *Nyāyārthamañjūshā* in V.S 1515 (=A.D. 1458) at Ahmadābād. Guṇaratnasūri, a pupil of Devasundarasūri, wrote *Kriyāratnasamuchchaya* in V.S. 1466 (=A D. 1409) on the use of conjugational peculiarities of the most important Sanskrit roots. Hemachandra school had but a short career After the age of commentators in the fifteenth century it fell more or less into neglect, chiefly on account of lack of originality and the sectarian character of its founder and followers

In the Sārasvata school, the period subsequent to the stereotyped form given to the system by Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya was mainly of commentaries and sub-commentaries During the period under review we get commentaries by Puñjarāja, a minister to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Khaljī of Mālwa (1469-1500), who also wrote *Śiśu-prabodha* on Alamkāra and *Dhvanipradīpa*, Amṛitabhāratī, pupil of Amalasarasvatī, the earliest known MS of whose commentary *Subodhikā* is dated V.S. 1554 (A D. 1497); Mādhava, pupil of Śri-ranga, the MS of whose commentary is dated V S. 1591 (A.D 1534), and Chandrakīrti, a Jain belonging to the Bṛihadgachchha of Nagpur, author of *Subodhikā* or *Dīpikā*, who was honoured by Sahi Salum.

The period witnessed the founding of the Saupadma school by a Maithila Brāhmaṇa, Padmanābhadatta, son of Dāmodaradatta, who gives his date as 1297 Śaka era (=A.D 1374) in his *Pṛishodarādivṛitti.* His work, the *Saupadma*, is based upon that of Pāṇini (of which it retains most of the terminology) with the remodelling of a greater part of the rules and their rearrangement in a methodical form, each Sūtra having a short explanatory note Besides works on Uṇādis, Dhātus, Paribhāshās, metrics, lexicography, etc , Padmanābhadatta himself has written a commentary on his grammar called *Supadmapañjikā.* The influence of the Saupadma school is at present confined to parts of Central Bengal

The best of the recasts of Śākaṭāyana grammar is the *Prakriyāsaṁgraha* by Abhayachandrāchārya. Modelled on works like

Prakriyākaumudī it omits a large number of original *sūtras* unnecessary in a work for beginners, and amplifies a few others. Nanda-kiśorabhaṭṭa wrote a treatise to supplement the *Mugdhabodha* of Bopadeva in A.D. 1398.

The tendency of introducing religious elements in grammar, already noticed in Bopadeva,[13] has been carried to the extremes in the two Vaishṇava grammars called *Harināmāmṛita*, which make grammar the vehicle of religion Rūpa Gosvāmin, the famous Vaishṇava devotee of Chaitanya, is the author of one *Harināmāmṛita*, in which the names of Rādhā and Krishṇa and their acts are employed, not merely by way of illustration, but as actual technical terms. The other *Harināmāmṛita* is by Jīva Gosvāmin which differs but slightly from its namesake These grammars are at present in use among the Vaishṇavas of Bengal.

Fifteenth century marks the most glorious period of commentaries in the Bengal school of Pāṇini. Narapatimahāmiśra wrote *Nyāsaprakāśa*, a commentary on the *Nyāsa* Nandana Miśra wrote *Nyāsoddīpanā* on the *Nyāsa* and commented on the *Tantrapradīpa*, on which Sanātana Tarkāchārya wrote a gloss named *Prabhā* and also *Phakkikāvṛtti*. Puṇḍarīkāksha Vidyāsāgara, one of the greatest scholars of Bengal, wrote an independent work *Kāraka-kaumudī*, and commentaries on *Nyāsa*, *Kātantraṭīkā*, *Kāvyādarśa*, *Kavya-prakāśa*, *Bhaṭṭikāvya* etc. Śrīman Miśra has commentaries on all the three classical works of the Bengal school of Pāṇini, viz. *Nyāsa*, *Anunyāsa* and *Tantrapradīpa*. During the period under review there arose in Bengal a host of commentaries and supplements also to the Kātantra grammar which is studied there most assiduously.

(ii) *Lexicography*

Out of the *Ekāksharakośas*, which are monosyllabic dictionaries and deal with words of only a single syllable, the following appeared during the period under review: *Ekāksharanāmamālā* of Sudhā-kalaśa (14th century) and *Ekāksharaatnamālā* of Mādhava, son of Māyana and minister of Harihara, consisting of three *Kāṇḍas*, Svara, Vyañjana and Saṁyukta. There is a bigger portion of homonyms and smaller of synonyms in the *Bhūriprayoga* of Padmanābhadatta, founder of the Saupadma school of Grammar, who composed his *Pṛishodarādivṛitti* in A.D. 1374 Out of the several works more or less based on the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra was the *Pañchavarga-nāma-saṁgraha* of Śubhaśīlagaṇi (15th century), who also composed the *Uṇādi-nāmamālā*. The *Śabdaratnākara* of Mahipa, of which the homonymous section bears the title *Anekārtha-* or *Nānārtha-tilaka*, bears the date A.D. 1374. There is *Nānārtharatna-*

mālā by Irupaga Daṇḍādhinātha or Bhāskara who lived under Harihara II of Vijayanagara (14th century). Bṛihaspati Rāyamukuṭa, a famous commentator on the *Amarakośa*, flourished during this period. Apparāya, at the court of Siṅgabhūpāla (c. 1400) wrote a commentary on the *Amarakośa*. There is a difference of opinion about the identity of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa whose *Śabdaratnākara* has the homonyms and avyayas at the end. *Śabdachandrikā* is also ascribed to him. *Madanavinodanighṇṭu*, better known as Madana-*pālanighaṇṭu*, composed by Madanapāla in 1374, is an extensive work comprising about 2250 verses divided into 14 *vargas*. It is a comprehensive dictionary of materia medica containing "the names of medical drugs, the qualities of drugs and of dishes and of the flesh of various animals."

(iii) *Poetics and Dramaturgy*

The period under review has been included by Dr. De under scholastic age, which was characterized by works showing systematic compilation and arrangements and by commentaries The era of creative work and critical elaboration had already passed. The age of original or thoughtful writers was long gone by and it was succeeded by the age of commentators, interpreters, and critics. From this it was only a matter of time to degenerate into a host of manuals and manuals of manuals.

(a) *Poetics*

The *Pratāparudrayaśobhūshaṇa* by Vidyānātha consists of the usual three parts—Kārikās, Vṛitti and illustrations, the last being composed by the author in honour of his patron Pratāparudradeva, the Kākatīya king of Telingāna Its nine chapters deal respectively with Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Rasa, Dosha, Guna, Śabdālaṁkāra, Arthālaṁkāra and Miśrālamkāra, and cover the same ground as Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* Vidyānātha follows Mammaṭa in general, but prefers Bhoja in the matter of Guṇas and Ruyyaka in the matter of Alaṁkāras. Parināma, Ullekha, Vichitra and Vikalpa are the new Alaṁkāras mentioned by Vidyānātha which are not found in Mammaṭa. *Ratnāpaṇa* by Kumārasvāmin, son of the famous Mallinātha, is a good commentary on the *Pratāparudrayaśobhūshaṇa*. Mallinātha, who also flourished during the period under review, is well known for his commentaries on the five Mahākāvyas. Bhānudatta, son of Gaṇeśvara and a native of Mithilā, is the author of two works on poetics, *Rasataraṅgiṇī* and *Rasamañjarī*. The former is divided into 8 *taraṅgas* and deals mainly with the various components of the Rasas such as Bhāva, Vibhāva, Anubhāva, etc., and also with various Rasas and three kinds of Dṛishṭis The *Rasamañjarī* is a smaller

treatise dealing with the nature of the heroes and heroines, the Sāttvika guṇas, two varieties of Śṛiṅgāra, ten stages of Vipralambha, etc. All examples, except those with expressly contrary indications, are by the author. As he mentions *Śriṅgāraprakāśa, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, Kāvya-prakāśa, Gītagovinda* and *Rasaratnapradīpikā,* Bhānudatta is not earlier than A.D. 1250. As a commentary on *Rasamañjarī* by Gopāla called *Vikāsa* was composed in A.D. 1572,[34] the date of Bhānudatta appears to be between A.D. 1450-1500.

Siṅgabhūpāla, the author of the *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, was the son of Anapota and Annamāmbā of the Recharla dynasty. A versatile scholar, patron of letters and a profuse writer, he was called Sarvajña and was also known as Khaḍganārāyaṇa. Besides *Rasārṇavasudhākara* he wrote a small drama *Kuvalayāvali* and a commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva[35] The *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, based on *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* and *Bhāvaprakāśa*, is a comprehensive and elaborate work dealing in its three *vilāsas*, respectively with (1) the qualities, classification etc. of heroes and heroines; Uddīpana-vibhāvas, Rītis and Guṇas, dramatic Vṛttis, etc.; (2) Vyabhichāribhāvas, Anubhāvas, Sthāyibhāvas, Rasas, etc.; and (3) the drama, its varieties, characteristics, etc. The *Nāṭaka-paribhāshā*, said to be a separate work on dramaturgy by Siṅgabhūpāla, is but a part of *Rasārṇavasudhākara* It draws directly on Bharata, Rudrabhaṭṭa, *Daśarūpaka* and others. Viśveśvara, a court poet of Siṅgabhūpāla, wrote *Chamatkāra-chandrikā* on rhetorics, which has illustrations in praise of Siṅgabhūpāla, Vemabhūpāla, generally known as Peda Komaṭi Vema Reḍḍi, who succeeded Kumāragiri on the throne in c. A.D 1402 and bore the title Vīranārāyaṇa, was a royal author and a patron of learning[35a] He was the hero of *Vemabhūpālacharita* and patronized Śrīnātha and Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa. He wrote *Sāhitya-chintāmaṇi* (or *-chūḍāmaṇi*) on poetics and *Saṅgīta-chūḍāmani* on music. The former deals with *Dhvani, Śabdārtha, Dhvanibheda, Guṇībhūtavyāṅgya, Dosha, Guṇa* and *Alaṁkāra* in seven chapters[36]

Son of Mahākavi Chandraśekhara and grandson of Nārāyaṇa, both learned men and authors, Viśvanātha held high offices in the court of the king of Orissa and bore the title Sāndhivigrahika Mahāpātra. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, written in the form of Kārikā and Vritti like *Kāvyaprakāśa* is more simple and less controversial in style than the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and *Rasagaṅgādhara* respectively The first chapter discusses the definition of poetry followed by the definitions of a sentence and a word and the three powers of a word There is a full disquisition on *rasas, bhāvas* and other cognate topics in the third chapter while the next deals with the two divisions of Kāvya

(i.e. Dhvani and Guṇībhūtavyangya) and their subdivisions. The fifth establishes the existence of Vyañjanā. The science of dramaturgy receives a full and complete treatment in the sixth chapter In the next two chapters are considered respectively the *Doshas* and *Guṇas* of Kāvya. The four styles of composition are described in the ninth chapter, while Śabdālamkāras and Arthālaṁkāras are exhaustively dealt with in the concluding chapter. The date of Viśvanātha falls between A.D. 1300 and 1380. The *Sāhityadarpana* treats all the aspects of the science of rhetorics in a thorough-going and exhaustive manner in a simple and flowing style The magnitude of Viśvanātha's contribution to poetics, compiler though he was, has been lessened to a certain extent by the comparison of *Sāhityadarpaṇa* with the *Dīpikā* of Chaṇḍīdāsa, which shows that Viśvanātha was considerably indebted to the latter especially with regard to the views which were hitherto held to be his own. Besides *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Viśvanātha wrote a commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa, Rāghavavilāsa-kāvya, Narasiṁha-vijaya-kāvya, Chandrakalā-nāṭika Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya, Kuvalayāśva-charita* in Prakrit, *Praśastiratnāvalī*, and a Karambhaka in sixteen languages[37]

The famous commentator Mallinātha wrote a commentary *Taralā* on the *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara. *Kāvyadākinī* of Gaṅgānanda, a court poet of Mahārāja Karna of Bikaner (1506-1527), deals with *doshas* (poetical blemishes) in five chapters. He also wrote *Karṇabhūshaṇa*, a treatise on Rasa in five chapters, dealing with Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, Vyabhichāribhāvas, Sthāyibhāvas, and Rasas

The influence of Bengal Vaishnavism was felt in the domain of poetics also. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīlamani* attempts to place the Vaishṇava doctrine of *Ujjvala* or *Madhura Rasa* in the garb and phraseology of the *Rasa* theory *Madhura Rasa* is a phase of *Bhakti Rasa*, not of the *Śriṅgāra Rasa*. The Vaishnava theology speaks of five *Rasas* representing roughly the degrees of realization of *Bhakti*, viz. *Śānta, Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya* and *Mādhurya*, the last being also called *Ujjvala* or *Bhakti-rasa-rāt*, which forms the subject-matter of *Ujjvala-nīlamani*

(b) *Dramaturgy*

Besides the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* and *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, works on poetics which deal exhaustively with dramaturgy, there were other works specifically written on dramaturgy during this period.

There is an able discussion of Rasa and Abhinaya and their mutual relation in the *Naṭāṅkuśam* (c. 14th century). The first chapter of the *Saṁgītarāja* by Kumbhakarna or Rāṇā Kumbha deals with dramaturgy and dramatic expression, and the fifth with *Rasa*,

where heroes, heroines, and sentiments are discussed. Though entirely lost at present, the citations from the *Vasantarājīyam* by Kumāragiri, a Reḍḍi king who ruled the Telugu country towards the close of the fourteenth century, show that it dealt with principles of dramaturgy, Rasa and Śakunaśāstram. Following the dicta of Bharata and *Rasasudhākara* and rejecting those of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as they were opposed to Bharata, Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Nāṭaka-chandrikā* treats dramaturgy in eight sections dealing with (1) the general characteristics of the drama, (2) the nāyaka, (3) the divisions of the Rūpaka, (4) elements in the action (*sandhi, patākā*, etc.), and their classification, (5) *Arthopakshepa* and its divisions, (6) divisions of acts and scenes, (7) Distribution of dialects, and (8) styles of dramatic composition and adaptation to the several *Rasas*. Most of the examples have been taken from the Vaishṇava works.

(iv) *Music*

Works on music may be called the special feature of this period, and these are found both from the north and the south. The interest of the royalty was not confined to liberal patronage to musicians, but there were several works on music by royal authors, as we shall presently see

There were two well-known commentaries on Śārṅgadeva's *Saṁgītaratnākara* during this period. One was *Sudhākara* by Siṅgabhūpāla who has been referred to earlier. The other was *Kalānidhi* by Kallinātha of Śāndilya gotra, son of Nārāyanī and Lakshmīdhara, who was at the court of Immadi Devarāya of Vijayanagara. According to Dr. Raja there is not enough evidence for a third commentary by Kumbhakarna [38] Dāmodara's *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* follows Śārṅgadhara with additional matter taken from other sources. *Saṅgītarāja* by Kumbhakarṇa[39] or Kumbha Rāṇā, who ruled at Chitrakūta, is a voluminous work containing five chapters of which the first and fifth, as already stated, related respectively to dramaturgy and poetics The treatment of vocal music (*gīta*) and musical instruments (*vādya*) in the second and third chapters is thorough and exhaustive The fourth chapter deals with dressing, gesticulation and dance (*nṛitya*) Madanapāla of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, author of *Madanavinoda-nighaṇtu* and a work on Dharmaśāstra, is said to have written *Ānandasañjīvana* on singing, dancing, musical instruments, and *rāgas* *Saṅgītopanishad* by Sudhākalaśa, a Jain and a pupil of Rājaśekharasūri, deals with music and dancing in six chapters, and also includes a commentary, the whole being completed in A D. 1349

The polymath Vidyāranya has written *Saṅgītasāra* on music. Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla of the Sāluva dynasty of Vijayanagara

wrote *Tāladīpikā* in three chapters on Mārga and deśī Tālas. *Svararāgasudhārasam* or *Nāṭyachūḍāmaṇi* is a learned treatise on music and dancing. The author Somanārya, who was probably identical with the Telugu poet Nāchan Soman, follows Nārada and frequently differs from Bharata. Dancing forms the major part of *Mataṅga Bharata* by Lakshmaṇa Bhāskara (c. 14th century). *Lakshaṇadīpikā* by Gauranārya, son of Ayama Prabhu, who was the brother of Potana, the minister of Singaya Mādhava of Recharla dynasty, is a general treatise on poetry, music and dancing. *Saṅgītasūryodaya* of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, who was the state musician under Kṛishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara, deals in five adhyāyas, with Tāla, Vritta, Svaragīta, Jāti and Prabandha.

(v) *Metrics*

Popular like the *Vṛittaratnākara* of Kedārabhaṭṭa[40] is the *Chhandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa (between A.D. 1300 and 1500)[41] which illustrates different metres by verses in honour of Kṛishna Padmanābha, author of the *Saupadma-vyākaraṇa*, wrote *Chhandoratna* on metres. Numerous other works of very late date and of little importance are available. Of these the *Vṛittaratnākara-ṭīkā* composed by Nārāyaṇa in A.D. 1545 may be mentioned.

(vi) *Erotics*

Numerous works of comparatively late origin are available on the subject of love, though there were several during the period under review. The *Pañchasāyaka* by Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara, author of the *Dhūrtasamāgama*,[42] epitomises in five parts all that is said in standard works on Kāmaśāstra. Prauḍhadevarāya of Vijayanagara (15th century) composed the *Ratiratnapradīpikā* in seven chapters which is an elaborate treatise on sexual pleasures. The *Kāmasamūha* of Ananta, discussing almost all aspects of love, was written in A.D. 1457.[43] The *Ratimañjarī* of Jayadeva (different from the author of the *Gītagovinda*) and the *Anaṅgamañjarī* of Kalyānamalla both belong to the sixteenth century.

(vii) *Medicine*

Vopadeva, son of the physician Keśava and protégé of Hemādri (c. 1300), commented on the *Śārṅgadhara-saṁhitā*, and wrote a *Śataślokī* on powders, pills, etc. The use of opium and quicksilver in medicine and of pulse for diagnosis, which are referred to Persian or Arabic sources, are found in *Śārṅgadhara*. *Rasaratnasamuchchaya*, dealing with the science of Rasāyana, elixirs, variously ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa, Aśvinīkumāra or Nityanātha, has been

assigned conjecturally to A.D. 1300. *Rasendrasārasaṁgraha* by Gopālakṛishṇa (fourteenth century) and *Rasendrachintāmaṇi* by Rāmachandra Guha (fourteenth century) are works on alchemy during this period. Trimalla, son of Vallabha, a Tailaṅga Brāhmana who flourished between A.D. 1383 and 1499, wrote *Yogataraṅgiṇī*, a well-known collection of recipes, and *Rasapradīpa*, *Pathyāpathya-nighaṇṭu*, *Vṛittamāṇikyamālā* and *Alaṁkāramañjarī*. Very late is the *Bhāvaprakāśa* (c. A.D. 1550) of Bhāva Miśra, and the *Vaidya-jīvana* of Lolimbarāja.

(viii) *Astronomy and Astrology*

After the great Bhāskarāchārya no one seems to have taken real interest in astronomy. His grandson Chaṅgadeva founded a school in 1205 to study his work, but it seems to have been interested in astrology. *Sūryasiddhānta-viveka* or *Vāsanārnava* by Madanapāla is a commentary on the *Sūrya-siddhānta*. Two works of not much importance are the *Tithyādipatra* of Makaranda (fifteenth century) and the *Grahalāghava* of Gaṇeśa (sixteenth century).

On an older astrological work is based the *Vidyāmādhavīya* of early fourteenth century More interesting than this is the *Jyotir-vidābharana* (sixteenth century), an astrological work wrongly ascribed to Kālidāsa, the author of *Śākuntala*, etc , which mentions the nine jewels adorning the court of Vikramāditya Works on Muhūrta gave auspicious moments for ceremonies, marriages, journeys, etc Under the Arabic and Persian influence, however, were undertaken the later Tājikas like the one by Nīlakaṇṭha (A D 1587) in two parts—Saṁjñā and Varsha-tantra

(ix) *Polity*

There were not many works on the science of polity during this period Mention may be made of *Rājanītiratnākara* of Chaṇḍeśvara,[14] written at the command of king Bhaveśa of Mithilā. The book comprises sixteen chapters called *taraṅgas*, dealing with king, *amātyas*, *prādvivākas*, *sabhyas*, forts, treasury, army, ambassadors, armies and spies, *mandala*, seven elements of state, heir apparent, etc

V GENERAL REVIEW

In concluding this survey, we may refer to some important contributions of this period to Sanskrit literature. The first thing that strikes one is the wonderful galaxy of celebrated commentators like Sāyana, Mallinātha and Kāṭaya Vema, who are the shining gems

in Sanskrit commentary literature. There is nothing of note in *Belles Lettres* except perhaps the abundance of Prabandhas and Sandeśakāvyas.

There were outstanding productions like the *Vivādachintāmaṇi* of Vāchaspati Miśra, *Parāśara-Mādhavīya* of Mādhavāchārya, and *Smṛitittattva* of Raghunandana in the Dharma-śāstra literature. Special mention may be made of Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha,* Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's Dīdhiti, the standard work on Navyanyāya, and the rise of the system of Vallabha Vedānta in the domain of philosophy Important contributions were made to grammar, poetics and music. In grammar, the Saupadma system originated during this period; there were a number of well-known commentators from Bengal; and Vaishnava grammars came to be written. The influence of Chaitanya was felt in grammar as well as in poetics. There were several important works on the science of music, which may be said to be the outstanding contribution of this period.

B. SANSKRITIC

I. LANGUAGE

The date A.D. 1300 has been arbitrarily fixed, for convenience in discussing the subject, as the border line between Ancient and Early Medieval India and Late Medieval India.

The first phase of Late Medieval India (1300-1526) roughly indicates the rule of Islamic States in North India prior to the establishment of the Mughul power by Bābur With the foundation of the Mughul Empire about the middle of the sixteenth century A.D we have the scond phase of Late Medieval India, the Mughul period, which covers the history of North India right down to the end of the 18th century, the Marāthās gradually coming to the apogee of their power by the middle of that century.

Before the close of the early medieval period, a great change had come over the greater part of Aryan-speaking India in the matter of its language At the turn of the first millennium A D., round about A.D. 1000, roughly most of the Aryan languages of India developed a new and quite a noteworthy phonetic character, which ushered in for most of them what may be described as the New Indo-Aryan stage in the development of the Aryan speech Through the assimilation of consonant groups, Old Indo-Aryan changed into Middle Indo-Aryan shortly before the time of Gautama Buddha. The Aryan dialects of the North-West, corresponding to the Punjab and the Frontier Province, have always been a little conservative in the matter of sound-change, and while the rest of Aryan India (in the

Gaṅgā Valley and also in the regions to the south and south-west of the Gaṅgā valley) had arrived at the characteristic Middle Indo-Aryan phonetic changes, by bringing about a general and widespread assimilation of conjunct consonants, the North-West resisted it. As we can see from the Aśokan inscriptions, as late as the 3rd century B.C. the dialects of the North-West showed a great many Old Indo-Aryan characteristics, whereas in those of South-Western, Central, and Eastern tracts of Aryandom, the Middle Indo-Aryan habits were fully established. Through a series of changes beginning from roughly 600 B.C., the Aryan speech as a whole went on developing; and we have from 600 B.C. to A.D. 1000 a very noteworthy development of the Aryan speech. It is not necessary to enter into this linguistic history in detail. By A D. 1000, the change which brought in the new stage, affecting most of the Aryan speeches of North India, was this: the double consonants or groups of a single stop followed by its corresponding aspirate, which had resulted from the assimilation in Middle Indo-Aryan of groups of diverse consonants of Old Indo-Aryan, were simplified—one consonant was dropped and as a compensation the previous vowel was lengthened Thus Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) *bhakta*, *tapta*, *hasta*, *karma*, *śukla* etc became in Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) respectively *bhatta*, *tatta*, *hattha*, *kamma* *sukkha*, and these underwent another great change round about A.D 1000 when through the loss and compensation mentioned above they became respectively *bhāta*, *tāta*, *hātha*, *kāma* and *sūka*.

A language does not change in a day. But we first note certain new tendencies, and then in the course of decades and centuries these tendencies go on gaining in power and affecting the language, which ultimately takes up a new form through these tendencies becoming well-established habits or linguistic characteristics. The transformation of the Middle Indo-Aryan into the New Indo-Aryan was not an abrupt one. From about the middle of the first millennium A D , these tendencies were noticeable in the Middle Indo-Aryan, and then by about A.D. 800 we have a modification of the Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit into a definite Apabhraṁśa or late Middle Indo-Aryan, which represents the transition from the Middle to the New Indo-Aryan While the changes were becoming established in the spoken language, the literary speech, which is generally conservative in any country and has been particularly so in India, continued to preserve the characteristics of an earlier age, so that we might say that Apabhraṁśa or the late Middle Indo-Aryan and the Early New Indo-Aryan coincided, throughout the greater part of Aryan India, from say A D 900 to A.D. 1300 During the first few

centuries of the second millennium A.D., there is plenty of evidence that the New Indo-Aryan or Bhāshā stage, with loss of one consonant and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, was already arrived at, but in the existing literary remains, it is largely the Apabhramśa speech, as current some centuries earlier, which was in general use. As we come towards A D. 1300, the Apabhraṁśa characteristics get weaker and weaker, and the Bhāshā or the New Indo-Aryan atmosphere becomes more and more firmly established. Already before 1300 we may say that the Modern Indo-Aryan languages had come into existence, and literary compositions in them had already started in some areas, though not everywhere.

Round about A.D 500 there were regional Prakrits which were the sources of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages: and we can think of these Prakrits mainly as:—

1. An Eastern Prakrit or Māgadhī;
2. A Central Prakrit or Ardha-Māgadhī;
3. A Northern Prakrit, which may be called Khasa or Himālayan Prakrit;
4 The Śaurasenī Prakrit (the Midland Prakrit) as current in Western U. P. and parts of Eastern Punjāb as well as of Rājasthān;
5. Possibly a special Prakrit of Western Rājasthān, Saurāshṭra and Gūrjara;
6 A Prakrit embracing Northern and Western Punjab and Sind This may be named Madra, Gandhāra or Sindhu (Saindhavī) Prakrit;
7 Possibly there was another Prakrit which was current in Mālava. But it might have been just a variety of Śaurasenī, and
8 We have the Prakrit current in Mahārāshtra, which was at this time confined only to the northern districts of the present-day Marāthā country.

Then the Dardic Speech of Kāshmir, not immediately descended from Old Indo-Aryan, but rather from an intermediate group of Aryan speech standing in between Iranian and Indo-Aryan, was getting to be strongly influenced by the Prakrits of the plains of India.

Round about A D 900, it would appear that these Prakrits had changed into the various Apabhramśas, for all of which we have not as yet been able to obtain specimens, there has been a great deal of loss of linguistic material in this connection These Apabhraṁśas were: the Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, in several modified forms, current in Assam, Bengal and Orissa on the one hand and in Bihār and Eastern U.P. on the other; an Ardha-Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa

which was current in Kosala or Awadh and in the tracts to the south of that region right up to Mahā-Kosala or the Chattisgarhī area. Connected with both Māgadhī and Ardha-Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa there was the intermediate Apabhraṁśa which seems to have been the source of the Halba dialect of Bastar. Then there was the Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa, the home of which was in Western U.P., and it influenced very largely the old Apabhraṁśa of Rājasthān, Gujarāt and the Punjāb, as well as Kosala, as it itself was being influenced by the Apabhraṁśa of the Punjāb. Then we have a Punjāb Apabhraṁśa which, in the eastern tracts of the Punjāb, was strongly influenced by Śaurasenī, while it remained purer in the west; we might call this Western Punjābī Apabhraṁśa the Kekaya Apabhraṁśa, from which the various Lahnda or Hindki dialects of Western Punjāb originated. In Sind, the Western Apabhraṁśa became known as the Vrāchada Apabhraṁśa. In Rājasthān we have the Rājasthānī-Gujarātī Apabhraṁśa, to which the name of Nāgara Apabhraṁśa may reasonably be given Further south was the Mahārāshtrīya Apabhraṁśa.

By the end of the Early Middle Indo-Aryan stage, the above linguistic situation was further modified and we have the net and precise case of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages (Bhāshās). The following Modern Indo-Aryan languages or groups of dialects had become established by 1300

(1) The Bengali-Assamese group, which appeared to have been almost virtually one language right down to A.D 1500, although wide divergences in pronunciation and some innovations in grammar as well as vocabulary were creating a rift between the dialects of Bengal and the dialects of Assam, so that Assamese and Bengali finally came to be looked upon as distinct languages and not members of the same dialectal group, by A D 1500

(2) The Oriyā language, which remained close to Bengali, but it had its own development as much as that for Bengali and Assamese

(3) Maithilī. the speech of North Bihar—this became fully established by A.D. 1300

(4) Magahī: the speech of South Bihār, which was very close to Maithilī, and although it had differentiated itself in many matters, it did not create any literature except for a few compositions in very recent times

(5) Bhojpurī. this is an important language of Eastern India, and the oldest specimens that we have of this go back to the middle of the 15th century, in some of the poems of Kabīr.

(6) The Kosalī dialects: these became differentiated later into its present-day descendants, Awadhī, Baghelī and Chattisgarhī. Kosali appears to have been cultivated very early, and we have a Sanskrit work giving specimens of it—the *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa*, which is an attempt to teach Sanskrit through the Old Kosala speech and which goes back to the first half of the 12th century.

(7) The Brajabhāshā speech, with the connected Bundelī and Kanaujī: this is current in Western U P. and in parts of Rājasthān and Madhya Pradesh; and because of its literary achievements Brajabhāsha exerted a great influence on the dialects of Rājasthān and the Punjāb.

(8) Old Western Rājasthānī, as a single speech, which later on, after A D. 1500, became bifurcated into Western Rājasthānī or Mārwarī on the one hand and Gujarātī on the other[1] (compare the case of a single Bengali-Assamese dialect-group differentiating itself into Bengali proper and Assamese proper after A.D 1500, as noted above).

(9) The Sindhī speech derived out of the Old Vrāchaḍa Apabhraṁśa of Sind.

(10) Finally, we have the incipient Punjābi language, mainly on a Western Punjābī basis

Then we have also Kāshmīrī as a Dardic speech, profoundly modified by Indo-Aryan, which was taking shape by 1300

Thus we have the following New Indo-Aryan languages well established by A.D 1300:

Assamese-Bengali, which may be taken as two languages, considering that the political history of Assam and Bengal was quite independent of each other from very early times, Oriyā, Maithilī with Magahī as a wholly developed though connected dialect, Bhojpurī; Kosalī or Awadhī, known also as Gahwarī; Brajabhāshā, with Kanaujī and Bundelī, perhaps not yet fully differentiated; the Rājasthānī dialects, of which the most important was the Mārwārī, largely used in literature, and Gujarātī which went along with Mārwārī, Marāthī and the connected Konkaṇī dialects; and then Punjābi both Eastern and Western; and Sindhī.

Besides, there was a group of North Indian or Himālayan dialects, coming ultimately from Old Khasa Prakrit, of which we have no specimen until very late times

Excepting the Bengali-Assamese and Oriyā on the one hand, and Marāṭhī and Gujarātī, as well as Sindhī, and to some extent Punjabī, on the other, the speeches of the North Indian plains have

had a very restricted literary employment during the last hundred years, and people speaking them have accepted, from the middle of the last century, and particularly from the beginning of the present one, a form of Western Hindī (the Khariboli speech of Delhi) as their language of education, literature and public life. This Western Hindī (Khariboli) has now acquired the generic name of Hindī, and at the present moment most of the languages classified above (e.g. Maithilī, Magahī, Bhojpurī, Awadhī, Bagheli and Chattisgarhī, Brajabhāshā with Bundelī and Kanaujī, Mālavī, Rājasthānī) and the Central and Western Himālayan dialects in addition, are described as "dialects of Hindī." But as a matter of fact, they are not dialects but independent languages, and were considered as such until about a hundred years ago.

II LITERATURE

A. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Just as the New Indo-Aryan languages which became established during this period were merely continuations of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, so in the literature produced in them we have in a way a continuation of the traditions of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) as well as Sanskrit literatures. As in most early literatures, the subject-matter is mainly religious, largely Hindu or Brahmanical for the whole of North India, and to some extent Jain, as in Western India (in early Gujarātī for example); in Bengal only we have survivals of Buddhist literature in its latest phases of the Mahāyāna school The New Indo-Aryan literature started with inheritances from Apabhraṁśa Prakrit and Sanskrit; and then, on the religious side, a Brahmanical revival, after the Turkī conquest and the cataclysm it involved during the 11th to 13th centuries had subsided, particularly in northern India, found its fullest expression in the literatures of the newly-born modern Indo-Aryan languages. There were also a number of local cults and religious movements (outside of the strictly Brahmanical movements based on Sanskrit scriptures) which were going strong These were either submerged forms of Pre-Aryan religion which were rapidly becoming Brahmanized, or were the effect of fresh developments within the Hindu fold, sometimes going counter to Brahmanical orthodoxy and Brahmanical claims of superiority; and these also were treated in the literature of North India of the period under review.

The Indo-Aryan literature of the period 1300 to 1526 consists largely of great poems and of little lyrics, and they treated the heritage of ancient Indian myths and legends as well as philosophy,

together with that of the local cults and creeds and of the new developments mentioned above. On the whole, however, the atmosphere is that of the Vedānta, of the schools of Jñāna, of Karma, of Yoga and, finally of Bhakti, among the great ideas and practices of Brahmanical philosophy and religion. Jain and Buddhist philosophy also had their places in the literature of some areas. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* formed the general background of Early Indo-Aryan literature, just as the *Bible*, the Legends of the Saints and, later on, Graeco-Roman myths, legends, and history formed the background of the early literatures of modern Europe. A knowledge of the ancient Indian background is thus indispensable for an appreciation of the early medieval literature of North India.

Cross divisions cannot be avoided in considering both subject-matter and treatment. A medieval French poet divided the subject-matter of French romance into three classes or groups:

1. The Matter of Britain,
2. The Matter of France, and
3. The Matter of Rome,

referring respectively to the Arthurian romances which evolved in Britain, the stories about Charlemagne and his circle which were largely French, and the classical world of ancient Rome and Greece which were available from Roman or Latin sources Similarly, for early New Indo-Aryan literature, we see that on the side of story-telling—romances and narrative poetry—there were, to start with, *two* distinct *Matter* or *Cycles* in almost every linguistic area·

1. The Matter or Cycle of Ancient India as preserved mainly in Sanskrit, and to some extent in Prakrit; and

2. The Matter or Cycle of the province or linguistic area concerned, which may be called the Matter of Medieval India, which sometimes was found treated not in one language but in many, and was thus, in certain contexts, inter-provincial or pan-Indian Some of the most distinctive or characteristic things in the different modern Indian literatures belonged to this Matter of Medieval India, which took shape from round about A.D 1000 to 1300 or 1400

Then, from the 16th century onwards (which does not come within our purview), some of the North Indian languages like Hindusthānī or Hindī, and Bengali, Punjābī, and Sindhī, under the Muhammadan impact and inspiration, developed a new Matter or Cycle:

3. The Matter of the Islamic World—Persia and Arabia, but as this belongs to a later period, we need not consider it here.

Early literature in the modern Indian languages was either lyrical or narrative The first deals, naturally enough, with love

and other sentiments, or with religious devotion subjectively; and occasionally didactic and philosophical disquisitions and allegories as well as riddles would come under this, besides fragments of *Spruche* (*subhāshita*) literature. The second or the narrative type treated objectively mythical and traditional tales and themes from the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas as well as stories from the lives of early medieval saints and heroes. In early Bengali literature these two types were respectively known as *pada* (lyric) and *maṅgala* (narrative or story, particularly of a religious implication or application).

The Matter of Ancient India in early modern Indian literature need not detain us This consists of adaptations or translations, which most languages show in verse, of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇas, besides some of the other great books of Brahmanism, which formed the Bible of the Hindu masses all over the country. These translations or adaptations in the various languages kept the Hindu tradition alive among the people. The lives of the Jain, Vaishṇava and other saints of ancient and medieval times also form part of this Matter of Ancient India, in so far as their inheritance goes back to times before A.D. 1000 The movement to translate or adapt, in the languages of the people, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas and other texts of Brahmanical Hinduism, which we note all over India, may be looked upon as part of a sort of Hindu or Bramanical renaissance through a resuscitation of Sanskrit literature. This was noticeable, after the establishment of the Turkī rule, as a defensive movement for the Hindu religion, and this revival was noticed particularly from the 15th century onwards Later on, the Muslim rulers, both of Indian and foreign origin, also participated in this revivalistic movement, either as a matter of policy, or for literary and aesthetic satisfaction. The renderings of the Sanskrit epics, Purāṇas and other texts, which started immediately after things got settled down after the welter and turmoil of the Turkī conquest, now form a common inheritance for the whole of Aryan India (and also for Dravidian India), and it is an inheritance of the most far-reaching importance in the literatures of modern Indian languages, forming the most effective common platform for them all.

The Matter of Medieval India consists of different cycles of romantic or heroic stories which had their origin from the time of the rise of the New Indo-Aryan languages and literatures. Thus we have in Bengal the cycle of stories relating to Lāusena, the hero (in the *Dharma-Maṅgala* romances), of Bihulā and Lakshmīndhara and the Snake Goddess (in the *Manasā-Maṅgala* or the *Padmā*

Purāṇa poems), and of the merchant Dhanapati, his wives Khullanā and Lahanā and his son Śrīmanta, as well as to the stories of the huntsman Kālaketu and his wife Phullarā (the *Chaṇḍī-Maṅgala* poems); in Orissa we have stories about the kings of Orissa, particularly the highly romantic story of King Purushottama Deva and Princess Padmāvatī, which originated in the 15th century; in the Awadhī area a number of romantic tales, which were treated specially by the early Muslim writers of Awadhī, beginning from the end of the 14th century, formed the most characteristic literary output of this speech; so in Rājasthān and the North Indian Rājput world, we have a series of noble stories of Rājput romance and chivalry which were treated in poems in Rājasthānī (Ḍiṅgal or Middle Mārwārī) and in Brajabhāshā as well as in Bundelī forms of Western Hindī Punjābī also had its romantic stories, and in the Marāṭhā country its ballads (*powāḍās*) relating to the heroes of the Mahārāshṭrian national upsurge in the seventeenth century came later

Certain literary *genres* were well established in the North Indian languages. One is the *Bāraha-māsiyā* poems describing in a series of pictures, so to say, for the twelve months of the year, the sufferings of the lovers pining through separation, or their happiness in the joys of union Another is the *Chautisā* poems with initials of the lines consisting of the 34 consonants in the Indian alphabet coming one after the other, similarly describing the pangs or joys of separation or union, as well as the praise of the divinities. The Persian practice of putting in the name of the composer of a lyric at the end of it, as a sort of signature or seal of authorship, also came to be established in India during this period But this medieval device has been abandoned in most of the languages, although poets of Urdu, Hindī and Punjābī still take pleasure in sporting a *Takhallus* or *Upanām*.

Indo-Aryan literature during this period was fundamentally the literature of poetry, and prose was very rarely cultivated during these centuries. There are nevertheless certain prose works, particularly in early Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, which had a definite prose style established in the fourteenth century Prose came in later in Assamese and in (Western) Punjābī, but it was very much restricted in most of the other languages

The vast open plains of North India made possible, as in the earlier centuries, the passage of literary ideas, themes, and types from one corner of the country to the other, so that a story which originated in Bengal passed into the Punjāb and Mahārāshṭra, and vice versa. Sometimes compositions in the different languages travelled from one part of the country into another, and with some

very little change they could easily be made to look like original compositions in another language. The basic agreement among the modern Indian languages made it quite an easy affair; and so long as they could understand what was intended to be conveyed, people did not mind—they were never sticklers about the purity of the language or dialect, its grammar or its vocabulary.

The range of early modern Indian literature, however, was rather limited, if we compare it with that of the great classical literatures of the past, or with the modern literatures. But on the whole, this range was not in any way less wide than what we find in contemporary Islamic and early medieval European literatures (excepting, of course, the literature of science which characterized Arabic) The expansion of Indian literature in introducing various new types of subject-matter took place much later.

The Apabhraṁśa tradition in literature was not abandoned entirely. Jain scholars particularly kept it up by composing newer and newer works in Apabhraṁśa, more as a literary or linguistic exercise than anything else. The Apabhraṁśa work on metre, which is also an Apabhraṁśa anthology of lyric verses, namely, the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*, was finally redacted towards the end of the 15th century, when we are in the broad daylight of the New Indo-Aryan languages.

B INDIVIDUAL WORKS

We may next take into consideration some of the important works which were composed in the various new Indo-Aryan languages during the period 1300-1526

1 *Hindī*

(a) *Western Hindī*

The Kharībolī form of Hindī, which has been accepted by the Indian Constitution as the Official Language of India, is one of the youngest of the Indian languages. As a matter of fact, it did not come into literary use in any appreciable scale before A D. 1800, and its effective literary employment started only after 1850. But when we use, in a narrow and strictly scientific sense, the expression "Hindī literature", we mean by it primarily the literature in Brajabhāshā and other Western Hindī speeches, particularly Brajabhāshā, the most important form of Western Hindī prior to 1850. It is customary to include in this expression Awadhī (Kosalī) also, although Awadhī is genetically of a different Prakrit origin from Western Hindī. Then, again, we have to consider the mixture of various dia-

lects which was steadily developing as a literary language, being particularly in use among the wandering religious preachers (*sants* and *sādhus*) who were in early medieval times moving all over Northern India, preaching the special religious ideologies for which they stood—a kind of monotheistic mysticism, as in the case of a saint like Kabīr and his followers; the doctrine of *Bhakti* through faith in Rāma or Kṛishṇa, incarnations of Vishṇu, as preached by other saints; and *yoga* practices with elements from other cults, such, for instance, as were preached by Nātha-panthī *Yogins*, among whom the greatest teacher was Gorakha-nātha. This composite *sādhu* speech, mainly on a Braja basis, with forms and words from the early speech of the Delhi area and of the Eastern Punjāb, was also found in the writings of the Sikh *gurus* of the Punjāb The devotional songs of Mīrā Bāī, written originally in Rājasthānī, as well as the mass of Rājput romances written in Ḍingal or Old Mārwārī, and other verses in Ḍingal, are also now considered as forming part of "Hindī Literature" In recent years Bhojpurī, Maithilī and Bihārī speeches, as well as Gārhwalī, Kumāonī and other speeches of the Himālayas have been brought under the tutelage of Kharibolī Hindī.

During the period A.D 1000 to 1300, Western Hindī and other speeches, as has been said before, were evolving out of Apabhraṁśa. The Apabhraṁśa literary tradition was still going strong, and writers would be using either the older type of language (Apabhraṁśa) or the new Indian vernaculars as they were developing, like Old Braja-bhāshā, Old Awadhī, Old Bengali and the rest, at their choice It was during this period of a kind of linguistic hesitancy, that the first drafts of great Rājput heroic romances like the *Pṛithvīrāja-rāsau*, the *Visāla-deva-rāsau*, the *Khumāṇa-rāsau*, the *Ālhā-Ūdal* romance of Jaganik, and some other works took shape These were in later centuries very much extended. They were mostly in various forms of Western Hindī, with a strong Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa background, and they stand at the base of what may be described as "Hindī Literature", as also of Rājasthānī literature There were some great Śaiva Yogins like Gorakha-nātha (c. A.D. 1150),[14] who, in a way, represent a combination of various traditions These old traditions were later on (with some influence from Islamic Sūfism) further developed by a poet-saint like Kabīr. Kabīr's predecessors came into the field of Apabhraṁśa and New Indian literature prior to 1300. Their contributions also formed an important background for later Hindī literature The Brahman scholars were busy, composing works in Sanskrit, both stories and philosophical works, as well as light poetry. But the full Brahmanical revival on the basis of translations from the epics and the Purāṇas was to come later.

The first two centuries after the Turkī conquest and the establishment of a Turkī ruling house in Delhi and elsewhere, were not conducive to the growth of literature. The conquest may be said to have proceeded with all its ruthlessness and destructiveness from the end of the 10th to the middle of the 13th century, and even later. By the middle of the 13th century, it was found that the Turk had come to stay, and the Indian Muslim as a distinct and a new element in the population came into being. The Indian Muslim, to start with, was a foreigner, and adopted India as his country, and then he took his wife from among the native people. Thus there came into being the strong group of mixed peoples, and this was further reinforced by conversions into Islām from among the Hindu masses, and in some cases from among the princely families also. The foreign element gradually became absorbed into the basic Indian element. The Turkī *conquistadores* followed the method of violence in conquering and killing and looting and converting the Hindus. This did not prove effective—it only stiffened up Hindu resistance to the hated Turk and his religion. The Sūfī preachers, on the other hand, moving among the Hindu masses and living among them, followed far different methods, and they were successful both in gaining converts to Islām and in obtaining a spiritual *rapprochement* with the Hindus The result of this was some new religious developments in India. The Turkī way (*Turkānah tarīqah*) failed, where the Sūfī way (*Sūfīyānah tarīqah*) succeeded. At the commencement of this period we find Amīr Khusrav (1253-1325), who was a most remarkable person as a scholar, a mystic (Sūfī) and a poet. His father was an immigrant Turk, a foreign Muslim, and his mother an Indian Muslim lady of Turkish origin He was a finished Persian scholar and wrote a number of poems and romances in Persian, and he is looked upon as the greatest Persian poet of India. He knew Arabic, and was one of the earliest writers of Hindī as well, and he was fully alive to the importance of Hindī even in front of Persian and Arabic. He was very proud of his "Hindī" heritage, and it is just possible that by Hindī he meant Sanskrit also. But the actual mass of Hindī compositions attributed to him is quite small, consisting only of a few riddles and of macaronic verses giving a combination of Hindī and Persian words and phrases. These riddles are beautifully expressed in fine poetic Hindī. The manuscript tradition of the Hindī writings of Khusrav is not certain, and it is likely that the language has been to some extent modernized But we can be sure that he was among the first writers to use the New Indo-Aryan Old Western Hindī, which was a Khariboli speech of Hindī mixed with Brajabhāshā as a living language, and not the earlier Apabhramśa. Amīr Khusrav is also the reputed author of

the *Khāliq-Bārī*, which is a brief dictionary, in verse, of Perso-Arabic and Hindī, and students of Persian used to get it by heart; this book did a great service in the spread of Perso-Arabic words among the people of North India, and so it helped to bring about the development of Urdu.

A contemporary of Khusrav was the song-composer Gopāl Nāyak. Some of his Dhrūpad songs, in Brajabhāshā, are still current. After Amīr Khusrav Khvāja Bandah-Nawāz Gīsū-darāz (1321-1422), a Muslim Sūfī, who lived in the Daccan, was the first writer of the Dakhnī, or Deccan Hindī under Muslim Sufī inspiration. His book in Dakhnī Hindī, the *Mir'āt-ul-'Ashiqīn*, which is in prose and deals with Sūfiism, and is replete with Arabic and Persian words. is looked upon as the earliest work in the Urdu form of Hindī.

Between A D. 1300 to 1400, we do not find any other writer of Hindī, though compilation of Apabhraṁśa texts and their study, and literary endeavour in a mixture of Rājasthānī and Apabhraṁśa as well as in Brajabhāshā, appear to have continued in the courts of the Rājput chiefs of Rājasthān and North India generally. The Muslim princes had no use for Apabhraṁśa, and the impetus towards writing largely in the living languages of the day might reasonably have come from the Muslim aristocracy. There is, however, at least one poem in rather ornate Apabhraṁśa, the *Sandeśa-rāsaka,* by a poet named 'Abdur-Rahmān (which name he has turned into Apabhraṁśa as Addahamāna), who flourished in the South Punjāb in the 12th or 13th century[1b] But Hindī literature during the 15th century is dominated by Kabīr, or *Sant* Kabīr Dās, whose traditional dates of birth and passing away are 1399 and 1518, he being credited with a very long life of 119 years.[2]

Kabīr is unquestionably one of the greatest saints and mystics of India and the world. Born in an Indian Muslim family of humble origin, of people who were weavers by profession, he is said to have received his spiritual initiation from Rāmānanda, the saintly devotee of Vaishnavism, in the city of Banaras, which was also Kabīr's native place Kabīr was a religious mystic and saint, and his approach to God was through the path of knowledge as well as devotion, his God being an Absolute Being without an earthly incarnation and a personal form. This aspect of his teachings he got from the Nātha-panthī tradition as preserved by the Yoga School of Gorakha-nātha. But this approach to a God without attributes—a *Nirguna Brahman*—was suffused with a highly emotional quality of love also Herein Kabīr was influenced by two strains of religious perception—the Indian *Bhakti* or faith, and the *Sūfi 'Ishq* or love.

The *abandon* of faith in and love of God was a new strain in Indian religious experience for which Hinduism is indebted to the Dravidian South. The Saints of the Tamil country, whether the Śaivite *Nāyanmārs* or *Chittars* (i e. *Siddhas*), or Vaishnava *Āḷvārs* or devotees,[3] who flourished roughly during the second half of the first millennium A.D , were distinguished by a deep and all absorbing love for God and a self-abnegation, whether God appeared to them in the form of Śiva or in the form of Vishṇu. This feeling of self-effacing love for the Deity as the only ultimate and effective means of realization forms the basis of the Bhakti school. In the Śrī sect of the Tamil scholar and saint Rāmānuja (*c.* A.D. 1050), this *Bhakti* for God in the form of Vishṇu or his incarnations on earth like Rāma and Krishṇa was inculcated. The Bhakti doctrine was brought to the North, and Rāmānanda,[4] probably a native of Banaras, was a teacher of the order of Rāmānuja in the 14th-15th centuries, and he preached devotion to Vishṇu in the form of Rāma From him Kabīr evidently derived the *Bhakti* side of his spiritual personality. From the Sūfīs, to whom he had access, as one belonging to a Muslim group, he got his idea of romantic love for the Divine Being as a personal deity But whereas with the Sūfīs God is the Great Beloved and man is the lover, it was different with Kabīr God, with Kabīr, is the Supreme Male, the *Purushottama* in orthodox Hindu parlance, and human souls, are, as it were, the brides of God This is in accordance with the traditions of the followers of Krishna in Hinduism

Kabīr was a great apostle of the unity of faiths in the higher plane of true knowledge and of love of God He preached to both Hindus and Muslims of his time the need to rise above the accidentals of the professed religion, and to think of the essentials which are the same everywhere God he named both as *Rāma*, the Hindu name (he made it clear that by *Rāma*, which meant, "One in Whom we get joy", Kabīr did not mean, as most Hindus did, the incarnation of Vishṇu, who came down on earth as Rāma, as the son of Daśaratha and husband of Sītā, but only the Supreme Being without any form) and as *Rahīm*, the Muslim name (meaning "the Supremely Merciful One") In Kabīr we might say that the true spirit of Hinduism which is also found in Muslim Sūfīism, in seeking the essential Unity in the midst of Diversity, found a most beautiful expression. The poetic charm of Kabīr's mystic poems is ineffable He is credited with a large number of works, all in verse, but among these the *Bījaka* or "the Seed Book" and the *Bāṇīs* or "Message Poems" are the most important. The ideology of Sikh faith of Guru Nānak (1469-1539) and his successors was basically of the same

school of thought as Kabīr's, and quite a large number of Kabīr's poems have found a place in the *Ādi-Grantha* of the Sikhs, which is a collection (made in 1604 by Arjun, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs) of devotional and mystic poems by the Sikh Gurus or teachers and by some others who preceded them and were represented as *Bhagats* (*Bhaktas*) or lovers of God.

Kabīr belonged to the Bhojpurī area, being of Banaras, and the current mass of poems as attributed to Kabīr probably do not represent the original language in which he wrote. Some poems by Kabīr in pure Bhojpurī have been found; others, as it has been shown by Dr. Uday Narayan Tiwari, were originally composed in Bhojpurī, but their language was changed to a mixed speech composed of Brajabhāshā, Khariboli and Awadhi which characterizes the bulk of his extant writings His language may be said to be a composite speech in which Brajabhāshā and the Delhi speech have joined hands, and this is the reason his writings could have universal popularity all over North India, from the Punjāb to Bihār

Guru Nānak is to be mentioned with Kabīr, although younger by three generations He and his disciples carried on Kabīr's tradition of the earlier *Bhakti* School in the Punjāb; and Guru Nānak and his followers also had contact with the Muslim Sūfīs of the Punjāb. The oldest of these Punjāb *Sūfīs*, Bābā Farīd-ud-din Ganj-i-shakar (1175-1265) of Multān and Pāk-Pattan, may be described as a true predecessor of Kabīr, judging from the form and content of the two poems left by him which have a place in the *Ādi-Grantha* and which are among the oldest compositions available in a kind of Hindī.

Contemporaneous with Kabīr (North India) as well as Guru Nānak (Punjāb) and also with Chaitanya (Bengal), was Vallabhāchārya (1479-1531).[5] Originally a Telugu Brahman from the Deccan, he settled at Vṛindāvana, and became a great teacher of the *Bhakti* doctrine, and inculcated the worship of God in the form of Kṛishṇa. Through Vallabhāchārya's influence, a school of poets dealing with the story of Kṛishna with a devotional background developed in Vṛindāvana and Mathurā, and they composed primarily in the Brajabhāshā speech The greatest of these Vaishnava poets of the Kṛishṇa cult in Brajabhāshā was Sūradāsa, who probably flourished from c. 1483 to 1563 and whose *floruit* therefore goes beyond the lower limit of the period under review. We need not discuss his successors—the celebrated group of poets known as the *Ashṭa-Chāpa* of Mathurā and Vrindāvana. Mīrā Bāī was another Vaishṇava devotee—a poetess of the *Bhakti* School, and she lived round about 1492-1546. Her compositions (originally in Rājasthānī,

now largely changed to Brajabhāshā and Khariboli as well as into Gujarātī) mostly belong to the next period of Indian literature. This virtually exhausts most of the important literary compositions in Western Hindī up to 1526.

(b) *Kosalī or Awadhī or the so called "Eastern Hindī"*

At the present moment there is very little literary endeavour in Awadhī or Kosalī, and its speakers have mostly adopted the modern Khariboli or Standard Hindi as their language of education, literature and public life. But there are here and there a few apologists for Awadhī, and occasionally songs and poems are composed in it. But Awadhī has been one of the earliest New Indo-Aryan languages to be cultivated for literature. The oldest specimens of Awadhī we find in the *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa* of Dāmodara Paṇḍita who flourished during the first half of the 12th century [6] He wrote this book to teach Sanskrit through his mother-tongue, which was a kind of Old Awadhī, about four hundred years before the time of Tulsīdāsa. This book gives quite an interesting number of Old Awadhī words and phrases as well as sentences and proverbs from Old Awadhī After the Turki conquest, the Muse of Kosali was silent for two centuries, and then from the end of the fourteenth century literary compositions in Awadhī started again The oldest fragments of a romantic poem called *Chandāyana* in Awadhī, by a Muslim writer, Maulānā Dāūd, goes back to 1370 These fragments relate to the story of the hero Lorik (or Lor) and the heroine Chandā, a popular romantic tale in North India during the medieval period, which travelled as far east as Bengal [7] The Sūfī tradition, which became established in India in the 14th century, found a series of writers mostly Muslim, who beginning with Maulānā Dāūd, probably the first poet in this line, took successively a number of romantic tales of medieval Hindu inspiration, and wove them into beautiful allegorical poems in Awadhī The manuscripts of these poems in Awadhī are mostly in the Persian character, although their language is pure Awadhī; this is due to the strong Muslim Sūfī atmosphere in which these compositions were made There were three important poets in this tradition in the sixteenth century, who all used the early Awadhī language The oldest was Kutban, who lived as a protégé of the Sultān of Jaunpur in Eastern U.P. He was a disciple of the Sūfī teacher of the Chistī order named Shaikh Burhān, and in A.D 1501 he composed his *Mṛigāvatī* which has already been published. It is a pure Rājput romance, and the allegorical elements in it are slight. Another poet, Mānihan, lived after Kutban, and his *Madhu-Mālatī* (composed before 1532) has been found only in an incomplete form. Here in this poem is a

greater play of fancy, more imagination and a deeper allegory of life than in Kutban's work. In spite of its incomplete form, it is one of the best works of imagination written in North India. In the Awadhī tradition came a number of important poets after Mānjhan, but they belonged to the period beyond 1526.

2. *Rājasthānī*

The literature in Rājasthānī is now being studied with deep interest and application by a number of Rājasthānī scholars. The early literature of Rājasthānī consisted of heroic ballads, songs, and *dohās* or couplets in an old form of Mārwārī, which was known as *Diṅgal,* and this language was not much different from the Gujarātī of the present day Hence we have to take up Early Rājasthānī (specially Mārwārī) and Early Gujarātī together. The period of this Old Western Rājasthānī, as this common basis or source language of both Gujarātī and Rājasthānī has been called, comes down to about 1550, and specific Rājasthānī works in the late form of Rājasthānī therefore belong to the period after 1550 The romantic and heroic poem *Kānhaḍa-de Prabandha* (see under Gujarātī below) has been claimed equally by Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. Mīrā Bāī, mentioned above, is claimed by Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Hindī She was a princess of a Rājput kingly house in Rājasthān, and her poems, as we have them, are mostly in Rājasthānī. But their language has been altered to look like Hindī in the North and to approximate with Gujarātī in the South

3. *Himālayan Dialects*

The Himālayan dialects consisting of Early Nepālī, which was confined to Western Nepāl before the middle of the 18th century, Garhwālī and Kumāonī, which might have been a single speech 500 years ago, as well as the various Himālayan dialects of the Western group extending from Garhwāl and Kumāon to Chambā and Kāshmir, have not preserved any specimen which can be relegated to our period under review

4. *Punjābī*

Punjābī at the present day is found in two forms Eastern Punjābī which is now used primarily for literary purposes and runs close to Hindī, and Western Punjābī or Lahndi or Hindki dialects. While a literary speech has developed in the eastern Punjāb during the last 200 years, Western Punjābī has not been so fortunate, and the language has split up into a number of dialects without any literary cohesion at the present moment, and Western Punjābī speakers, if they write Punjābī at all, now take to Eastern Punjābī.

The oldest specimens of vernacular poetry written by a poet of the Punjāb are two devotional compositions attributed to Bābā Farīd-ud-dīn Ganj-shakar of Multān and Pāk-Pattan. But the language is not Punjābī of any sort. Punjābī has always been dominated by the Midland Speech, both in its form and in its literary ideas We do not have any authentic specimen of pure Punjābī literature, whether of West or of East Punjāb, for the period under review. The oldest book that we have in Punjābī at the present day is a prose biography of Guru Nānak known as the *Janam-Sākhī*, which is attributed to one of the disciples of Guru Nānak, namely Bālā. This was supposed to have been written shortly after Guru Nānak's death, about 1538 The *Ādi-Grantha* was compiled first in 1604 by Guru Arjun, but here the language primarily is Brajabhāshā mixed with Kosalī, with occasional Punjābī forms in some of the poems.

5 *Sindhī*

Sindhī appears to have had a rich ballad literature of Hindu origin which perhaps goes back to Apabhraṁśa times. There is evidence for the existence of a version of the *Mahābhārata* story and some Purānic tales in the Apabhraṁśa of Sind prior to A D. 1000 Some of the most beautiful and most characteristic Sindhī ballads, like those relating to Dalū-Rai, to Uḍero-lāl (the incarnation of Varuṇa, the god of the Sindhu river), and to heroes and heroines who belong to the Sūmra dynasty dominant in Sind from about the eleventh (or somewhat later) to the fourteenth century (like king Bhūngar and his sons Dūdā or Dodo and Chanesar i e Chandreśvara --the latter is the hero of the beautiful ballad relating to his devoted wife Līlā and to the maiden Kaunro who loved him, about whom there is a Persian poem going back to the days of Akbar), and to Momul and Rano, and similar other ballads undoubtedly go back to the period 1300 to 1526 [7a] The Apabhraṁśa of Sind, namely the Vrāchaḍa Apabhraṁśa, is well known Specimens of a few Sindhī words and verses are all that are available for our period Yet modern Sindhī is one of the most archaic among the Indo-Aryan languages The most outstanding writer of Sindhī is a Muslim Sūfī saint, Shāh Latīf, who died in A.D. 1748.

6 *Gujarātī*

The literature of Gujarātī. on the other hand, is something which presents quite an *embarras de richesse*. From the heyday of Apabhraṁśa literature Gujarātī presents an unbroken literary tradition right down to our day, and the Jain writers had a very great place in the development of Gujarātī language and literature. Gujarātī

literature in its earlier history could be conveniently divided into two periods: Old Gujarātī period from about A.D. 1000 to about A.D. 1450, and Early Middle Gujarātī from 1450 to the Mughul conquest.

Hemachandra, the erudite Jain scholar, saint and grammarian of Gujarāt (1088-1173), collected over 100 couplets in the Apabhraṁśa of his time as the language which was used like the vernacular, and these are claimed by both Hindī (Brajabhāshā and Kharībolī) and by Mārwārī, as well as by Gujarātī, as specimens of their earlier forms. During the second half of the 14th century, Nemichandra Bhaṇḍāri composed 160 *gāthās* on the Jain faith on which two prose commentaries in early Gujarātī dating between 1550 to 1560 have been found. Folk tales current in Gujarāt, Mārwār and Mālwa were written in early Gujarātī prose during this age, and they were compiled in books called *Bālāvabodhas* or "Instructions to the Youth". Tarunaprabha, a Jain monk, composed one such *Bālāvabodha* about A.D. 1355 which is one of the oldest authentic works in Gujarātī.

Jain writers were not the only persons to cultivate the field of Old Gujarātī literature. A number of old prose works and chronicles of Brahmanical origin are found, as well as some highly ornate poems. One such poem is the *Vasanta-vilāsa*, a description of the spring, of unknown Brahmanical (non-Jain) authorship, which was composed about A.D. 1350. This book bears a close impress of the *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva, and it is a charming poem in both the mellifluousness of its language and the gorgeousness of its description. The Parsis who settled in Gujarāt began to render their scriptures from Avestan and Pahalvi into Sanskrit in the thirteenth century, and then into Gujarātī in the fourteenth century, as Gujarātī had long before that become their home language.

Among the Old Gujarātī works may be mentioned poems like *Raṇamalla-chhanda*, *Ushā-haraṇa*, *Sītā-haraṇa* and *Prabodha-chintāmaṇi*; and a work in ornate prose, the *Pṛithvī-chandra-charitra* of unknown authorship, composed before 1422, which is a sort of prose romance relating to a prince. it is a unique work of its kind

The Old Gujarātī style or tradition in prose and poetry continued right down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, a century and a half after a new tradition ushering in Middle Gujarātī was established. Thus we have the *Kānhaḍa-de-Prabandha* of Padmanābha, composed early in the sixteenth century, which describes the fight by the last Hindu king of Gujarāt with the Muslims under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. From Delhi he came down and attacked Gujarāt and conquered the province from Rājā Karṇa (Karan Gahelo or Ghelo).[8] It is a spirited heroic tale which, because of its archaic language, is not so popular as it should be, although it has

been rendered into modern Gujarātī. Manuscripts of this work have been found both in Gujarāti and Rājasthānī, and it is also claimed as part of Rājasthānī literature, scholars in Rājasthānī having brought out a new edition of this work to match the earlier editions by the Gujarātī scholars.

Narasiṁha Mehtā (1415-1481) ushered in a new era in Gujarātī literature by introducing the *Bhakti* School which was then effecting quite a transformation of the literatures in the New Indo-Aryan languages. He was, like the other *bhaktas*, against the abuses of caste system which he wanted to break, and composed his devotional lyrics in honour of God conceived in the form of Kṛishṇa He was the first great poet of Gujarāt who still lives in the memories and in the lives of the Gujarātī speakers

Narasiṁha Mehtā was for Vedānta based on *jñāna* or knowledge, and for *bhakti* or faith in God, and in his spiritual ideas he appears to have been influenced by both the North Indian poets and saints and the saints of Mahārāshṭra like Jñānadeva and Nāmadeva (13th to 14th centuries A.D.). Narasiṁha Mehtā's religio-social work, through his lyrics, particularly in the *Jhūlana* metre, is based on the teachings of the saint and sage Vishṇusvāmī of Karṇāṭaka; and his literary-spiritual ministration preceded that of Vallabhāchārya, who and his followers (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) in Gujarāt introduced the new Pushṭi-mārga school of Vaishṇavism. Considerably after Narasiṁha Mehta was Mīrā Bāī, the saint-poetess of Rājasthān who has been mentioned above

Bhālaṇa (fifteenth century) wrote the story of Kṛishṇa, as in the tenth chapter of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in short lyrics, in Gujarātī and occasionally in Brajabhāshā, showing a strong influence of his great contemporary, the Brajabhāshā poet Sūradāsa. In the latter part of his work he followed the style of the earlier *ākhyānas* or the mythological narrative tales in Gujarātī

Vallabha Mewado (sixteenth century) celebrated the Mother Goddess in her benign aspect From the sixteenth century, the school of the Vaishnava saint Vallabhāchārya, the founder of the Pushṭi-mārga school of *Bhakti*, became a great force in Gujarātī life and literature, and poets of this school began to manifest themselves in large numbers in Gujarāt.

7. *Marāṭhī*

The history of the Marāṭhī language goes back to about A D 1000. But the earliest writers, whose works are extant in more or less authentic forms, belong to the second half of the 13th century. Marāṭhī is a Prakritic speech standing rather by itself, and the con-

nected Konkanī dialects show some special features of agreement with the North Indian Aryan speeches.

The death of Nāmadeva, in A.D. 1350, marks the end of a flourishing period of Marāṭhī literature[9] The next two centuries—a period of transition—are sometimes described as the dark period of this literature. As noted above, there were since A D. 1294 almost continuous fights between the Muslims and the Marāṭhī speaking people, leading to the gradual establishment of Muslim rule in Mahārāshṭra. The country was suffering from war and famine, and steady literary progress was not possible The Mahānubhāva sect, which at first became unpopular through some concessions granted to it by the new Muslim rulers of Mahārāshṭra, gradually recovered some of its old prestige, and as all Hindu sects were suffering from Muslim apathy and hostility, a *rapprochement* among them in a general adversity gradually took place The honour paid to the mythical sage Dattātreya by the Mahānubhāva sect spread also to the followers of the Vārakaṛī school. Among teachers and writers of this age of transition were Narasimha Sarasvatī and Janārdana Svāmī, the master of Ekanātha, both of the Vārakaṛī sect. Poems of a devotional nature ascribed to them are still current among the people A disciple of Narasimha Sarasvatī wrote in verse the history of the sage-god Dattātreya, known as the *Guru-charita*, and this work is held in great esteem by both Vārakaṛīs and Mahānubhāvas

8 *Bengali*

We now come to the modern Indo-Aryan languages of the East, namely *Bengali, Assamese, Oriyā, Maithilī, Magahi* and *Bhojpuri*. These are all descended from the old Māgadhī Prakrit of Eastern India and possess some common traits.

Among these Bengali is the language of the largest number and its modern literature is quite remarkable in quality as well as quantity Reference has been made above to the oldest specimens of Bengali literature dating roughly from A.D 1050 to 1200[10] This is followed by a period of transition from 1200 to 1350, which is not represented by any authentic specimens of literature It is, however, very likely that the first drafts, so to say, of the great Middle Bengali narrative poems on stories specially connected with Bengal—what may be called "the Matter of Bengal"—were made during this period. The story of the deathless love of Bihulā for her husband Lakshmīndhara, the adventures of Lāusena, the story of the merchant Dhanapati and of his son Śrīmanta, and of Kālaketu and Phullarā, were probably current in popular narrative poems sung by a special class of ballad-singers, whose performances continued for a

number of evenings in succession. These formed the nucleus of the great *Mangala* poems on the above stories which became established in Bengal by 1600.

The first century and a half, after the advent of the Turks as a conquering people in Bengal and extension of Islamic power all over the province, did not allow any literature to develop. But after the return of peaceful conditions, when a more or less stable Muslim Government was established in Bengal and when the Brahmans could pay greater attention to the old learning, a sort of early renaissance of Sanskrit studies and Brahmanical lore appears to have started in Bengal in the 14th-15th centuries. Probably the first great poet of Middle Bengali of whom we have some record and whose name and work are still well known among the people, was Kṛittivāsa Ojhā Mukhaṭī (born about 1399). He was probably the first and certainly the most popular poet to adapt the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* into Bengali (c 1418). In place of the human and heroic Rāma of Vālmīki's original Sanskrit epic, we have in Kṛittivāsa's work a gentle and compassionate incarnation of a living Deity to whom the loving faith of a simple people could easily reach The poem of Kṛittivāsa is mainly narrative—it is not entirely saturated with the spirit of *Bhakti* such as we have in the next century after the advent of the great saint Chaitanya The Krishṇa-legend was similarly taken up by Mālādhara Basu, Guṇarāja Khān, about 1473, in his *Śrī-Kṛishṇa-vijaya*, which is based on the Sanskrit *Bhagavata Purāṇa*. Here too, we do not as yet have the spirit of post-Chaitanya *Bhakti*, an *abandon* of faith in Kṛishṇa as incarnate God The story of Bihulā, who was widowed on the night of her wedding by snake-bite through the machinations of Manasā, the Snake-Goddess (who was inimical to Bihulā's father-in-law, the merchant Chandradhara),—how she flowed down the river in a raft with her husband Lakshmīndhara's body, how, after a series of adventures, she finally managed to propitiate the Gods including Manasā herself, and brought back her husband to life, and effected a reconciliation between Manasā and her father-in-law Chandradhara,—is one of the greatest tales of wifely devotion and womanly courage through love, which the Indian imagination has produced This story probably goes back to pre-Muslim times, and there is a tradition that the first poet to write on this theme was Kānā-Haridatta, whose date is not known, but may be about A.D. 1300. To the fifteenth century are attributed two poems on this theme by two different persons, Vijaya Gupta from the district of Barisal and Bipradāsa Piplāi of Bāduriyā Baṭagrāma near Calcutta The poem by Vijaya Gupta is perhaps not authentic, and cannot go back to the fifteenth century, in spite of the tradition But Bipradāsa's work appears to have been composed about A.D. 1482

A great name in early medieval Bengali literature is that of Chaṇḍīdāsa, who is considered by many to be the greatest lyric poet of Bengal prior to Rabindranath Tagore. Over 1250 poems relating to the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa are current in the name of Chaṇḍīdāsa. These are of diverse quality, and from both language and style as well as subject-matter, these cannot, all of them, be by one and the same person. As a matter of fact, the exact time when Chaṇḍīdāsa flourished is not known either. All that we know is that Chaitanya (1486-1533) used to find pleasure in singing or reading poems by Chaṇḍīdāsa, that they were sung to him as a sort of devotional exercise. Chaṇḍīdāsa was thus a predecessor (or may be an elder contemporary) of Chaitanya; in that case his date may be about A.D. 1450. Some would place him half a century earlier. The manuscript tradition of the poems of Chaṇḍīdāsa is faulty and not at all old In 1916 was discovered a remarkable book which has been edited under the auspices of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad (Calcutta) by the late Basanta Ranjan Roy, and has been carefully studied by a number of scholars. It is the *Śrī-Kṛishṇa-kīrttana* written by a poet who names himself at the end of each section as "Baḍu Chaṇḍīdāsa" or "Ananta Baḍu Chaṇḍīdāsa" The script is old (although its antiquity has been disputed) and the language is certainly older than anything discovered in Bengali, barring the *Charyā-padas*. It was believed at first that the unique manuscript of the work belonged to the last quarter of the 14th century now it is believed that it may well be of the early sixteenth century. The story of Rādhā and Krishṇa's love narrated here is certainly pre-Chaitanya in spirit and sentiments. There are in it translations of two songs from Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* (end of the 12th century) and also passages which show imitations of that work.

The Chaṇḍidāsa question is a difficult problem, and this can be best solved by assuming that there were more poets than one named Chaṇḍīdāsa. Very probably there were three These three Chaṇḍīdāsa's appear to have been originally distinguished from each other by the sobriquets "Baḍu", "Dvija", and "Dīna" There was Chaṇḍidāsa No. 1 known as Ananta Baḍu Chaṇḍīdāsa, the author of *Śrī Kṛishṇa-kīrttana*, who flourished before Chaitanya, may be about A.D. 1450, or even, possibly, 1400 He was responsible for a bare two dozen only[11] of the current 1200 and odd poems ascribed to Chaṇḍīdāsa, in addition to the *Śrī-Kṛishṇa-kīrttana* itself He was a rather primitive and a pre-*Bhakti* poet in his treatment of the theme. But there is genuine poetry and lyrical quality in many of the passages in this work, which are worthy of a great poet.

Chaṇḍīdāsa No. 2 probably had the sobriquet "Dvija" Chaṇḍīdāsa, and he may have lived shortly after Chaitanya. It was he who had composed those few poems on which a good deal of Chaṇḍīdāsa's popularity as a poet now rests. In these poems Chaitanya's longing for his God (which the poet possibly witnessed) appears to have coloured deeply his portrayal of Rādhā's all-absorbing love for Krishṇa. Chaṇḍīdāsa No. 3 was probably the poet who called himself "Dīna Chaṇḍīdāsa". He was rather a pedestrian poet, and was the author of more than eight hundred of the current Chaṇḍīdāsa poems. This "Dīna Chaṇḍīdāsa" lived after A.D. 1600 There were also compositions by other unknown writers which have got into the Chaṇḍīdāsa *corpus*. The credulous public in Bengal has taken all these 1200 and odd poems in a lump as being by one Chaṇḍīdāsa and sentimentalizes over them. But "Badu Chaṇḍīdāsa" (No. 1) is certainly a great poet, and "Dvija Chaṇḍīdāsa" (No 2) is perhaps equally great. It is these two poets, whose personalities were merged into one, and a third personality was also added later on, in an uncritical age of faith, leading to the creation of a single *composite Chaṇḍīdāsa* on whom the homage of Bengal as the greatest lyric poet of Early Bengali has been concentrated during the last 80 years

The fifteenth century was a great century in Bengal in its religion and general culture and literature. The country was ruled by the Sultāns of Turkish and Afghān origin, but they had become sufficiently Bengalized to support Hindu Bengali literature and to employ the Hindus in responsible positions. One of the greatest Sultāns of Bengal was Sultān Husain Shāh (1493-1519), whose capital city was Gauḍ in Māldah District. The story of Rājā Gaṇeśa[12] shows how the nobility of Bengal had strengthened the Muslim aristocracy Sultān Husain Shāh had as his Private Secretary (*Dabīr-Khās*) and as his intimate minister (*Sāghir Malik*) two Bengali Brahmans, the brothers Rūpa and Sanātana, who were well versed in Persian and in Sanskrit Later on they became devoted followers of Chaitanya and finally settled in Vrindāvana to organize from there the Vaishṇava Church of Bengal Husain Shāh was also an active patron of Bengali literature, and Parāgal Khān and Chuṭi Khān, governors of Chittagong under Sultān Husain Shāh and his son Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn Nasrat Shāh, had the *Mahābhārata* rendered into Bengali verse, first by a poet called Kavīndra, whose very brief version of the *Mahābhārata* was known as the *Pāṇḍava-Vijaya* (or *Vijaya-Pāṇḍava*)-*kathā*, and secondly by Śrīkara Nandī. From the early fifteenth century, the tradition of telling in Bengali the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* stories and the stories relating to Krishṇa continued down to the nineteenth century.

The Sanskrit scholars in Bengal were active during the fifteenth century, and an all-round cultural renaissance started from the end of the century. When Chaitanya came to preach the *Bhakti* cult through the figure of Kṛishṇa, the Purāṇas, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were eagerly studied, renowned jurists like Smārta Raghunandana Bhaṭṭāchārya, logicians like Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, and poets like Chaturbhuja Miśra (the author of the *Haricharita*, a *kāvya* in Sanskrit on the story of Kṛishṇa) came to the field to strengthen the tradition of Sanskrit scholarship in Bengal. Social organizers like Devīvara Ghaṭaka established a set of social usages in matters of marriage among the Brahmans which for the time being helped to keep the society intact against the onslaught of Islām. Colleges of Sanskrit learning sprang up everywhere, particularly at Navadvīpa, in Nadiā district, in Vishnupur in Bānkurā district (even in Muslim times the centre of a strong Hindu principality), in many a Brahman village along the Bhāgīrathī or Hooghly river, in Vikrampur in Dacca district, in Rājshāhi and Māldah in North Bengal, in Mymensingh, in Chittagong, and at places in Faridpur (like Koṭālipārā), in fact, almost wherever there were Brahmans and Hindus. Contacts with centres of Sanskrit learning and Hindu culture like Mithilā, Orissa, Gayā, Banaras and Vṛindāvana were also established

Chaitanya, who flourished from 1486 to 1533, rode at the crest of the wave of the fifteenth century Brahmanical renaissance, and gave a new turn to Hinduism in Bengal through a reviving Vaishṇavism with Kṛishṇa and Rādhā as symbols for the Divinity and its innate power of Bliss (*Hlādinī Śakti*). The personality of Chaitanya is looked upon by many Bengalis as the greatest fact of Bengal's cultural and spiritual life in late medieval times. Certainly, through his advent there came an unprecedented impetus to the intellect and spirit of Bengal. His influence on his followers and devotees, from king to beggar, from Brahman to outcast and to Muslim, was something unsurpassed During his lifetime, his followers took him as a perfect incarnation of the Deity, particularly in its aspect of Rādhā as its power of Bliss. Chaitanya was a great scholar, but he was also God-intoxicated He left only eight Sanskrit verses and an eight-stanza hymn to Jagannātha or Vishṇu But what he is supposed to have taught is elaborated by the later Gauḍīya or Bengali Vaishṇava philosophy in the sixteenth and the two following centuries. Chaitanya lived his early life in Bengal, went on pilgrimage to the extreme South of India from where he brought some Sanskrit works, returned to North India by way of Western India (Marāṭhā country), spent some time in Vṛindāvana and Bana-

ras, and passed his last years at Puri in Orissa. He was thus an all-India figure, and he had the King of Orissa, Pratāparudra-deva, as one of his devoted disciples.

With Chaitanya's advent and after his death, a number of biographies, introducing a new *genre* in Bengali literature, were written in Bengal, relating both to Chaitanya and his followers. But these belong to the next period of the history of India

9. *Brajabulī*

During the sixteenth century, a form of an artificial literary language became established in Bengal as well as in Assam and, to some extent, in Orissa It was the *Brajabulī* dialect and we may consider it to be the result of a direct influence of Maithilī lyric poetry on the literature of Bengal. *Brajabulī* is practically the Maithilī speech as current in Mithilā, modified in its forms to look like Bengali, and at the same time influenced by reminiscences of the old Apabhramśa and Avahaṭṭha traditions in Indian literature. The earliest *Brajabulī* poem that we know of in Bengali literature is ascribed to Rāmānanda Rāya, a disciple of Chaitanya in Orissa, and it goes back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The story of *Brajabulī* in Assam is given later.

10. *Maithilī*

The literary use of Maithilī would appear to have started in the same period as Bengali According to tradition, Umāpatidhara, a poet of the 12th-13th centuries, composed the *Pārijāta-harana*, a small drama in Sanskrit, in which the songs are in Maithilī; but the authenticity and authorship of this work have been called into question The earliest Maithilī work that we have is the *Varṇa-ratnākara*[11] of Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākura, which was written about 1325. This is a work of set descriptions of various subjects and situations, to supply ready-made *cliché* passages to story-tellers and Purāṇa-reciters in the vernacular The Maithilī Brahmans were great Sanskrit scholars, and at the same time they did not neglect their mother-tongue The *Varna-ratnākara* is important, not only because it gives us specimens of pure Maithilī prose of the early fourteenth century, but also because it is a store-house of information, conveyed through words, about the life and culture of early Medieval India in all their aspects Jyotirīśvara Thākura was also a great Sanskrit writer, and a Sanskrit farce and a treatise on erotics by him are well known After Jyotirīśvara, Maithilī has for some decades no other specimen of literature worth mentioning. But a great poet one of the greatest lyric poets of North India, came into being in

Mithilā in the fifteenth century. He was Vidyāpati Ṭhākura, and although his *floruit* is not certain, he is believed to have lived between 1350 and 1450. He was an educated Brahman who composed several works in Sanskrit also, and some of these Sanskrit works like the *Purusha-parikshā* was very popular in North India. He wrote a historical poem, the *Kīrttilatā*, in a dialect which he calls Avahaṭṭha, describing an episode in the life of one of the Hindu kings of Mithilā, who was one of his patrons. The *Kīrttilatā*,[14] which is a narrative poem with vivid descriptions of a town like Jaunpur, is composed mainly in a late form of Western Apabhraṁśa with vernacular influences, and this is known as the Avahaṭṭha speech In some cases the Avahaṭṭha is mixed with pure Maithilī.

The lyrics of Vidyāpati, treating the great theme of the love of Rādhā and Krishṇa, constitute an important landmark in the literature of Maithilī, and are the glory of Early Maithilī literature composed largely within the period before 1526. These Rādhā-Krishṇa poems of Vidyāpati took by storm the heart of Bengal also, and they were largely imitated by Bengali poets; and in their hands, as said before, the Brajabulī language developed as a half-way house between Bengali and Maithilī Vidyāpati's poems are not generally mystic or spiritual, but they give a very charming account of love, in the ordinary sense of the term He has also to his credit a number of poems relating to Śiva and Devī which are still sung in Mithilā The popularity of his love poems which were connected with Rādhā and Krishṇa has gradually established him in the imagination of the Bengal Vaishṇavas as a great Vaishṇava devotee and saint—a *Mahājana;* but for this there is no evidence.

11 *Assamese*

Assamese is spoken along the valley of the Brahmaputra river Numerically, Assamese is not important, but its literary output is quite respectable, showing the high culture of its speakers Assamese is very like Bengali, and Early Assamese and Early Bengali at one time converged into one speech. The *Charyāpadas* of Old Bengali have also been claimed for Old Assamese.

The oldest Assamese writer seems to have been Hema Sarasvatī of late thirteenth century He lived in the court of the king of Kāmatā to the west of Assam State.[14a] His *Prahlāda-charita*, based on the Sanskrit *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, shows a finished Sanskritized style for Assamese. Hema Sarasvatī was followed in the court of the king of Kāmatāpur by two poets, Harihara Vipra and Kaviratna Sarasvatī, who rendered into Assamese verse episodes from the *Mahābhārata* (early fourteenth century).

Kavirāja Mādhava Kandali (fourteenth century) is the first great poet of Assamese. He flourished at the court of the king of Cachār in Eastern Assam. His work consists of a version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and a narrative poem, *Devajit*, on Kṛishṇa as the Supreme Divinity. Mādhava wrote in a very simple form of Assamese, not too Sanskritized, and quite racy of the soil. He anticipated the later Vaishṇava renaissance in Assam in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

Among the poets of the fifteenth century were Durgāvara, who re-told the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in songs (the *Gīta-Rāmāyaṇa*), and the poets Pītāmbara and Mānakara, who composed a large number of love songs centring respectively round the stories of Ushā and Aniruddha of the Purāṇa (the *Ushā-Pariṇaya* by Pītāmbara) and of Bihulā and Lakshmīndhara (*Bihulā-Lakhindhara*) of Mānakara Quite a mass of literature known as the *Mantras* or Magical Charms, of unknown authorship, is found in Assamese, and all these may go back to the period before 1500. These *Mantras* contained magical formulae against snake-bite, against ghosts and demons, against various kinds of diseases, and against thieves and evil-doers.

The greatest period of Assamese literature was ushered in with the *Bhakti* movement inaugurated by the great Śaṅkaradeva, the Vaishṇava religious reformer, saint and poet, who is said to have lived, like Kabīr, for 119 years (from 1449 to 1568). The movement he started was of course the provincial Assamese form of a pan-Indian *Bhakti* movement, which thoroughly changed the face of Hindu society in Assam In that province, Śāktism or worship of the Mother Goddess, which might have been largely derived from the pre-Aryan Mongoloid peoples of Assam, appears to have been the dominant religion before the advent of Śaṅkaradeva It had bloody sacrifices as an essential part of its ritual, hecatombs of goats, sheep, buffaloes, pigeons, and occasionally of human beings being the rule The Great Mother was more dreaded than loved, and priest-craft, magic and Tāntric practices distracted the people's faith. Śāṅkaradeva, who belonged to the Kalitā or a high non-Brahman caste, virtually changed the religious outlook of the Assamese people He preached absolute faith in a God of Love, Vishṇu or his incarnation Kṛishṇa, and his doctrine was known as the *Eka-śaraṇa-dharma*, or the "Religion of seeking refuge in One" Prayer and praise, apart from simple Bahmanical worship with flowers and harmless offerings, were taught by him as the best form of devotional exercise. Śaṅkaradeva's ideas spread over the whole of Assam, and for this new faith he and his followers started to create the necessary literature in the language of the people. Late in life

he received a great deal of support from the powerful Koch king of Western Assam and Northern Bengal, a prince of whose family took a daughter of Śaṅkaradeva's house to wife. Śaṅkaradeva's hymns and other works formed the basis of evening prayers and evening service in all the villages of Assam, where the people gathered in the communal *Nām-ghar* or "The House of Praise" for communal worship through song and chant and reading Among the more important works which Śaṅkaradeva composed were the following (he composed some 27 works in all) (1) the last canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa* ;(2) some portions of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; (3) *Kīrttana-ghoshā*—probably his greatest work (this book gives in 30 poems, comprising about 2398 verses, some episodes from the story of Vishṇu or Kṛishṇa and of their devotees, the poems are romance, parables and didactic literature, as well as song, all in one, and are greatly popular with the Assamese people); (4) *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa*, a narrative poem depicting an episode of the life of Kṛishṇa in a charming style (this poem is also popular, quotations from it being current in the language like proverbs); (5) The *Bhakti-pradīpa*, a devotional work; and (6) the *Nimi-nava-siddha-saṁvāda*.

Śaṅkaradeva also wrote a number of dramas, based on stories from the Purāṇas, known as *Ankiyā Nāṭ* (One-act Plays). These dramas show Maithilī influence; the prose and verse portions are not in pure Assamese, but in a mixture of Maithilī and Assamese, or are in an artificial or composite Assamese-Maithilī literary dialect, like the Brajabulī of Bengal; and in Assam this speech is known as *Brajāvali* Like the miracle-plays of medieval Christendom, these plays helped to popularize the stories of the Purāṇas, and they are performed even now in the villages. The best known of these are the *Rāma-vijaya*, the *Kāliya-damana*, the *Pārijāta-harana*, the *Rukmiṇī-harana* and the *Patnī-prasāda* Another new kind of poetry which Śaṅkaradeva introduced into Assamese was the *Bar-gīt* (*Vara-gīta*), devotional poems, sometimes ecstatic in an *abandon* of faith, sometimes contemplative and reflective, at times exhortatory and seeking to create a distaste for the world and the flesh by inculcating love for God. These poems are immensely popular, being frequently sung at the present day. There are other works by Śaṅkaradeva which are very popular, but it is not necessary to describe them all in detail

The next great poet of Early Assamese was Mādhavadāsa (1489-1596), a disciple of Śaṅkaradeva His literary output was more or less on the lines of that of his master. But we need not discuss his works as mostly they fall within the period after 1526 Following Mādhavadāsa was Rāma Sarasvatī, another poet in the same line.

A word may be said about Assamese historical literature,—the *Buranjis*. This the Assamese language took over from the Sino-Tibetan Ahom speech, and the Ahom conquerors of Assam, who established their rule in Eastern Assam in the thirteenth century,[15] appear to have had a good sense of history, and encouraged the writing of histories in their own language. The word *Buranji* is Ahom (Thai) in origin. But we cannot take up the study of this question as well as of Assamese prose, because these *Buranjis* came to be written in Assamese only from the seventeenth century onwards.

12 *Oriyā*

Bengali, Oriyā and Assamese are sister-languages, and they have a very great resemblance with each other Only during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Oriyā fell tremendously under the spell of Sanskrit, and followed its own peculiar line of development, with greater and greater Sanskritization in the subsequent centuries The oldest specimens of Oriyā are found in some inscriptions, three of these being dated A.D 990, 1036 and 1249. The last is very important, as we have in it a number of connected lines in Old Oriyā Some Oriyā scholars, like those of Assam, regard the speech of the *Charyāpadas* to be the oldest form of their language. The Maithils have also made the same claim.

Orissa had virtually the same script as Bengal, Assam and Bihar, to start with, but in recent centuries this script has changed considerably, and acquired a different and characteristic form of its own

The history of Oriyā literatue may be divided into the following periods·

(1) Old Oriyā, to A.D. 1300

(2) Early Middle-Oriyā, from A D 1300 to 1500.

Then we have Middle Middle-Oriyā, and Late Middle-Oriyā, bringing the history of the literature to 1850, and finally we have the Modern Oriyā, after 1850

During the Old Oriyā period, apart from the inscriptions mentioned above we have the following works, and writings

The beginnings of the *Mādalā-Pāñjī*, or the palm-leaf chronicles of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, go back to the 12th century,[16] showing the very early use of prose in literary compositions The authenticity of the oldest fragments so far available, however, has to be established. In the fourteenth century we have a poem, by Vatsadāsa (Bachhādāsa), the *Kalasa-chautisā* in 34 verses, the words in each verse beginning with a consonant letter as in the arrange-

ment of the Oriyā alphabet. This deals with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī—a work in poetic prose. *Rudra-sudhā-nidhi*, a romance with a religious (Yoga-Vedānta-Tantra) purpose, was composed in the fourteenth century by Nārāyaṇānanda Avadhūta Svāmī. Another important poet of the fourteenth century is Sāralādāsa, who may be described as the first great poet of Orissa. He wrote the *Chaṇḍī Purāṇa* and the *Vilaṅkā Rāmāyaṇa*, both extolling the Goddess Durgā, and gave a brief version of the *Mahābhārata* in 700 verses, in which he omitted certain portions of the story and brought in a number of new stories and modifications The language appears modern—but Oriyā has not changed much in the course of the last seven or eight centuries. In the fourteenth century, we find also evidence of a sort of early renaissance of *Vaishṇava Bhakti* in Oriyā literature Mārkaṇḍadāsa composed his *Mahābhāshya* dealing with the Rāma story, and the *Keśava-koili*, a poem of 34 verses describing the grief of Yaśodā, foster-mother of Krishṇa, at the latter's departure from Vṛindāvana to Mathurā. This poem is got by heart by most Oriyā people at the present day.

Arjunadāsa (early fifteenth century) wrote the *Rāma-bibhā* or "the Marriage of Rāma", the first long poem in Oriyā. It is really a collection of lyrics on the sentiments of love, with some comic interludes Other poets of the fifteenth century were Nīlāmbaradāsa (he translated the *Jaimini Mahābhārata* and the *Padma Purāṇa*), Mahādevadāsa, Govindabhañja and Dāmodaradāsa.

Next we have the period of Jagannāthadāsa (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries). It begins with the advent of Chaitanya from Bengal into Orissa for the first time in 1510. The king of Orissa (Orissa was at that time a great empire, extending from the frontiers of Bengal in the north to the Tamil country in the south and the Vijayanagara and Bahmanī kingdoms on the west), Pratāparudradeva, accepted Chaitanya as his spiritual teacher, and a new period of Vaishnava revival brought in a new development of Oriyā literature. In Orissa, Chaitanya came to have a number of intimate disciples and friends—e g Rāya Rāmānanda Dāsa who followed pure *Bhakti*, and also the five religious teachers and poets who followed *Bhakti* with *Jñāna*, namely Balarāmadāsa, Jagannāthadāsa, Yaśovanta, Ananta and Achyutānanda. Most of these writers had already been engaged in their literary labours before they met Chaitanya. Balarāmadāsa made a rendering in Oriyā verse of the *Rāmāyana* (c. A D. 1500), with matter incorporated from the various Purāṇa sources, which is universally popular He wrote other books like a rendering of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and the *Vedānta-sāra*, and books like the *Gupta-vārtā*, *Bhāva-samudra* or "the Ocean of Emotion",

and the *Brahmāṇḍa-bhūgola*. Jagannāthadāsa was a close friend of Chaitanya, who gave him the sobriquet of *Ati-baḍa* or "Supremely Great", because of his saintly character. He translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* which is perhaps the most popular book in the Oriyā language. It is read every day in all Oriyā villages in the *Bhāgavata-ghara* or Public Prayer House for reading the *Bhāgavata* and singing or chanting prayers. Jagannāthadāsa introduced edifying stories from other sources into his *Bhāgavata*, and used a simple and easily read metre of nine syllables for his great work. He has largely been responsible for elevating the moral qualities of the Oriyā people through this work, and a general eagerness to be able to read it has helped the cause of literacy in many parts of Orissa. Jagannāthadāsa composed a large number of other works in both Oriyā and Sanskrit The other four associates of Jagannāthadāsa were similarly responsible for a large number of religious works in Oriyā, and it is not necessary to enumerate them. Achyutānandadāsa is credited with the composition of one thousand works [17]

C. DRAVIDIAN

I TAMIL

As the condition of South India was a good deal unsettled during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, literature in the Tamil country was rather in a bad way and the spurts of literary activity were spasmodic, uncertain and unequal No single dominating figure like Kamban adorns this epoch. None the less, this epoch has made its own characteristic contribution to Tamil literature and it has given us a few literary masterpieces, a good number of impromptu verses, and the echo of many faded old controversies

Villiputtūrar. What Kamban did to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, Villiputtūrar sought to do in respect of the *Mahābhārata*—to bring it within the reach of the Tamil people Diwan Bahadur V. Krishnamachariar thinks that Villiputtūrar must have flourished in the thirteenth century [1] But a somewhat later date is more probable Villiputtūrar, being a Vaishnava, was fascinated by the personality of the divine human Krishṇa. He seems to have composed the Tamil *Bhāratam* on the suggestion of his royal patron, Ālkondān, the Chera king. Although according to tradition, there were 6,000 verses in Villiputtūrar's version, the poem, as it has come down to us, is incomplete and consists of only 4,351 verses The latter portion has been done into Tamil by Ranganātha Kavirāyar, and we have thus the whole of the *Bhāratam* in Tamil verse.

Villiputtūrar was well versed in Sanskrit, and used Sanskrit expressions freely in his version. He had before him, not only the *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa, but also the shorter *Bālabhārata* of Agastya Paṇḍita and other versions of the great epic in the various Purāṇas. But it seems to be clear nevertheless that, "he had mainly in view the original *Mahābhārata*, obviously through the southern recension of the epic."[2]

Villiputtūrar's *Bhāratam* is among the most popular poems in Tamil. The section devoted to Kṛishṇa's embassy to the Kuru chief is justly famous and is even today repeated with fervour in the nooks and corners of the Tamil country In description, characterization, dramatic vividness and verbal suppleness, the Tamil *Bhāratam* is quite the equal of the Telugu version of Nanniah and Tikkanna and the Kannaḍa version of Kumāra Vyāsa It is not surprising, therefore, that Villiputtūrar is reckoned as one of the latter-day "Ālvārs" and venerated as such by the South Indian Vaishṇavas.

Aruṇagiri was in all likelihood Villiputtūrar's contemporary Tradition makes Aruṇagiri and Villiputtūrar the protagonists of a thrilling religious controversy Be that as it may, Aruṇagiri was a god-intoxicated singer, whose *Tiruppugazh* is one of the perennially fascinating items in the repertory of Tamil devotional music Aruṇagiri lived and laved in the glory of Muruga or God Subramanya, who is his one inexhaustible theme in poetry and song. One verse from Arunagiri is here given for a sample, in Mr J M Nallaswami Pillai's rendering:

"O! Thou lover of the well adorned Devasenā,
O Muruga! With Thy kindly grace
The claims of desire are sundered in twain,
And lo! that unspeakable joy was born"[3]

Shorn of the music, however, and especially in the alien English garb, *Tiruppugazh* inevitably loses much of its magic and spiritual potency

Śivāchāriar· One writer, who stands rather apart, is Kachiappa Śivāchāriar, a Brahman of Conjeevaram He was extraordinarily proficient in Tamil, no less than in Sanskrit, and his versatility was amazing He composed the *Kanda-purānam*, an elaborate work on the feats of God Subramanya The work has maintained its place in the affections of Tamil Śaivites, and is held in special veneration by the Tamil people of North Ceylon (Jaffna) It is a people's handbook of the philosophy of religion, although it is quite easy to look upon it primarily as a supernatural romantic epic with Subramanya and Valli for hero and heroine, and Sūra for the villain who ulti-

mately transcends his villainy and attains *mukti*. Sūra-saṁhāra or the destruction of Sūra at the hands of Subramanya is one of the festivals in South India, and indeed *Kanda-purāṇam*, notwithstanding its many incredible stories, remains an important constituent of the popular culture of the Tamil people.

Kālamekam: The most entertaining figure in Tamil literature, Kālamekam, whose original name was Varadar, occupies a position in Tamil analogous to that of a Lewis Corroll or an Edward Lear in English. Kālamekam lived a wild, unconventional and adventurous life, mixing freely, it would appear, with potentates and prostitutes alike. His metrical facility and verbal fluency were astounding, while his quickness of perception and innate sense of the ludicrous gave his impromptu verses an irresistible flavour and piquancy. His encounter with Adimadurakavi, the court poet, was on all accounts a thrilling affair Pride and conceit collided against greater pride and more justifiable conceit, and extempore verses rained from Kālamekam's lips as pour torrents of rain from heavy-laden clouds. Uncannily quick-witted, audacious, verbally supple, keen-eyed to spot out the ludicrous and the droll, Kālamekam appealed to his audiences at once, and threw his hearers into bouts of laughter Matched against him, poor Adimadurakavi was like a heavy club pitted against a shining blinding rapier. Kālamekam is reported to have made the boast that within a mere trice he could roll out a thousand verses, like a downpour from a heavy massive cloud Making due allowance for poetic exaggeration, Kālamekam seems to have been nearly as goood as his word Of god, man and beast, of Kamban and Timmi, the Telugu courtezan and Rāmayyan's horse, of impossible people and incredible similitudes,—Kālamekam sang of them all with equal nonchalance and always with striking effect Although he wrote some serious poems also, he is remembered mainly in the context of the many episodes which quickened him to bright or biting song Two other poetic personalities, who were probably Kālamekam's later contemporaries, were the weaver twins—the Irattayar—one of whom was blind, and the other lame. They lived by begging, the blind carrying the lame on his shoulders Both gifted with a turn for poetry, they put it to good account. As one began a verse, the other completed it with singular aptness Their joint sustained work is a poem by name *Ekāmbaranāthar Ulā*

Other poets. Veṅkaṭanātha (Vedāntadeśika), greatest among Rāmānuja's successors, was a versatile scholar and writer. His major contributions were to Sanskrit literature, but he wrote his classic treatise, the *Rahasyatrayasāra*, in a mixture of Tamil and

Sanskrit known as *manipravāla*. Besides he composed a number of Tamil songs, mainly of a devotional nature, and these are collectively known as the *Deśika-prabandham* and are held in reverence by the South Indian Vaishṇavites. Poyyāmoli Pulavar, Vīrakkavirayar, Nirambalakia Desikar and Tolkāppia Thevar were among the other well-known poets or poetic persons of the time.

II. KANNAḌA

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were essentially a period of transition in religion as well as literature. The Jain writers were losing ground, the Vīraśaiva writers maintained their position of vantage, and the Vaishṇava writers were registering their first title-deeds. The Age of Basava and Prabhudeva was left behind; the Age of Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa was yet to begin. In the meantime, there was much significant activity in the realm of Kannaḍa letters

As in the previous centuries, the Jain-Purāṇas continued to appear at odd intervals Thus Madhura wrote a Purāṇa on the life of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tīrthaṅkara, while a century later Maṅgarāsa and Śāntikīrti wrote Purānas on the lives of Nemi-Jineśa and Sāntinātha, the twenty-second and sixteenth Tīrthaṅkaras respectively Besides, the life-story of Jīvandhara, a pious Jain king, was made the theme of no less than three poems in *shaṭpadi* metre, the authors being Bhāskara, Bommarasa and Koteśvara.

The *Basava-purāṇa*[1] now started a parallel tradition in hagiology in Vīraśaiva literature. Bhīma Kavi, the author of the *Basava-purāṇa*, seems to have made use of a Telugu work of that name Completed in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the *Basava-purāṇa* was popular from the very beginning and has exerted great influence on subsequent Vīraśaiva writers The *Basava-purāṇa* is true to type, mixing as it does an ounce of fact with a pound of fanciful imagination, and numerous are the miracles attributed to Basava. True faith can lift mountains, and the genuine *Śiva-bhakta* has nothing to fear in this world While some of the episodes may raise a smile, the general ethical purport of the *Basava-purāṇa* is beyond question On being charged with misappropriation by his king, Bijjala, Basava is made to answer

"Will *hamsa*-swan, that's free to drink
Of the boundless Sea of Milk,
Seek salt-sea water for its thirst?
O Bijjala, bethink!
Or will the lion feed on herbs?

Will parrot throw away
The mango's luscious fruit, to eat
Insipid jungle-nut?
When these things hap, then may'st thou think
The *Śiva-bhakta* too
May cast his heaven-born treasure down
To steal man's petty gold."[2]

The poem abounds in such asseverations, and also anecdotes to illustrate and justify them. It served as a model to Shadakshara-deva's *Vṛishabhendra-vijaya*, nearly three hundred years later.

Another Vīraśaiva-Purāṇa, the *Prabhulinga-līle*, centres round the life of Allama Prabhu, who was Basava's contemporary and president of the Anubhava Maṇṭapa that Basava established to propagate the Vīraśaiva religion and philosophy. Chāmarasa, the author of the *Prabhulinga-līle*, is said to have composed this poem of 25 chapters and 1,111 verses in the course of only eleven days. Chāmarasa was patronized by the Vijayanagara king, (Prauḍha) Devarāya II As Chāmarasa is described as the brother-in-law of Naranappa (Kumāra Vyāsa), who was a Brahman, it is likely that Chāmarasa wrote the *Prabhulinga-līle* with the enthusiasm of a new convert Of this work Mr C P. Brown writes: "It is an allegorical poem of considerable beauty, and is particularly attractive from the pleasing manner in which it describes the female sex. It is not only amusing but is written with such delicacy that any Hindu female might read it with gratification". The *Prabhulinga-līle* has been translated into Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit and Marāṭhī.

As the Vīraśaivas held in great veneration the sixty-three *purātanas*—that is, the Tamil Śaivāchāryas, Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar, Kannappar and the rest, sixty-three in all—poems about them also appeared in Kannada The most famous of these is Nijaguna Śivayogi's *Aruvattu-Muvara-tripadi*, being an account of the sixty-three Tamil Śaiva saints This work was composed towards the close of the fifteenth century Other Purāṇas composed during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries include the *Padmarāja-purāna* (based on the life of one of Basava's contemporaries, Kereya Padmarasa), the *Revana-siddheśvara-kāvya* of Mallanna, and the *Arādhya-charita* (on the life of Panditārādhya) by Mallikārjuna Kavi.

The Vīraśaiva writers composed also a number of doctrinal works during this period, especially during the fifteenth century. We may here mention in particular Mahālingadeva's *Ekottaraśatas-thala*, Lakkanna Dandesa's *Śivatattva-chintāmaṇi*, Jakkanārya's *Nūrondu-sthala*, Tontada Siddhalinga's *Shaṭsthala-jñānāmritasāra*,

Nijaguna Sivayogi's *Anubhavasāra* and Gubbiya Mallanārya's *Bhāvachintāratna.*

Vaishṇava Literature: The Vaishṇava revival in South India began at the time of the Āḻvārs. The work of the Āḻvārs was continued by Āchāryas like Nāthamuni, Yāmuna, Rāmānuja, Madhva and Veṅkaṭanātha. As in the Telugu country, so also in Karṇāṭaka, one important cause of the spread of the Vaishṇava movement was the appearance of vernacular translations of Sanskrit classics like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Bhāgavata.* Nāranappa (Kumāra Vyāsa), who has been referred to above, composed about the middle of the fifteenth century a Kannaḍa version of the *Mahābhārata*, popularly called the *Gadugina-Bhārata* Of this work, Mr D. V. Gundappa writes:

"This is perhaps the grandest poem in the language...... For vastness of conception, for vividness of portraiture, for the variegated splendours of a colossal and complex drama, for the sweep of imagination that can reproduce for us the varying notes mixed in a mighty clash of human forces—avarice, indignation, pity, melancholy, love, hate, scorn, irony, desperation, terror, heroism, nobility, envy, meanness, magnanimity, faith, hope—, for a sustained spiritual idealism and a kindly and manful attitude towards life, as well as for naturalness and freedom and vigour of style, this work stands supreme"

Kumāra Vyāsa completed only the first ten *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata*, and the remaining ones were done into Kannaḍa in the opening years of Kṛishnadeva Rāya's reign by Timmanna Translations of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Bhāgavata*, too, appeared in due course. Narahari (Kumāra Vālmiki) completed his *Torave Rāmāyaṇa* about the end of the fifteenth century, and Chāttu Viṭhalanātha completed his Kannaḍa *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* not long afterwards, but neither reaches the level of inspired excellence that is so natural to Kumāra Vyāsa[3]

III. TELUGU

The fourteenth century of the Christian era saw the downfall of the Kākatīya empire and the rise of a number of small principalities like that of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīdu Errapragada, one of the trio of the *Mahābhārata* poets, mentioned above[1], was the court poet of Prolaya Vema, the earliest of the Reḍḍi kings, who ruled over Koṇḍavīḍu in the first half of the fourteenth century A D Errapragada's first work was *Rāmāyaṇa* in Champū form dedicated to Malla Reḍḍi, the brother of Prolaya Vema. But it is now lost After translating the portion of Āraṇyakaparva of the *Mahābhārata*,

left over by Nannıah,[2] he translated the *Harıvaṁśa* into Telugu, as it formed a sequel to the *Mahābhārata*, and dedicated it to Prolaya Vema Reḍḍi. He had a very great respect for the two early *Mahābhārata* poets and tried to imitate them in every respect. He earned the title of *Prabandhaparameśvara* because of the Prabandha characteristics and the descriptive element which he has displayed in his last work, the *Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa*. Nāchana Somanādha was a junior contemporary of Errapragada, and happens to be his great rival. He was a great scholar and called himself *"Sāhitya-rasa-poshaṇa"* in his translation of *Uttara-Harivaṁśa*, which he took up again to show by contrast that his method of dealing with it would be more artistic and attractive than that of Errapragada. He took only some select portions of *Uttara-Harivaṁśa* in his work, and by his artistic descriptions, lively conversations, and beautiful imagery, converted the Puranic story into a work of art, leading the way for the Prabandha of a later age. He was a close follower of Tikkana and like him he dedicated his work to the God Hariharanādha, and contributed his mite to establish the Brahmanic faith and Dharmā-dvaita in his country

The next 150 years (A.D 1350-1500) may be said to be the age of Śrīnātha, since he happened to be the dominating personality in the literary field during that time. He belonged to the latter half of the fourteenth and the earlier half of the fifteenth century and had connections with various chiefs and ruling kings of his age. He was originally connected with the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, acting as an educational minister of Peda Komaṭi Vema Reḍḍi. After the fall of the kingdom of Kondavīdu he went round the country, visited various *darbārs* of kings, took part in literary and poetic contests, and had the unique honour of *Kanakābhisheka* at the hands of Devarāya II of Vijayanagara in his court. He began writing poetry in his early age and was already a master of his art in his early youth. His first work, and the first work of its kind in Telugu, was the translation of *Sālivāhana Saptasati* from Prakrit to Telugu; it is considered by many as a significant service to Telugu, though it is unfortunately not available now He also translated the *Naishadha-charita* of Śrīharsha into Telugu, which was generally considered a hard nut to crack. He had greater leanings towards Śaivism, and translated *Bhimeśvara-purāṇam* and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, dealing with the *kshetras* or holy places connected with Śaiva worship. His *Haravilāsa* deals with the various stories connected with Śiva. In his *Palnati-Vīracharitra*, Śrīnātha has stepped out of the field of classical poetry, and has trodden into the field of historical romance. The story deals with the quarrels leading to a war among the local chiefs of Palnāḍu, and it

was told in the appropriate *deśī* metre of racy *dvipada*. Śrīnātha was a poet of unrivalled scholarship and had a great love for his country He has not only described the various *kshetras* of the Telugu country with great devotion and enthusiasm, but also depicted the life and manners of the various parts of the country with a humorous touch all his own, in his *Vidhinātaka*. Though he was greatly honoured by kings and dined with them in plates of gold, he had to lead a life of penury in the latter part of his life, as his fortunes also changed with the fortunes of the kings whom he served. Śrīnātha is considered as an epoch-maker in the history of Telugu literature, who led the way for the period of classical Prabandha in Telugu.

Potana, another outstanding poet, was a great contrast to Śrīnātha, both in the way of his life, as well as in his treatment of poetry. He was a self-made man and had a natural instinct for poetry. He was content to lead a simple life of a cultivator away from the bustle of kings and courts. He translated the *Bhāgavata* into Telugu and chose to dedicate it to Śrī Rāma, the human incarnation of God, whom he worshipped with unfailing devotion. This *Bhāgavata* is one of the most popular works in Telugu literature, both on account of the liveliness of his narration and poetic diction, and of its powerful appeal in rousing the sentiment of *Bhakti* or devotion.

Another great poet, almost as great as Potana in the opinion of some, was his contemporary Pinavīrabhadra, author of the *Sṛiṅgāra-Śakuntalā,* and the *Jaimini-Bhārata.*

A number of works, dealing with the stories connected with the exploits or deeds of great personages of old, were produced during this period Jakkana's *Vikramārkacharita* deals with the stories connected with the King Vikrama *Bhojarājīya* of Anantāmātya deals with the stories of the King Bhoja *Navanādhacharitra* of Gaurana describes the exploits of the Nine Nādhas or Śaiva saints, and *Śivalīlāvilāsa* of Nissanka Kommana deals with the various *līlās* or sportive stories connected with Śiva Gaurana has adopted *dvipada* metre in his *Navanādhacharitra,* and the *Hariśchandropākhyāna,* which is his other work, was also written in *dvipada* metre. During the latter half of the fifteenth century, stories dealing with *Kshetramāhātmya* seem to have attracted the attention of a good number of poets in Telugu The *Rukmāṅgadacharitra* of Mallana, the *Śrīraṅgamāhātmya* of Bhirava Kavi and the *Kāñchīpuramāhātmya* of Daggupalli Duggana may be cited as examples. Vennelakanti Sūranna translated the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and the *Varāha Purāṇa* was translated by the two poets, Nandi Mallaya and Ghanta Singaya, who are also responsible for the rendering of the Sanskrit

drama *Prabodhachandrodaya* into Telugu in the form of a Prabandha. The *Upanishadic* story of Nachiketas was developed in Telugu by Daggupalli Duggana in a work called the *Nāsiketūpākhyāna*. The Vaishṇavite influence in Telugu literature began to be felt during this period in the works of Tāḷḷapāka Annamāchāryulu and his family, who composed thousands of songs or Saṅkīrtanas on the Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara. Various other works in *dvipada* and other *deśī* metres, were also written by them.

Thus though the translation of the Purāṇas and the Purāṇa-Khaṇḍas was going on as before, *Kāvyas*, short stories, *māhātmyas* and scientific works also supplied the topics for the poets during this period. All these seem to have marked the gradual transition of the Telugu poetry from the Purāṇa to Prabandha, and have helped to usher in the classical period of Prabandha, which is also called the golden age of Telugu literature, during the memorable reign of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya. This will be discussed in the next volume.

IV. MALAYALAM LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Malayālam is today spoken by over ten million South Indians, largely concentrated in the State of Kerala and adjoining areas. It is the fourth of the Dravidian family of languages to attain maturity and chalk out a path for itself. As *malai* means 'mountain', the word 'Malayālam' obviously refers to either the people or the language or the government of the mountainous region. Till about a thousand years ago, Tamil was the language spoken in this region, doubtless with local variations It is said that Malayālam as a distinct language is not referred to in Tamil literature before the fifteenth century.[1] On the other hand, the *Rāma-charitam*, which was composed in the fourteenth century, may be said to have inaugurated Malayālam literature just as Nanniah's *Mahābhāratam* inaugurated Telugu literature The fact is that dialectical and local peculiarities had already developed and stamped themselves in floating local songs and ballads But these linguistic variations and phonetic peculiarities were at last gathered together and made to give a colouring to a sustained literary work, *Rāma-charitam*, thereby giving the new language a triumphant justification and a promising lease of life This, then, is roughly the story of Malayālam. Originally Malayālam was no more than a local dialect of Śen Tamil or Pure Tamil Political isolation, local conflicts, the impact of Christianity and Islām, the arrival of the Nambudiri Brahmans a little over a thousand years ago, all created conditions favourable to an independent development of the local dialect. The Nambudiris grafted a good deal of Sanskrit on the local dialect and influenced

its physiognomy. Popular and religious songs were composed first. Presently, the phenomenal popularity of Kamban's Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa* —it is said Kamban himself toured Kerala-deśa and recited his *Rāmāyaṇa* before huge audiences—led in course of time to a similar version in the local dialect. Little by little, Tamil recognized the separate identity of Malayālam, and by the fifteenth century, the fact of separation is openly admitted.

D. INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO ARABIC LITERATURE

Though Arabic is the language of the *Qur'ān*, yet it failed to command the same amount of popularity in this country as Persian. After the Arab conquest of Sind, Mansūra, Daybul, and Multān were the first towns that became the seats of Islamic learning. During the reign of Mas'ūd and other Ghaznavid Sultāns, Lahore became the centre of Islamic culture and learning and produced many distinguished scholars It was during the reign of the Ghūrīs that the famous Shāfi'ite savant, Fakhr-ud-dīn Muhammad bin 'Umar-ar-Rāzī (A D. 1150-1210) travelled to India [1] During the rule of the Mamlūk Sultāns of Delhi, there flourished traditionists like Hasan as-Saghānī of Lahore (d. A D. 1252), the Abbasid Ambassador to the court of Iltutmish and author of the *Mashāriqu'l-Anwari'n-Nabawiyyah* and the lexicographical work *'Udāb* [2] Great theologians and scholars like Ziyā-ud-dīn Bayānawī[3] and Qāzī Mughīs-ud-dīn[4] flourished during the reign of the Khaljīs [5]

The great saint Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā, the preceptor of Amīr Khusrav, Hasan Dihlawī, Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī and other scholars lived during the reign of 'Ālā-ud-dīn Khaljī. It was during his reign that the erudite Egyptian theologian Shams-ud-dīn came to India.

Abū Bakr Ishāq, better known as Ibn Tāj (died after A.D. 1335), was the son of Tāj-ud-dīn Abu'l-Hasan of Multān. He wrote the *Khulāsatu Jawāhiri'l-Qur'ān fī bayāni Ma'ānī Lughati'l-Furqān* and the *Jawāhiru'l-Qur'ān*[6] on Qur'ānic literature, the *Kitābu'l Hajji-wal-Manāsik*,[7] the *Khulāsat-ul-Ahkām bi Sharā'iti'l-Islām*[8] and its abridged version *Khulāsatu Khulāsati'd-dīn bi Sharā'iti'l-Imāni wa'l-Yaqin*, on *Fiqh*, and the *Zikr-uz-zikri'l-Akbar*[9] and the *Nisbatu Khirqati't-Tasawwuf*[10] on Islamic mysticism

Sirāj-ud-dīn 'Umar bin Ishāq al-Hindī (born c. A.D. 1314; died 1372) was well-known for his profundity of knowledge in scholastic theology and jurisprudence. On account of his profound knowledge in Islamic theology he was appointed Qāzī for some time at Cairo.[11] He figured as the author of several important treatises

mostly on religious topics. He wrote the *Zubdatu'l-Ahkām fī Ikhtilāfi'l-A'immati'l-A'lām*[12] and the *Sharhu'l-Mughnī*[13] a commentary on the *Mughnī* of Jalāl-ud-dīn al-Khabbāzī (d. A.D. 1292). The *Kitābu't-Tasawwuf*,[14] the *Lawā'ihu'l-Anwār*,[15] *al-Fatāwā as-Sirājiyyah*,[16] the *Sharhu'l-'Aqidati't-Tahāwiyyah*,[17] *al-Ghurratu'l Munīfah fī Tarjīhi Mazhabi Abū Hanīfah*,[18] and several others are among his productions.

Amīr Sayyid 'Alī b. Shihāb-ud-dīn bin Muhammad (A.D. 1314-1384), hailed from Hamadan. Jāmī in his *Nafahātu'l-Uns*[19] has described him as an itinerant saint well-versed in both esoteric and exoteric learning. He wrote several treatises on Qur'ānic subject, *Hadīs* and Islamic mysticism. Some of these are *Ar-Risālah fi'n-Nāsikhi wa'l Mansūkh*,[20] *as-Sab'īn fī Fadā'ili Amīril-Mu'minīn*,[21] *Mawaddatu fi'l-Qurbā*,[22] *Manāzilu's-Sālikīn*,[23] *Sharhu'l-Asmā i'l-Husna*, and *Sharhu Fusūsi'l-Hikam*.

Sayyid Muhammad, son of Sayyid Yūsuf Husaynī, better known as Gīsū-darāz (A D. 1321-1422), was one of the most popular saints in India. In 1412-13 he left for Gulbarga where he was held in great esteem by Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī and his successor Ahmad Shāh[24] The *Sharhu'r-Risālati'l-Qushayriyyah*[25] and *ar-Risalatu fī Masā'ili Ruyati'l-Bārī Ta'alā*[26] are written by him.

The Shāfi'ite savant 'Alī bin Ahmad Mahā'imī (d A D 1431) of Arab extraction wrote the *Tabsīru'r-Rahmān wa Taysīru'l-Mannān* (also known as *Tafsīr-i-Rahmānī*),[27] a commentary on the Qur'ān His *Fiqh-i Makhdūmī*[28] is on Fiqh.

Among the several works he wrote on various Sūfī themes, mention may be made of the *Mashra'u'l-Khusūs ilā Ma'āni'n-Nusūs*,[29] the *Kashfu'z-Zulamāt*, the *Istijlā'u'l-Basar*, the *Nūru'l-Azhar*, the *Ta'rību Lam'āti'l-'Irāqī* and the *Risālatu'l-Wujūd fī Sharhi Asmā'i'l Ma'būd*.

Sa'd-ud-dīn Khayrābādī (died A.D. 1477) wrote on *Fiqh* the *Sharhu Usūli'l-Bazdavī* and the *Sharhu'l-Husāmī*. The *Risālatu'l-Makkiyyah* on *tasawwuf*, and the philological works *Sharhu'l-Kāfiyah*, *Sharhu Sharhi'l-Jāmī* and the *Sharhu'l-Misbāh* are from his pen.[30]

Zayn-ud-dīn Abū Yahyā b. Alī b. Ahmad al-Ma'barī (A D. 1468-1521) wrote many books on *tasawwuf*.[31] The *Hidāyatu'l-Adhkiyā' ilā Tarīqi'l-Auliyā*, the *Murshidu't-Tullāb*, and the *Sirāju'l-Qulūb* are among his important works.

Safī-ud-dīn Muhammad, son of Abdur-Rahim al Hindi, (A.D. 1246-1315) wrote the *Nhāyatu'l-Wusūl ilā 'Ilmi'l-Usūl*[32] and the

Fā'iq fī Usūli'l-dīn on *Fiqh*. *Az-zubdān fi 'Ilmi'l-Kalām*[33] on scholastic theology is another work by him.

Qāzī Shihāb-ud-dīn, entitled a 'Maliku'l-Ulama',[34] (died *c.* A.D. 1445), son of Shams-ud-dīn, was born at Daultābād in the Deccan. After completing his studies at Delhi he went to Jaunpur where he was well received by Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī. He was a distinguished writer. On grammar he wrote *al-Irshād*[35] and the *Sharhul'-Hindī*[36], a commentary on the *Kāfiyah*. His *Musaddiqu'l-Fazl* is a copious commentary on Ka'b bin Zuhayr's famous panegyric *Bānat Su'ād* on Prophet Muhammad. He wrote the *Sharhu Usūli'l-Bazdawī* on *Fiqh* and *al-'Aqā'idu'l-Islāmiyyah*[37] on Islamic dogma.

Qāzī Jamāl-ud-dīn Ahmad, better known as Bahraqu'l-Hazramī (d. A.D. 1522), a native of Hazramaut, was attached to the Court of *Tabsiratu'l Hazrati'sh-Shāhiyyati'l-Ahmadiyyah bi Sīrati'l-Hazrati'n-Nabawiyyati'l-Ahmadiyyah*.

The distinguished theologian Mu'īn-ud-dīn 'Imrānī[38] of Delhi, who flourished during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq (A.D. 1325-1351), was the author of several works on various subjects. The *Hāshiyah'ala't-Talwīh*,[39] the *Hāshiyah'ala'l-Husāmī*[40] and the *Hāshiyah'alā Kanzi'd-Daqā'iq*[41] are his works on *Fiqh*, while the *Hāshiyatu'l-Miftāh*[42] and the *Hāshiyatu't-Talkhīs*[43] are his philological works.

Sayyid Yūsuf (A.D. 1388), the son of Sayyid Jamāl-al-Husaynī of Multān, lived during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq and was attached to the Royal College. His works, the *Tawjīhu'l-Kalām fī Sharhi'l-Manār* and the *Yūsufī Sharhu Lubbi'l-Alabāb fī 'Ilmi'l-I'rāb*[44] show his deep knowledge in *Fiqh* and grammar.

Badr-ud-dīn Muhammad (b. A.D. 1424) of Egypt, better known as Ibn-ud-damāmīnī, was the son of Abū Bakr al-Makhzūmī al-Iskandarī. After his pilgrimage to Mecca he came to Gujarāt via Yaman in A.D. 1417. In Gujarāt he wrote on grammar the *Ta'līqu'l-Farā'id*,[45] a commentary on Ibn Mālik's work *Tashīlu'l-Fawā'id wa Takmīlu'l-Maqāsid*, and the *Tuhfatu'l-Gharīb*, a commentary on Ibn Hishām's *Mughni'l-Labīb*.[46] These were dedicated to Ahmad Shāh of Gujarāt. In A.D 1422, he also wrote on his way to Ahmadābād (Gulbarga) *al-Manhalu's-Sāfī*[47] a commentary on Muhammad b. Usmān al-Balkī's work on grammar *al-Wāfī* for Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī. The *Masābīhu'l-Jāmi'fī Sharhi Sahīhi'l-Bukhāri* on *Hadīs* is also from his pen.

Safī bin Nasīr, who lived during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, wrote the *Ghāyatu't-Tahqīq*,[48] a super-commentary on Daulatābādī's commentary on the *Kāfiyah*.

Khwāja Husain Nāgūrī (A.D. 1495), a descendant of Qāzī Hamīd-ud-dīn Nāgūrī, wrote the *Nūru'n-Nabī* on Qur'ānic subject and the *Sharhu'l-qismis-Thālis Mina'l-Miftāh* on grammar.

Ilāh-dād of Jaunpur (A.D. 1525) wrote a commentary called the *Hāshiyah 'alā Madāriki't-Tanzīl* on the *Qur'ān* and the *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi'l-Jāmī* on grammar.

It will be seen that during the period under review most of the authors who made any contribution to Arabic literature in India were Arabs and Persians or persons of Arab and Persian lineage. The contribution by the Indians themselves is rather small. Generally speaking, the works produced in India are on religious subjects, *tasawwuf* and grammar. They mostly comprise commentaries on the *Qur'ān*, *Hadīs*, *Fiqh* and grammar.[49]

E. INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO PERSIAN LITERATURE

The invasion of India by Mahmūd of Ghaznī, though mainly a military movement, was not without its cultural importance in so far as it served to introduce Persian language and literature in India. Many poets and *literati* actually accompanied him in his campaigns It was during his time that Abū Rayhān Muhammad al-Bīrūnī, better known in Europe as Aliboron, came to India and made himself acquainted with Hindu learning.

Under the Ghūrīds, too, Persian language and literature thrived well Tāj-ud-dīn Hasan, Rukn-ud-dīn Hamza, Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad Rashīd, poetically surnamed Shihāb, Nāzukī of Marāgha and Qāzī Hamīd of Balkh were a few among the eminent poets and *literati* who shed lustre on the court of Muhammad Ghūrī.

The liberality of Qutb-ud-dīn (A.D. 1206-10) to the poets earned him the title of *Lāk-bakhsh* (the giver of lacs[1]). The sincere appreciation and patronage on the part of Iltutmish (A.D. 1211-36) attracted to his court poets and writers of the eminence of Khvāja Abū Nasr, poetically surnamed Nāsirī,[2] Abū Bakar bin Muhammad Rūhānī of Samarqand,[3] Tāj-ud-dīn Dabīr[4] and Nur-ud-dīn Muhammad 'Awfī, the author of the earliest known memoir of Persian poets *Lubāb-ul-Albāb* and the *Jawāmi-'ul-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi-'ur-Riwāyāt.*[5]

Even the court of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh (A.D. 1246-65) was graced by the panegyrist Fakhr-ud-dīn Nūnakī, poetically surnamed 'Amīd,[6] and the historian Minhāj-ud-dīn Jūzajānī, commonly known as Minhāj-i-Sirāj[7] (b. A.D. 1193), the author of the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, a general history from the earliest times to A.D. 1260.

The reign of the Sultāns Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban[8] and Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād as well as the period covered by the Khaljī and the Tughluq rule marked a new epoch in the history of Persian literature in India. It was during their rule that eminent poets and writers like Khusrav flourished.

The greatest Indian poet of Persian, Amīr Khusrav. who had a precocious taste for poetry, was the youngest son of Saif-ud-dīn Mahmūd, a Turk, who came to India during the early part of the reign of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh (A.D. 1246-65).

Amīr Khusrav was born at Patiali near Delhi in A.D. 1253. At a very early age he "displayed an uncommon genius, a strong disposition for study, and an aptitude for the acquirement of every science and even art, such as seldom has been witnessed". His poetical genius was essentially lyric, though he tried his hand at all forms of poetry with remarkable success. He studied Sūfī philosophy under the celebrated saint Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā who was his spiritual preceptor. He was in the service of the Mamlūk kings Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban and Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād; the Khaljī kings Jalāl-ud-dīn, 'Alā-ud-dīn and Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, and Ghiyās ud-dīn Tughluq

According to Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, the author of the *Haft Iqlīm (The Seven Climes)*, Khusrav composed ninety-nine[9] works on different subjects. His *Khamsa* (Quintet), *Panj Ganj*, composed as a rejoinder to Nizāmī's similar work, comprises the allegorical and mystical *Matla-ul-Anwār* (*The Rising of the Lights*) in 3310 verses, the two love-poems *Shīrīn wa Khusrav* in 4124 verses and *Lailā wa Majnūn* in 2360 verses, the *Ā'īna-i Sikandarī* (*The Mirror of Alexander*) in 912 verses, and the *Hasht Bihisht* (*The Eight Paradises*) in 3350 verses, dealing with the adventures of Bahram. This work earned him a monthly stipend of one thousand *tankas* for life Reference has been made above to some of his compositions such as the *Romance of Khizr Khān and Dewal Rānī*, composed in A D. 1315, comprising 4200 verses, and the allegorical *masnavī*, *Qirān-us-Sa'daīn* (*The conjunction of two Auspicious Planets*). Nūr-ul-Haqq, son of the celebrated divine 'Abdul-Haqq of Delhi, wrote the *Nūr-ul-'Aīn*, a commentary on this *masnavī* The *Tāj-ul-Futūh*, a *masnavī* poem, the *Nuh Sipihr* (*The Nine Spheres*) written in A.H. 718 and dedicated to the Khaljī Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak, the *Rasā'il I'jāz* on prose composition, the *Tughluq-nāma*, the *Miftāh-ul-Futūh*, the *Afzal-ul-Fawā'id*, the *Tārīkh-i-Dilhī* and the *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, (a history of the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī) are some of his other works.

Khusrav died in A.D. 1325, as appears from the two chronograms *'Adīm-ul-Misāl* (the Unique) and the *Tūtiy-i-Shakkar Maqāl* (The Sweet-spoken Parrot) contained in a poem by Shihāb-i-Mu'ammā'ī inscribed on the tomb-stone of the poet.[10]

Khvāja Najm-ud-dīn Hasan[11] of Delhi (b. A.D. 1253-54; d. 1326-27), son of 'Atā'ī Sanjarī, a friend of Amīr Khusrav, was one of the court poets of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. His lucid and charming Ghazals earned him the title of the 'Sa'dī of Hindusthān.[12] He was a favourite disciple of the celebrated saint Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā, whose utterances he recorded chronologically from A.D. 1307 to 1322 under the title *Fawā'id-ul-Fu'ād* which, according to 'Abd-ul-Haqq, was the highest authority with the disciples of the saint. It is an authentic record of the instructive discourse on Sūfī subjects delivered by the saint to his disciples. The historian Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī, who was his contemporary, has spoken highly of his poetic gifts. The date of his death, as given by different writers, varies between A.D. 1307 and 1345. But according to Badāūnī, when the citizens of Delhi were forced to move to the new capital Daulatābād about A.D. 1327 under the orders of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the poet went with them and died there.[13]

According to Firishta, other eminent poets of Persian who flourished during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī were Sadr-ud-dīn 'Alī, Fakhr-ud-dīn Qawwās. Hamīd-ud-dīn Rāja, Maulānā 'Arif, Abdul-Hakīm ('Ubaīd Hakīm) and Shihāb-ud-dīn Sadr-nishīn, all of whom had their *dīvāns*[14]

As noted above, Muhammad bin Tughluq (A.D. 1325-51) was a great patron of learning. It was during his reign that the great Moorish traveller Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad, better known as Ibn Batūtah,[15] came to India.[16] Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī[17] (b. A D 1285), son of Mu'ayyid-ul-Mulk, was also attached to the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq for over seventeen years, but he lost the royal favour during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh (A.D. 1351-88) due to the machination of his enemies and fell on evil days. He was a devoted disciple of saint Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā and an intimate friend of Amīr Khusrav and Mīr Hasan. He spent his last days in the composition of literary works. He died at a ripe old age and was buried close to the tomb of Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā. According to the *Siyar-ul-Auliyā*, he wrote the *Sanā-i-Muhammadī Salāt-i-Kabīr,'Ināyat-nāma-i-Ilāhī, Ma'āsir-i-Sa'ādat* and *Hasrat-nāma*. His *Akhbār-i-Barmakiyān* giving an anecdotical account of the Barmakids, was translated from the Arabic original in A.D. 1354 and dedicated to Fīrūz Shāh. In A.D. 1357 he wrote the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* to which a detailed reference has been made above.

Attracted by the liberality of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq, Badr-ud-dīn Muhammad of Chāch[18] (Arabicized Shāsh, also known as Banākit, modern Tāshqand) came to India. For many years he was attached to the court of the Sultān whom he had panegyrized in his *qasīdas*. His *dīvān*, containing chiefly *qasīdas, ghazals, qit'as* and *rubā'is*, was lithographed at Lakhnau, in A.D. 1845. Lithograph editions of his *qasīdas* were published from Kanpur (A.D. 1845) and Rampur (A D. 1872). He also composed a *Shāhnāma* comprising about 30,000 verses, recording the expeditions of his patron.

'Isāmī wrote in verse the *Futūh-us-Salātīn*[19] on the model of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* dealing with the history of the rulers of India from the rise of the Ghaznavid dynasty to A D. 1349-50. This work was dedicated to the founder of the Bahmanid dynasty, 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Gangū (A.D. 1347-58).[20]

The successor of Muhammad bin Tughluq, his cousin Fīrūz Shāh, was also a great patron of learning This is attested by the fact that he granted annually one-third of a million pounds to learned men and pious endowments He has left behind him the *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*,[21] in which he has recorded the edicts and ordinances, and works of public utility done by him.[22] The poet 'Izz-ud-dīn Khālid Khānī, after collecting materials from the Sanskrit manuscripts found in the archives of the Jvālāmukhī temple, wrote in verse his *Dalā'il-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* on natural philosophy, auguries and omens.[23] He established many mosques, colleges, monasteries, etc. for the promotion of learning.

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf[24] (d. A D. 1398-99), following his precursor, Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī, wrote the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhi*, a history of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh (A.D 1351-88) in five parts, each comprising eighteen *muqaddimas*. It is a continuation of an earlier work of the same name by Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī. It was edited by Maulavī Vilāyat Husain in the Bibliotheca Indica series in A D 1890.

Muhammad Bihāmad Khānī[25] wrote a general history, the *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī*, covering a period from the time of the Prophet to A D. 1438-39. His father Bihāmad Khān was in the service of Fīrūz Khān, the minister of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh II (A.D. 1388-89). In the latter part of his life the author, who was a soldier by profession, became a disciple of Shaikh Yūsuf Budah[26] (d. 1430-31) and led a saintly life.

Yahyā bin Ahmad of Sirhind compiled the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*[27] for Mu'izz-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh II (A D. 1421-34) of the Sayyid dynasty, to which reference has been made above.[27a]

Being desirous of ascertaining his pedigree, Sayyid Mu'īn-ul-Haqq, son of Shihāb-ul-Haqq, compiled the *Manba-ul-Ansāb*,[28] a genealogical account of the Sayyids of Bhakhar in about A.D. 1426-27.

Ibrāhīm Qivām Fārūqī wrote a lexicon known as *Farhang-i-Ibrāhīmī*[29] or *Sharafnāma-i-Ibrāhīmi*. Being a disciple of the celebrated saint Sharaf-ud-dīn Ahmad Muniarī, the author named his work *Sharafnāma-i-Ahmad Muniarī*. This work has been mentioned as one of the sources of the later lexicographical works such as *Tuhfat-us-Sa'ādat*, and *Mu'ayyid-ul-Fuzalā* It was compiled during the reign of Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh (A.D 1459-74) of Bengal.

Khvāja Mahmūd Gāvān,[30] the famous minister of the Bahmanī kingdom and son of Shaikh Muhammad Gīlānī, came to India in A.D. 1455. Besides being a general and statesman he was an erudite scholar and poet. The Bahmanī kings were all learned themselves, and were great patrons of learning. Among them Sultān Tāj-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh (A D. 1397-1422) stands foremost in learning. He took a keen interest in astronomy and ordered an observatory to be built at Daulatābād under the supervision of the eminent astronomers Hakīm Hasan of Gīlān and Sayyid Mahmūd of Kāzirūn. But as ill-luck would have it, the work was never completed on account of the internal disturbances in the kingdom and the untimely death of Hakīm Hasan Mahmūd Gāvān was on friendly terms with 'Abdur-Rahmān Jāmī whom he once invited to visit the Deccan He collected his letters in the form of a book called the *Riyāz-ul-Inshā*. He also wrote the *Manāzir-ul-Inshā* on the art of literary composition and left a *dīvān* which is no longer extant Mullā 'Abdul Karīm[31] of Hamadān, who was attached to Mahmūd Gāvān, wrote a history of Gujarāt called the *Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*, which Khvāja Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad mentions as one of his sources for his *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*[32]

Fazlu'llāh Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, entitled *Sadar-i-Jahān*, who was the son of Husām Ziyā'ī, flourished during the reign of Mahmūd Begarha of Gujarāt (A D. 1458-1511). He wrote a general history known as the *Tārīkh-i-Sadr-i-Jahān* covering the period from the earliest time to the 9th century A H The correct title of this history is not known. Incomplete manuscripts of this work are available in the British Museum.[33]

Mahmūd Ayāz wrote the *Miftāh-us-Surūr-i-'Ādil* Shāhī[34] in about A.D. 1516, for his patron Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh This work deals with topics like sexual intercourse, peculiarities and properties of women, etc.

Muhammad bin Lād of Delhi compiled a valuable lexicon called the *Mu'ayyid-ul-Fuzalā*[35] (*Aids to Scholars*). According to Blochmann it was written in A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519). This work, as claimed by the author,[36] is of great help for the study of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma*, Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, Sanāi's poems and the *dīvāns* of other classical poets.

'Abdullāh bin Safī translated into Persian the Sanskrit work on farriery, *Sālihotra* of Durgārāsi,[37] by the order of the Bahmanid king Ahmad Shāh I (A.D. 1422-36). The work begins with the "legendary account of the creation of the horse which is said to have been originally endowed with wings."[38]

Another treatise on the selection and treatment of horses was translated from the original Sanskrit *Sālihotra*[39] during the reign of the Khaljī King of Mālwa, Ghiyās-ud-dīn (A.D. 1469-1500). It deals with the various breeds of horses, their blemishes, their diseases and cures, diet and food, etc.

A treatise on Indian medicine called *Ma'dan-ush-Shifā-i-Sikandarī* or *Tibb-i-Sikandarī*[40] was compiled and translated from Sanskrit works by the Miyān Bhuvah, son of Khavās Khān. As Greek medicine was not suitable for Indian constitution, he wrote this work with the permission of Sikandar Lodī (A.D. 1489-1517).

Being prevailed upon by his friends, Mahmūd bin Shaikh Ziyā wrote a Persian dictionary called the *Tuhfat-us-sa'ādat*[41] in A.D 1510. The author dedicated this work to Sultān Sikandar Lodī and so it is also named *Farhang-i-Sikandarī*

*Several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian,—a work on astronomy, as noted above, the Persian version of which, made by one 'Azīz-ud-dīn Khālid Kirmānī was given the name of *Dalā'il-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, and a work on music and dancing which was translated by 'Abdul 'Azīz Shams of Thaneswar.[42] The first *masnavī* in Hindī was also written during the Tughluq period. It contained the romantic story of Lorik and Chandā, adopted probably from a Sanskrit original. The work, which was dedicated to Jūna Khān, son of the *wazīr*, Khān-i-Jahān, became very popular, and, according to Badāūnī, a well known divine, Makhdūm Taqī-ud-dīn Rabbāni, used to recite verses from it while addressing the congregations for the Friday prayers Other scholars were busy compiling theological works under the patronage of the kings of Jaunpur. Of these the names of Shihāb-ud-dīn Daulatābādī, the author of a Persian commentary of the *Qur'ān* entitled *Bahr-i-Mawwāj*, who lived in the reign of Ibrāhīm Sharqī, deserves special mention. He wrote several other works also and is reckoned among the foremost scholars of the pre-Mughul period.

*The period of Sayyid and Lodī kings (1414-1526) saw further development of the Muslim sciences, including philosophy. Many foreign scholars were attracted to Sultān Sikandar's court on hearing the fame of his magnificence. Among them mention may be made of Rafī-ud-dīn Shīrāzi, an Iranian scholar of considerable repute. Philosophic studies were specially promoted in the capital by the arrival there of two scholars, Shaikh 'Abdullāh Tulanbī and Shaikh 'Azīzullāh from Multān, who had already established a centre in the latter city. This was during the reign of Sikandar Lodī, in some respects the greatest of the Lodī monarchs and a generous patron of poets and scholars. He was himself a poet and wrote fairly elegant verses under the pen-name of Gulrukhī. Reference has already been made above to two works, based on Sanskrit originals, written during his reign.

*The greatest poet of the Lodī age was Shaikh Jamāl-ud-dīn of Delhi, entitled Shaikh Jamālī Kanboh, who had travelled widely and had met the great Persian master, Jāmī, at Herat. He lived to see the fall of the Lodī kingdom and the installation, on the throne of Delhi, of Bābur whom he has praised in some of his odes. He is the author of two well-known works, the *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn* and the *masnavī*, *Mihr-u-Māh*. This period produced the well-known Sūfī Saint, 'Abdul Quddūs of Gangoh who incurred the displeasure of Bābur by his support to the hapless Lodī king, Sultān Ibrāhīm, who died fighting in the fateful battle of Pānipat in 1526. His tomb is counted among the most important Muslim shrines in India, and attracts a large number of visitors

Reference has been made above[43] to the literary contributions of the Sūfīs in India. Ibn Batūtah reports in his *Rehlah* that he met different Sūfīs during his visit to Ceylon and India.[44] During the period under review Muslim saints made an important contribution towards the development of Persian language and literature in India

Sharf-ud-dīn bū-'Alī Qalandar (d. A.D. 1324) wrote the *Maktūbāt* (*Epistles*), the *Hikmatnāma* (*The Book of Wisdom*), the *Hukmnāma-i-Shaikh bū-'Alī Qalandar (The Commands of bū-'Alī Qalandar*), and the *Masnavī-i-bū-'Alī Qalandar.*

Khvāja Muhammad Imām[45] (d. A.D. 1335), the grandson of Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn, wrote the *Anwār-ul-Majālis (Illumination of Assemblies)* which contains a collection of the sayings of Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā.

Hasan 'Alā'ī Sanjarī, better known as Mīr Hasan Dihlavī (already noticed above), collected the utterances of his spiritual pre-

ceptor Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā in his *Fawā'id-ul-Fu'ad*[46] (*Profitable to the Heart*).

Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī (already mentioned before), also a disciple of Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā and the author of the famous historical work *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, wrote his own mystical experience under the title of the *Hasratnāma* (*Book of Regret*).

Farīd-ud-dīn[47] (d. A D. 1351) wrote the *Surūr-us-Sudūr* (*Pleasure of Hearts*), a collection of the sayings of Hamīd-ud-din Nāgūrī.

Ziyā-ud-dīn Nakhshabī[48] (d. A.D. 1350), the vicegerent of Shaikh Farīd, was the author of the *Silk-us-Sulūk* (*The Mystic Path*) and the *Sharh-i-Du'ā-i-Suryānī* (*Explanation of a Syrian Prayer*).

The authorship of the *Ādāb-ut-Tālibīn* (*The Ways of the Seekers*) and the *Intibāh-ul-Murīdīn* (*The Awakening of the Disciples*) is attributed to Nasīr-ud-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī [49]

The authorship of the *Khair-ul-Majālis* (*The Best of the Assemblies*), which contains a collection of the sayings of Nasīr-ud-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, is ascribed to Hamīd-ud-dīn Qalandar (d A.D. 1367).

Sayyid Muhammad[50] bin Mubārak Kirmānī (d A D. 1368), a disciple of Nasīr-ud-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, was the author of the *Siyār-ul-Auliyā* (*Lives of Saints*).

Yūsuf Gadā (d. 1372), who also was one of the disciples of Nasīr-ud-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, wrote the *Tuhfat-un-Nasā'in*[51] (*A Gift of Admonitions*) in A.D. 1351 for his son Abu-'l-Fath This work deals with the duties and observances of a Muslim.

'Abdul Muqtadir (d. A D. 1389), who sat at the feet of the same illustrious saint, was the author of the *Manāqib-us-Siddīqīn* (*Virtues of the Confirmers of Truth*) which contains an account of saints of the Chishtī order.

Shaikh Sharaf-ud-dīn Ahmad bin Yahyā (d A.D. 1381) of Munyar, a village in Bihar, was the disciple of Shaikh Najīb-ud-dīn Firdausī.[52] He is said to have written many treatises on Islamic mysticism. Among them are the *Irshād-us-Sālikīn wa Burhān-ul-'Ārifīn*[53] on the principles of Sūfiism and the *Fawā'id-i-Ruknī*[54] on Sūfī Doctrines Zain Badr 'Arabī collected his epistles on Sūfī topics under the title of *Maktūbāt*.[55]

Mīr Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī[56] (d. circa A.D 1436-37) was the author of two treatises on Sūfiism, namely *Bashārat-ul-Murīdīn* (*Glad Tidings for the Disciples*) and the *Maktūbāt* (Epistles).

Sayyid Muhammad, better known under his surname Gīsū-darāz[57] (A.D 1321-1422), was a favourite disciple of Nasīr-ud-dīn

Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, whose sayings he collected under the title of *Jawāmi-ul-Kilam*. Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī and his successor Ahmad Shāh held him in great esteem.[58]

Shīr Khān Bak (put to death in A.D. 1397-8), poetically surnamed Mas'ūd,[59] was the disciple of Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn bin Shihāb-ud-dīn Imām. He wrote the *Yūsuf wa Zulaikhā*, imitation of Jāmī's work of the same name, and the *Mir'at-ul-Ārifīn* (*Mirror of the Mystics*).

Sayyid Muhammad[60] bin Ja'far (d. A.D. 1486), who had the honour of being the chief disciple of Nasīr-ud-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī wrote several treatises on religious subjects. On Sūfiism he wrote the *Bahr-ul-Ma'ānī* (*Ocean of Mystical Meanings*), containing thirty-six letters dealing with various Sūfī topics, and *Asrār-i-Rūh* on the mysteries of soul[61]

It will be seen that during the period under discussion the contributors to Persian learning in India were mostly Persians by nationality or persons of Persian origin. The foundation was nevertheless well laid for a Persian literature—historical, literary and religious—which was destined to exercise a potent and appreciable influence on the contemporary and later languages, literatures and religious thoughts of India.

The art of writing history, which Persian learning brought in its trail, proved fruitful in setting a good example to the country which, from this period onward, produced historical records in different parts and provinces

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A. SANSKRIT

1. Vol. V, pp. 297 f.
2. De, *HSL* 332, Krishnamachariar (*HCSL* 210) gives the number as 7
3. Written under the name Vidyānātha—*HCSL* 214 f De does not refer to the name Agastya *Pratāparudrayaśobhūshana* will be considered below under "Poetics and Dramaturgy"
4. *Rukminīkalyāna* by Rājachūḍamani Dīkshita pertains to the seventeenth century
5. Lolimbarāja has also written *Vaidyajīvana*
6. For *Rāmābhyudaya* by Rāmadeva Vyāsa, see under "Nātaka" (below, p 471)
7. For Vidyāraṇya, see above, pp 272, 321-3
8. He also wrote *Bhriṅgasandeśa*, referred to later Another Vāsudeva, under the patronage of king Ādityavarman (15th century), wrote the *Rāmakathā* *Govindacharita* and many other works

8a Above pp 85-6.

9. Gode (*JUB*, Sept. 1940. 101-115) has assigned the work to the period between 1458 and 1469.
10. *Madhurā-vijaya* by Gaṅgādevī has been described later under the section on "Women Poets" (see below p 469) For Historical Kāvyas, cf also Ch I
11. De (*HSL* 298) places Uddaṇḍa in the middle of the 17th century
12. H. D. Sharma has prepared "An Analysis of the Authorities quoted in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*" (*ABORI*. XVIII 77-84).
13. Referred to earlier under "Didactic" (see above, p 467)
14. This work is a *champū*, and is referred to later under "Champūs". Achyutarāya was the successor of Krishnadevarāya (see above, pp. 309 ff)

15. If Vidyāraṇya mentioned in the play be identical with the famous scholar of Vijayanagara it can be assigned to the middle of the 14th century (*HCSL*. 651).
16 Viśvarūpa Kṛishnabhaṭṭa has written a drama *Murārivijaya* on the same theme (*CC*, I. 462; II. 106).
17. The kings of Vijayanagara were authors of many works, and so were their court poets, the Ḍiṇḍimas.
18 This short drama forms the third chapter of *Pratāparudrayaśobhūshaṇa* written by Vidyānātha in honour of his patron.
19. E. V. V. Raghavacharya (*JVORI*, II. 85 ff) places Varadāchārya in the 14th century, while De would place him "in the latter half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century" (*HSL*. 487, fn. 3), and Krishnamachariar "in the latter half of the 18th century" (*HCSL*. 665).
20 Chatterji, *POC*, IV, 2 556; De, *HSL* 497 Keith (*SD* 261) identifies the king (*wrongly named as* Narasimha *in some MSS*) with Narasiṁha of Vijayanagara. See also Gode, *SILH*, I. 378. For the date of Harasimha see above, p. 398
21 Cf Krishnamachariar, *HCSL* 665 and 243
22. Among the very late dramas may be mentioned the *Haragaurīvivāha* of Jagajjyotirmalla of Nepāl, the *Śrīdāmacharita* of Sāmarāja Dīkshita, the *Jānakīpariṇaya* of Rāmabhadra Dīkshita, the *Adbhutadarpana* of Mahādeva (depicting the happenings at Laṅkā in a magic mirror), the *Ānandasundarī* of Ghanaśyāma and the *Śṛingāramañjarī* of Viśveśvara, both being of the Saṭṭaka type, the *Kautukaratnākara* of Lakshmana Māṇikyadeva and the *Dhūrtanartaka* of Sāmarāja Dīkshita, both being Prahasanas, the *Śāradātilaka* of Śankara, and the *Śṛiṅgārasarvasva* of Nallakavi which are Bhāṇas of the usual type.
23 For versions of the *Bṛihatkathā*, see Vol. V, p. 313 f
24 Rudradhara, who was a pupil of Chaṇḍeśvara and the author of *Kṛitya-chandrikā*, *Vivādachandrikā* and *Śrāddhachandrikā*, appears to be a different person. (*KHDS*, I. 398).
25 For eleven works with the title *Chintāmaṇi* and five with *Nirnaya*, see *KHDS*, I 399-402.
26 For the date of his two patron kings, see above, p 407 This Vāchaspati is often confounded with the great philosopher Vāchaspati, author of *Bhāmatī* and several philosophical works, who flourished in the ninth century (Vol. IV, p 203 ff) Another Vāchaspati, author of *Smṛitisārasamgraha*, flourished in the latter half of the 18th century. *KHDS*, I. 405
27 Cf. *KHDS*, I. 394.
28. *KHDS*, I. 415.
29 The list is given in n 1018 on p. 416 of *KHDS*, I.
29a See p. 408.
30. Quite distinct from his namesake of the Kākatīya dynasty mentioned earlier
31 *KHDS*, I. 406 The sections, called *sāra*, the *samskāra*, *āhnika*, *śrāddha*, *kāla vyavahāra*, *prāyaśchitta*, *karmavipāka*, *vrata*, *dāna*, *śānti*, *tīrthas*, and *pratishṭhā*.
31a The date of Vijñānabhikshu is given as second half of the sixteenth century and middle of the seventeenth, respectively, by Winternitz (*GIL*, III 457) and Keith (*HSL*. 489) (Ed).
32 Cf Gode, *PO*, IX. 11-19
33. Vol. V, p. 320
34 Not 1437 as wrongly interpreted by Stein and followed by some scholars. Cf Kane, *HSP*. 296; also, Gode, *ABORI*, XVI. 145-7
35. Dr Raja refutes the views of Krishnamachariar that the authors of *Rasārṇavasudhākara* and the commentary on *Saṅgītaratnākara* were different, and that Viśveśvara was the author of *Rasārṇavasudhākara*. (Raja, *Saṅgītaratnākara*, intr. xvii; Krishnamachariar, *HCSL* 771)
35a For the Reḍḍi Kings, see p. 363.
36 *Madras Catalogue*. XXII, No. 12965, pp. 8708-10 *Tanjore Catalogue* (IX. No. 5309, p. 4100), however, describes the same work as containing 13 chapters
37 De, *SP*, I. 237; Krishnamachariar, *HCSL* 773
38 *Saṅgītaratnākara*, intr. xi *HCSL*. 853
39. Hammīra, who refers to Jaitrasimha as an earlier writer in his *Saṅgītaśṛiṅgārahāra*, was probably the king of Mewār mentioned above on p. 327 *HCSL*. 859 f
40 See Vol. V, p. 326; also Gode, *ABORI*, XVII. 397-9
41 Cf. Gode, *IHQ*, XV. 512-22.
42 See above, p. 471.

43. Cf. Gode, *JOR*, XIV. 74-81.
44. For Chaṇḍeśvara, see above, pp. 397-8.

B. SANSKRITIC

1. Cf. Vol. V, p. 389.
1a. Cf. Vol. V, pp. 352, 359, 361.
1b. He has also been placed in the 9th century, which is, however, not very likely.
2. For Kabīr, cf. Ch. XVI, D. 2.
3 Cf. Vol. III, pp. 327 ff.
4 Cf. Ch. XVI, D. 1.
5 Cf. Ch. XVI, C, 2. b.
6 Edited by Muni Sri Jinavijayaji, with a study of the new Indo-Aryan speech, Old Kosalī or Awadhī, employed in the work, by Suniti Kumar Chaterji, *SJS*, No. 39, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953
7 See, "An Illustrated Avadhi MS. of Laurchandā in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras," by Rai Krishnadas, *Lalit Kala*, April, 1955-March 1956, pp. 65-71; Lalit Kala Akadami, New Delhi.
7a *Indo-Asian Culture*, July, 1958, pp. 50-71. For the Sūmra kings, see above, pp. 221 ff.
8. See above, p 19
9. For the history of the Marāṭhī literature up to A.D 1350, cf. Vol V, pp. 351-7
10 Vol. V, pp. 358-61.
11. Edited by Hare Krishna Mukherji, Sāhityaratna and Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Vangīya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta, Bengali year 1341 (1934).
12. See above, pp. 205 ff.
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14 First published by MM. Haraprasad Sastri
14a. For Kāmatā, see above, pp. 388 ff.
15. See above, Vol. V, pp. 44-5
16 Some refer it to the eleventh, and others to the sixteenth, century A D (*PAIOC*, VI, 382, *JAHRS*, V. 197) (Ed).
17 The author of this section was in favour of phonetic spelling of proper names. But it has not always been possible to retain such spellings, for the sake of maintaining uniformity with the preceding volumes. The following forms, e g. have been used in place of those within brackets: Punjāb (Pañjāb), Mārwār (Mārwāḍ), Khariboli (Kharībolī), Garhwāl (Gāṛhwāl), Padumāvati (Padumāwati) (Ed)

C DRAVIDIAN

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1 *Twelve Standard Tamil Poets*, 11.
2 C. R Sankaran & K. Rama Varma Raya, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, V 265.
3 *Studies in Saiva Siddhanta*, 331

II. Kannaḍa Literature

1 An abstract of the portion relating to Basava's life has been done into English by the Rev G Wurth in *JBBRAS*, 1905-1906
2. E. P. Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, 66
3 I am indebted to Dr. S. C. Nandimath and the late Professor S S. Basawanal for help in the Kannaḍa section, and to my junior colleague Mr L. S. R Krishna Sastri for help in the Telugu section. K R.S

III Telugu Literature

1. Above, Vol. IV, 374
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IV. Malayālam Literature

1 M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, 374

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3. Sayyid 'Abdu'l Hayy, *Nuzhatu'l-Khawātir wa Bahjatu'l-Masami'i wa'n-Nawāzir*, p 65, Hyderabad (Deccan), A H. 1350
4. Ibid, p 116.
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7. Ibid, No. 4046.
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15. Ibid. 3322.
16. 'Abdu'l-Hamīd, *Miftāhu'l-Kunūz* (A hand list of Arabic MSS. in the Bankipore Library), p. 990.
17. *Nuzhatu'l-Khawātir* p 95, *Fawā'idu'l-Bahiyyah*, 148.
18. *A Hand-list of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu Books and MSS.* in the Āsafiyyah Library, vol ii, p. 1096, Hyderabad, A H 1332-47; Ahlwardt, *Cat. Arab MSS* Berlin, No. 4862.
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20. *Hand-written Catalogue of Arabic, Delhi MSS.* in the India Office Library, p. 981 b
21. Rieu, *Catalogue of Arabic MSS* in the British Museum, 890 ii
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23. Rieu, *Cat Arab, MSS*, Br Museum, No 890 v.
24. Firishta, i, 607, ii, 748 For dates of the Kings, cf pp 254, 258
25. Āsafiyyah i 372.
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30. Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, *Abjadu'l-'Ulūm* iii, 894, Ghūlām 'Alī Azād, *Subhatu'l-Marjān*, p 42, *Tadhkira-i 'Ulama'-i Hind*, p 76
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33. *Abjadu'l-'Ulūm*, iii, 806
34. Firishta ii, 595, *Abjadu'l-Ulūm*, iii, 895, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* i, 932
35. *A Hand List of the Arabic Books and Mss* of the Rampur State Library p. 525; Ashraf 'Alī *Cat of Arab Books and MSS* in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, B-3, 1899
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38. *Abjadu'l-'Ulūm*, iii 892, *Nuzhatu'l-Khawātir*, p 165.
39. *Cat of Arab and Pers Books and MSS* in the Library of the Nadwatu'l-'Ulamā' Lucknow, 721.
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41. Ibid, p 142
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43. Ibid. 165, ibid, iv, 486.
44. *Tazkira-i'Ulamā'-i-Hind*, p. 256.
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49. For the sake of maintaining uniformity, the author's system of transliteration could not be fully adopted in this and the next section. The Hijrī year, given by the author is substituted by the year in A.D. which corresponds to the major part of the Hijrī year (Ed.).

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2. Badāūnī, op.cit., I, 65, Lutf 'Alī Beg Āzar, *Ātashkanda*, Lithograph edition, Bombay, A. H 1277/A. D. 1860-61, 124.
3. Badāūnī, op. cit, I, 65, Muhammad 'Awfī, *Lubāb-ul-Albāb*, ed. E. G. Browne, London-Leyden, 1903, II, 282.
4. Badāūnī, op. cit., I, 67.
5. *CPBM*, 749-50; *Habib-us-siyar*, II, Juz 4, p 163, Firishta, op. cit. I, 117.
6. Badāūnī, op. cit., I, 70, 96-127.
7. *CPBM*, 72-3; *HIED*, II, 259-383.
8. It may be noted that Ghiyās-ud dīn Balban's son Muhammad, better known as Khān-i-Shahīd (d. A.H. 684/A D 1285-86), twice invited Sa'dī of Shīraz to his court at Multān. Vide Baranī *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* Text, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khān B. I. 1862, p 68, Badāūnī, op. cit., I, 130.
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10. For a detail study of Khusrav's life and works, cf *CPBM*. 609 ff, 98-100, Shibli, *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, Azamgarh, II, 107-95, Dr. Mohammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrav*, Calcutta, 1935; Mahammad Habib, *Hazrat Amir Khusrav of Delhi*, Bombay, 1927; Md. Sa'īd Ahmad, *Hayāt-i-Khusrau*, Lahore, 1909
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12. Firishta, op cit., I, 214, Baranī, op cit, p. 360.
13. Badāūnī, op. cit, I, 201, 226 For the date of the removal to Daulatābād See above, p. 66.
14. Baranī, op cit 360 Firishta, op cit. I, 214.
15. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 386
16. See above pp 8-9
17. *CPBM*, 333, *HIED*, III, 93, VI, 484, *AA*, 102-104.
18. *CPBM*, 1031 32; Sprenger, op cit 367; Badāūnī op cit, I, 241
19. This work has been edited by Dr A. Mahdi Husain and Lithographed at Agra in 1938. For further details about 'Isāmī and his *Futūh-us-Salātīn* see *CPMI*, Cols. 559-60
20. See above, pp. 248 ff
21. *TA*, I, 239, Firishta, I, 271, *HIED* III, 374-88, *CPBM*, 920.
22. See above, pp 3, 98, 103 ff
23. *TA*, I, 233, Firishta, I, 266 See above, p. 101.
24. *CPBM*, 242, *HIED*, III, 267-373. See above, p 3, where the date of his death is given as somewhat later.
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27a See above, pp 4-5.

28. CPBM, 348.
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31. *CPBM*, 966-67.
32. *TA* (Text) I, 3.

33. CPBM, pp 86-87, 885, 1079.
34. *CPMI*, Cols. 1262-63.
35. *CPBM*, 494; E G. Browne, *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 227-28; CPMI, Cols. 1337-38, Nos. 2459-64. This work has been lithographed in two volumes at Kanpur (in A H. 1302/A. D 1884-5 and in A. D. 1899/A. H. 1317)
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41. *CPBM*, 493-94, *CPMI*, Col. 1336
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43. Above, Vol V 467 ff
44. Defremery and Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*. II, 78-9, IV, 171, 172, 175 and 199; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, 95, 96, 256, 257 and 264.
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46. 'Abdul Haqq of Delhi says that his work enjoyed the highest authority with the disciples of Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā (See *AA*, 100-101).
47 *AA*, 73
48. *AA*, 104-108, *CPMI*, Nos. 1838 and 1839
49 *CPBM*, 41; *Siyar-ul-Auliyā*, 236-47; *AA*, 80-86
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53. *CPMI*, No 1849, Cols 1020-21; 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library*, Bankipore Vol XVII, 93-94
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58 Firishta, (Text), I, 607, II, 748, Briggs, Firishta, II, 388, 398
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Chapter XVI

RELIGION

A. General Review

We have a fairly definite idea of the religious condition of India at the opening of the fourteenth century. Buddhism had practically disappeared, as a separate religious sect, from the land of its birth, and the hold of Jainism was confined to a narrow region in the west. Islām was yet confined to a number of scattered settlements in Northern India and a fringe of South Indian coast. The orthodox Brahmanism reigned supreme over nearly the whole of India, but it had ceased to be a homogeneous sect, and was practically a heterogeneous compound of the relics of the various developments in the past to which reference has been made in the preceding volumes. One great peculiarity of Indian culture is that it adds to, but seldom altogether supersedes, the old institutions, and faithfully preserves, as far as possible, all relics of the past, even though they are hidden, or changed beyond recognition, by later growths. Leaving aside the minor sub-sects we still find the religion of the Vedic period with all its sacrificial rituals minutely preserved and even elaborated by the Mīmāmsā School, side by side with the powerful major sects of the Vaishṇavas, Śaivas, Śāktas and Tāntrikas (including Buddhist Sahajiyās), together with their sub-sects, and various other minor religious sects and popular cults mentioned in the preceding volumes

But the most characteristic feature of the religious evolution of the period was the prominence attained by a number of devotees who are generally labelled as saints or mystics These medieval saints, who have shed a lustre on the age, possessed certain distinctive characteristics in common. They were non-sectarian in the sense that they were not affiliated to, or at least were not leading members of, any particular sect, and had no desire to establish a separate religious sect of their own These saints were free from the bondage of any particular creed and had not blind faith in any sacred scriptures, they attained illumination by individual exertion through freedom of thought and self-culture. They did not observe any rituals or ceremonies, nor followed any dogma, and most of them severely denounced idolatry. They condemned polytheism, believed in one God, and, what is more important, realized the unity of God invoked by various religious sects under different names such as Kṛishṇa, Rāma, Śiva, Allāh, etc. They believed in

bhakti (love or devotion) as the only means of salvation, and gave a very comprehensive interpretation and profoundly psychological analysis of the conception of *bhakti*. This may be said to be their chief and permanent contribution to the religious thoughts of India. With them *bhakti* meant single-minded, uninterrupted and extreme devotion to God without any ultimate motive (*ahaituki*), growing gradually into an intense love. This love was akin to love of a man for dear and near ones, and is graded by some into clear categories by analogies with human relations, such as devotion of a servant to a master, love between friends, affection of a mother for a child, and lastly the all-absorbing passion of a lover for his beloved. Brahman, the Supreme God, or ultimate reality, called as Rāma, Hari, Kṛishṇa and by any other name or abstract idea, was the source of all joys or eternal bliss, and was conceived as the supreme beloved God, it was maintained, does not live in a temple but in the heart of man, and the physical body was regarded as the abode of all truth. The realization of all this, and the approach to God through personal love and devotion alone, form the foundation of religious life. It is not, of course, an easy task, and requires purification of body and mind from all sins. All this is hard to achieve without the help of a *guru* or religious preceptor. But even a *guru*, however spiritually illumined he may be, cannot lead to salvation or final emancipation, which depends on the grace (*prasāda*) of God For this purpose a complete self-surrender (*prapatti*) to Him on the part of the devotees is absolutely necessary.

These saints took into account the whole personality of man and therefore did not unduly emphasize his rational faculty. Religious truths and beliefs, they held, were not matters of pure reason alone, and a man's passional and volitional nature must also be regarded as a valid contributing factor In any case it should not be rejected or excluded so long as it is not in direct conflict with the rational instincts of man.

These are, in brief, the essential principles preached by these saints, through simple aphorisms, parables, and maxims which brought home to even ordinary and uneducated persons the universal truths which were considered more valuable than sectarian doctrines or scriptural texts. As a rule these saints preached through vernaculars, rather than Sanskrit, for they wanted to uplift the masses. The same noble object led them to do away with the invidious distinctions of caste and bestow special care and attention upon the degraded and depressed classes.

The latitudinarianism, freedom of thought, and intense self-exertion in intellectual and spiritual spheres, which characterized

the saints, undoubtedly generated in them a spirit of revolt and criticism, and no wonder that in spite of a frank recognition of their greatness, they or their followers were not always accorded a place within the orthodox fold. For this reason, if not for others, the followers of many of the saints were formed into close sects, against their avowed policy. Even when the followers of heterodox sects were accepted or tolerated, in course of time, by the orthodox section, they had to shed some of their characteristics, specially the heterodox views about castes or worship of images. Chaitanya's Vaishṇavism is even today a powerful factor in the religious life of Bengal; but the spirit with which the great leader embraced the Chaṇḍālas and Muslims and admitted them as his disciples, vanished long ago, and there is hardly any outward distinction today between a Vaishṇava and an orthodox *smārta* Brāhmaṇa in Bengal. This has been the fate of the followers of most of the saints of Medieval India. The sect founded by Nānak, though numerically small and confined to a narrow geographical area, is today the most powerful one that represents the idea of the medieval saints in this respect It must be recognized, however, that it derives its importance, to a very large extent, from causes other than religious or spiritual. For the rest, the other great saints, whose followers have survived as separate entities, are represented today only by small scattered groups forming an insignificant element in the large body of Hinduism These mystic saints have undoubtedly leavened the thoughts of India, but it is difficult to determine the nature and extent of their permanent influence on Hinduism. In any case, they failed to modify either the religious ideas and practices or the outward structure of the Hindu society to any appreciable extent.

The one great factor which facilitated the assimilation or absorption of the teachings of medieval saints was that their root lay deep into the soil of India. It would appear on a close analysis that there was nothing new in their fundamental conceptions. The belief in the unity of God, discarding of worship of images, and *bhakti* as the mode of salvation, were familiar concepts in India. The first two can be traced as far back as the time of the *Ṛigveda*, and have persisted throughout the ages side by side with a belief in the worship of a plurality of gods. This is best illustrated, in a practical manner, by the fact that Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy, in the nineteenth century, placed his doctrine of unqualified monotheism, bereft of rituals and idolatry, on the foundation of the Vedas and Upanishads, and not on any outside philosophy and religious system.

As to the cult of *bhakti* preached by the medieval saints, it was developed to a large extent by the Vaishṇava sects during the early

centuries of the Christian era, and formed an important element in their doctrines ever since, as has been shown in the preceding volumes. Some of the characteristic doctrines of the medieval saints are echoed in the Upanishads. The following passage, occurring in two separate Upanishads, may serve as an example:

"That Self cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by understanding, nor by much learning. He whom the Self chooses, by him the Self can be gained. The Self chooses him (his body) as his own".[1]

Here we find the doctrine of grace coupled with a disbelief in the efficacy of scriptures as a means to salvation. The Upanishads also describe Brahman as being of the nature of bliss and the source of all human joys. The doctrine of *prapatti* (self-surrender) is also echoed in the *Gītā* (XVIII.66) in which Kṛishṇa says: "Give up all religious paths, and take refuge in me alone. I shall deliver thee from all sins. Sorrow not". The later Vaishṇava literature—all earlier than the tenth century A.D.—not only develops and emphasizes the doctrines of *prasāda* and *prapatti,* but also defines *bhakti* as of the nature of intense love for god. The different grades and categories of such love, as mentioned above, culminating in that of the lover for the beloved, form the theme of texts like *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and a somewhat later text, Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* (12th century A.D.). It is clear, therefore, that all the fundamental spiritual ideas of the medieval saints are expounded in the standard and well-known religious texts of the Hindus. Even the preaching in vernaculars and disregard of castes were the legacies of heterodox sects like Buddhism and Jainism. As a matter of fact the Sahajiyā cult—the latest form of Buddhism—,which can be traced back to the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., bears a very close resemblance to the medieval mysticism, both in its spiritual and social aspects. The medieval saints, therefore, cannot be said to have introduced any new tenet. But their credit lies in the fact that by their precepts, and more by their examples, they placed the pure doctrine of *bhakti* on a high pedestal, above all rituals, ceremonies, and sectarian faiths and beliefs, and emphasized the role of intense, uninterrupted and unmotived love of God as the *sole* means of salvation. At a time when religious ideas tended to become dry, lifeless, and static, and rituals and ceremonialism took the place of spiritual enlightenment, the teachings and personalities of the saints galvanized the inert masses.

It must be understood, however, that the medieval mysticism, based upon *bhakti*, did not suddenly come into prominence during the period under review. Its origin can be traced to an earlier period, and the two great preachers of Mahārāshṭra, Jñānadeva and

Nāmadeva, are justly regarded as precursors of the great movement. As their social and religious views have been discussed in connection with the history of Marāṭhī literature in the preceding volume,[2] they are not separately discussed in this chapter. But they rank very high as mystic saints of Medieval India.

We find a parallel movement in Islām in the development of Sūfīism, the origin and progress of which in India have been described above.[2a] The Muslim mystics or Sūfīs were men of deep religious feelings, who led ascetic lives and laid emphasis on the practices of self-discipline as preparing the human for the intuitive knowledge of God. They soon developed a loving devotion to God with an element of ecstasy, and belief in the immanence of God in the sense that "all is in God". A further development is to be found in the doctrine of *'fanā'*, the annihilation of the Self, which means the annihilation of human attributes through union with God. They believed in soul, a spiritual substance, different from the body but akin to the universal soul. These were regarded as heretic doctrines and many Sūfī preachers had to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their faith, though they regarded themselves as devout Muslims.

The Sūfī doctrine was not only widely propagated in the Islamic world, but also further developed on Indian soil. Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā, to whom reference has been made above in connection with Muhammad Tughluq, was one of the greatest Sūfīs of the Chishtī order in India and a mighty spiritual force. He laid stress on the element of love as a means of the realization of God. The love of God implied, in his view, the love of humanity, and this ethical idea was strongly inculcated by him on the hearts of his disciples His deep attachment to the idea of universal love is manifest from the following utterance· "O Muslims! I swear by God, that He holds dear those who love Him for the sake of human beings, and also those who love human beings for the sake of God. This is the only way to love and adore God "[3] So the Sūfīs came to regard the service of humanity as part of mystic discipline. Some Sūfīs justified the pursuit of music, not sanctioned by orthodox Islām, on the ground that "a Sūfī is a lover of God, and as such he stands in a different relation to God from others who are merely " *'abd*" or slaves. As music inflames the fire of love and helps in creating the supreme state of ecstasy it is permissible for those who have discretion."[3a]

The Sūfīs were devout Muslims who moved within the limits of Shar' (Law of Islām) and believed it as the true way to salvation. They however "attached an esoteric significance to the teachings of *Qur'ān*" and regarded inward light or intuitive experience as of far more importance than dogmatic formalism of the orthodox type.[4]

The orthodox Muslims depend upon external conduct while the Sūfīs seek inner purity. The orthodox believe in blind obedience to, or observance of, religious rituals, while the Sūfīs think love to be the only means of reaching God.[5]

The origin of medieval mysticism has formed a subject of keen and protracted discussion. Eminent European scholars like Weber held that the idea of *bhakti* as a means and condition of salvation was borrowed from Christianity. Similarly, Grierson regarded the monotheistic doctrine as a Christian idea. These are not regarded seriously by any scholar today. But the idea of borrowing is by no means dead, and Islām is now substituted for Christianity as the source of both the ideas.

As has been demonstrated above, the fundamental doctrines of the medieval saints, including *bhakti* in the shape of an intense love for, and a belief in, one God, have been deep-rooted ideas on Indian soil, and nothing but the strongest positive evidence should incline one to accept the view that the medieval saints were indebted to Christianity, Islām or any other source. The evidence of such a close contact with Christianity as may reasonably support the idea of borrowing from each other is entirely lacking. The question is more complicated in regard to Islām. The contact between Islām and Hindu religious ideas before the twelfth century A.D. was so few and far between, that the chance and possibility of mutual influence in respect of philosophic views and fundamental religious doctrines are very remote indeed. The opinion of some scholars that Śaṅkarāchārya's monism was influenced by Islām would hardly commend itself to anybody. Things were, however, different from the thirteenth century onwards, when Islām established itself in India and dug its roots more and more deeply as centuries rolled by. There can be hardly any doubt that the impact of Islām was felt by the Hindus, and a class of Muslim thinkers was influenced by the rich heritage of thought in India. It is not, however, always easy to determine either the nature or the extent of the reciprocal influence, for, from the very nature of the case, positive or clear evidence is almost always lacking.[6] A comparison of the changes undergone by Hinduism and Islām by the end of the eighteenth century, when strong influence from the West began to modify their character still further, may perhaps give us some clear idea of the more or less permanent and substantial results of the mutual influence. Until such comparison is made, it is unwise to be dogmatic, one way or the other, even in respect of the period under review.

There is a strong body of opinion in favour of the view that medieval mysticism in India was mainly the result of the impact of

Islām. The protagonists of this view may be broadly divided into two classes, according as they regard the influence of Islām as the direct or the indirect cause

It has been urged, for example, that Rāmānanda, with whom the medieval mysticism may be said to begin, "must have acquired knowledge of Islamic ideas, and perhaps was unconsciously inspired by them".[7] It is difficult either to prove or to disprove such a vague general statement. The same writer further observes that "the Bhakti movement of medieval India represents the first effective impingement on Hindu society of Islamic culture and outlook".[8] He admits that the "Bhakti cult was essentially indigenous" to India, but believes that "medieval Bhakti was radically new and basically different from old traditions and ideas of religious authority". In particular he lays stress on the principles of "universal brotherhood and human equality",[9] preached by Islām, and its "new social message of the worth of every human being in the sight of God".[10] It is, however, to be pointed out that the brotherhood of Islām did not extend beyond its own fold and can, by no stretch of imagination, be regarded as universal, if we accept the ordinary meaning of the word According to Muslim tenets, the non-believers or *Kāfirs* occupied a distinctly inferior position. Theoretically speaking, no religion or philosophy preached the universal brotherhood of man more eloquently than the Vedānta, which placed it on the fundamental basis of the identity of all individual souls, all being identical with Brahman. Of course, there was no practical application of this doctrine in social life But neither the theory of Islām, nor its practice, as regards the Hindus, could appeal to the latter as bringing a new message of equality of men The Hindus of the medieval age could be under no illusion on this point when they were forbidden to perform their own religious rites in public, denied political and civic rights on equal terms, and when Islām, as the State religion, could impose its legal system upon them. It would be idle to pretend, therefore, that the equality or brotherhood of Islām could have any other effect than a willing conversion to that faith in order to escape the rigorous distinctions of Hindu society and religion As regards "old traditions and ideas of religious authority", the medieval saints could hardly find much difference between the orthodox Islām and orthodox Hinduism

It is therefore hard to believe that medieval mysticism could owe much to the direct influence of orthodox Islām. It has been suggested that the somewhat heterodox views, beliefs, and practices of the Sūfī sect of Islām had great influence over the medieval saints. There are undoubtedly some striking common features between the

two, in particular the stress on the approach to God through love, intellect and intellectual life being regarded not only as valueless but almost as a positive hindrance. Among other similarities may be noted (1) physical exercises like restraining of breath, (2) service and submission to *pīr* or *guru*, (3) recitation of sacred words, (4) toleration of other religions, and (5) belief in union with the Supreme Being through love and *bhakti*. The general liberal and unorthodox attitude regarding rituals and ceremonies is also another point common between them. It has been pointed out that not only in ideology, but also in the poetic representation of the same, there is a general similarity between the poetry of the medieval saints and Sūfī poets on the one hand and the Buddhist Sahajiyās on the other. It is therefore argued that medieval mysticism is a product of the reaction of Sūfīism against the Sahajiyā background

Though we must be cautious in making any dogmatic assertion of this kind, there is undoubtedly a great degree of plausibility in this view. It is hardly likely, from the very nature of the case, that orthodox Hinduism and orthodox Islām would act and react on each other, at least to any appreciable extent, and there is no tangible evidence of it. But the radical wings of the two are more likely to provide a common meeting ground, and such evidence as we possess seems to favour the view. One may therefore reasonably believe in a close contact between the two and their deep influence on each other, resulting in the evolution of what may be called medieval saints or mysticism But it is not easy to determine in what way they affected each other, and how much each contributed to the result. In any case we have no reason to take it for granted that there was only one way traffic and Sūfīism imposed itself upon Sahajiyā. Nor is it necessary to exclude other factors, such as the normal evolution of religious ideas, in order to explain the rise and growth of medieval mysticism.

This brings us to the views of another class of writers who trace the origin of medieval mysticism to the indirect influence of Islām. According to this view, the presence of such a strong proselytising religion as Islām was a serious challenge to Hinduism, which "inspired the religious men of India also to seek more earnestly for the truths of their own faith"[11] The position may be likened to the danger threatened by Christianity at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A class of reformers, beginning with Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy, arose among the Hindus, to avert this danger, by eradicating what they conceived to be evils in the religious ideas and social practices of the time. But they sought to purify from within, on the basis of what they regarded as pure forms of Hinduism. The

stimulus was supplied by the impact of a foreign religion, but the reforms were based on Hinduism and not borrowed from Christianity. Something like this might have happened at the time of the first contact with Islām, and medieval mysticism may be viewed as an attempt of the same type though not of the same form, as was made by the Brāhma Samāj and other reformist sects of the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note that polytheism, idolatry, caste, etc., which were obvious targets of attack both by Islām and Christianity, formed the chief planks of reform both in the fourteenth and in the nineteenth century.

This view has as much, if not more, to commend itself as any other view so far advanced to explain the origin of the medieval mysticism. It also serves to give us an idea of the result of the impact of Islām and Hinduism on each other Brāhmaism, in one aspect, was an attempt to establish a link between Hinduism and Western Society by removing such rules of caste as prohibited inter-dining and intermarriage The social views of medieval saints may be looked upon as a similar attempt to bridge the wide gulf that separated the two great communities, Hindus and Muslims, inhabiting the same land. But the attempts of both ended in failure The medieval mysticism, like Brāhmaism of later days, hardly effected any breach in the citadels of either orthodox Hinduism or orthodox Islām. Both were restricted to an insignificant minority of the population and gradually languished as an effective instrument of reform. The analogy need not be pursued any further, but the well-known historic origin of the Brāhma Samāj and its general course may offer suitable explanation of the rise and progress of medieval mysticism

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the role of both medieval mysticism and Sūfiism in the history of Indian culture is often exaggerated beyond all proportions. Whatever might have been the value of either as a distinctive phase of Hinduism and Islām, from moral, spiritual and philosophical points of view, their historical importance is considerably limited by the fact that the number of Indians directly affected by them, even at their heyday which was shortlived, could not be very large. The number dwindled very appreciably in course of time, and the two orthodox religions showed no visible sign of being seriously affected by this sudden intrusion of radical elements. They pursued their even tenor, resembling the two banks of a river, separated by the stream that flows between them. Attempts were made to build a bridge connecting the two, but ended in failure Even if there were any temporary bridge, it collapsed in no time.

B. ŚAIVISM.

The rise of Vijayanagara gave a great impetus to Śaivism. The early kings of Vijayanagara were ardent Śaivas and, as mentioned above, they ruled the kingdom as vicegerents of their patron-deity, Virūpāksha.[11a] Virūpāksha was regarded by the Royal House of Vijayanagara as the "city-God and the empire-God". The early king of Vijayanagara make obeisance to Virūpāksha in their inscriptions. It is also on record that Harihara I and Bukka I were the disciples of one Kāśīvilāsa Kriyāśakti, a Pāśupata teacher. The Pāśupata, it would seem, was not a bigot. He was well disposed to the teachers of Advaita and also to the followers of Vaishṇavism. Immadi Bukka, son of Harihara, is said to have made a grant to the temple of Vidyāśaṅkara with the permission of Kriyāśakti. Kriyāśakti himself seems to have made a grant of lands to the local Vishṇu temple.

In the course of the fifteenth century a gradual change took place in the religious convictions of the Vijayanagara house. The rulers developed a partiality for Vaishṇavism, and came to be influenced more and more by the Vaishṇava doctrine The Sāluvas were Vaishnavas, devoted to Nṛisiṁha of Ahobalam and Veṅkateśa of Tirupati. But they were not bigoted Vaishṇavas; and Śiva still had a share in their devotion. Narasiṁha, for instance, though a Vaishnava, observed the Śivarātri, and made a grant on that day in A.D 1466.

Under the Tuluva rulers, Vaishṇavism gained further strength and there was an enormous increase in its influence. Kṛishṇadevarāya introduced into Vijayanagara the cult of Viṭhoba, a phase of Vaishnavism that was prevalent in the Mahārāshṭra country. The highly artistic nature of the shrine which he caused to be erected for the worship of Viṭhoba is evidence of his intense devotion to Vishṇu in that form. And yet Kṛishṇadeva, like his predecessors, was an eclectic in religion His eclecticism was of a wider conception than that of any monarch on the Vijayanagara throne, and that he was warmly devoted to Virūpāksha is established by the taste he has displayed in putting up his inscription at Virūpāksha's shrine. The red-slab record, the only one of its kind put up in this temple, or for the matter of that, in this part of the country, is sufficient testimony to this. At the top of this slab are cut the *liṅga*, the bull and the universally appearing sun and crescent. That an inscription of this king, relating to Virūpāksha, should be consigned to a red slab which is unique among inscribed slabs, shows that Kṛishṇadeva was whole-hearted in his devotion to that God. Among his several acts of piety may be mentioned the substantial remission of certain items of revenue amounting to 10,000 *pon* which he made in 1517-18 in favour

of the Śiva and Vishṇu temples in the Choḷamaṇḍalam, and the northern *gopuram* of the Chidambaram temple which he built in 1517. Of the poets who adorned Kṛishṇadeva's court, some were great Śaivas; Timmana, the author of the *Pārijātāpaharaṇam*, a Telugu work; Dhūrjaṭi, who worte the *Kālahasti-māhātmya;* and Mallana, the author of the *Rājaśekharacharita.* Duarte Barbosa gives expression to the spirit of tolerance and religious understanding that prevailed in Vijayangara in the following words: "The King allows such freedom that every man may go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed by all."

Vīraśaivism continued to spread in the Kannaḍa country and even beyond its borders. Bhīma Kavi composed the *Basava-Purāṇa*. The *Prabhuliṅga-lile* was written by Chāmarasa, and the *Śivatattva-chintāmaṇi* by Lakkana. Śrīpati Paṇḍitāchārya, who is assigned to c. A D. 1400, wrote a commentary, which is called the *Śrīkarabhāsya*, on the *Vedānta-sūtra*, from the Vīraśaiva standpoint. He calls the system which he expounds, Viśeshādvaita. Guru-Basava, who flourished about A.D. 1430, was a great exponent of Vīraśaivism; seven of his works, which are held in high esteem, are called the *Sapta-kāvyas*. Another eminent Vīraśaiva writer, Siddheśvara, lived about A.D 1470

Among the Tamil poets who were ardent Śaivas, the names of two may be mentioned. Arunagiri, author of the *Tiruppugazh,* who was patronised by Devarāya II and Kālamekam who had as his patron a provincial governor

C. VAISHṆAVISM

1. Rāmānuja's School

After the death of Vedāntadeśika in A.D. 1370,[12] his son Varadāchārya or Nainar succeeded as pontiff of the Vaḍakalai sect. But his death was followed by a period of disintegration in which there was no acknowledged head, till an erudite *āchārya* named Ādi Vaṇa-Sāṭhakopa Svāmī, whose original name was Śrīnivāsāchārya, made Ahobila (Kurnul District) the centre of his activities and rallied a large number of the scattered followers round him He set up a number of local monasteries to popularize the works of Rāmānuja and Vedāntadeśika and converted thousands. He declared himself to be the servant of Śri Lakshmī-Nṛisiṁha and carried his image He gave some privileges to the lower classes in the temples and instituted a class of missionaries for the upliftment of hill tribes. It was probably due to his influence that king Devarāya II of Vijayanagara was

formally initiated into Vaishṇavism. Another well known *āchārya* was the famous Tolappa (orginal name Veṅkaṭanātha), who wrote several works on the observances and practices of the Vaishṇavas. The most important of these, *Sadāchāra-Sangraha*, is a digest of all the Smṛitis, regulating the life of an orthodox Brāhmaṇa.

The rival sect, the Teṅkalai, secured dominant position under Alagiyamaṇavāla or Varavara Muni, the second in succession from Pillai Lokāchārya. He returned to Śrīraṅgam and established his influence over the orthodox managers of the Śrīraṅgam temple to such an extent that the *Thirty-Six Thousand* or *Īḍu* was introduced formally as a subject of studies. His teachings and magnetic personality, as well as organizing ability, made the Teṅkalai the dominant sect from Mysore to Cape Comorin, and he came to be regarded as *avatāra* or incarnation of Rāmānuja. A large number of important temples and monasteries in South India still maintain the popularity of the sect, which was mainly due to the use of the vernacular and more liberal social views.

2. Other Vaishṇava Teachers.

a. *Vishṇusvāmin.*

There was a Vaishṇava philosopher named Vishṇusvāmin, who is said to have been the son of an *amātya* of a Dravida chieftain owing allegiance to the Muslim monarch of Delhi. In Nābhājī's *Bhakta-māla*, Vishṇusvāmin is said to have been succeeded on the pontifical seat of his school by Jñānadeva (who wrote the *Jñānadevī*, the Marāṭhī commentary on the *Gītā*), Nāmadeva, Trilochana, and Vallabhācharya. If this tradition is to be accepted, Vishnusvāmin must have flourished about the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century But some scholars refer him to the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. This date is more acceptable in view of the tradition that Vishṇusvāmin's father was an *amātya* of a Dravida chieftain owing allegiance to a Muslim ruler of Delhi. For the Muslim suzerainty did not extend to South India during the thirteenth century A.D.

b *Vallabhāchārya*

Vallabhācharya, whose Vedāntic theory was the same as that of Vishnusvāmin, was the son of a Tailanga Brāhmaṇa named Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa who lived at Kankarava in the Telugu country. Vallabha is said to have been born in A.D. 1479. He lived for some time at Vṛindāvana and for some time at Mathurā. Vallabha was specially devoted to the manifestation of Kṛishṇa called Śrī-Nāthajī,

and was the founder of the *Pushṭimārga*, or the path of divine grace. This school regards Kṛishṇa as the highest Brahman and the highest joy (*paramānanda*). His body is said to consist of *sat* (existence), *chit* (intelligence) and *ānanda* (joy). *Pushṭi* is God's grace (*anugraha*) which enables one to attain the objects of life, while extraordinary *pushṭi* leads to *bhakti* which again conduces to the attainment of God. The sportive Kṛishṇa of the cow-settlement, with his mistress Rādhā, is the object of worship to the adherents of the Vallabhāchārya school. Vallabha's followers wear twelve *gopichandana* marks on their body to represent the twelve forms of Vishṇu, such as a perpendicular mark on the forehead, the mark of a lotus on the bosom, that of a bamboo leaf on the arms, and others. They also print the various weapons of Vishṇu on different parts of the body. Vallabha is referred to by them as the *Achārya*, and his son Viṭṭhaleśa as the *Gosvāmin*. The *gurus* of the Vallabhāchārya sect, who are called *Mahārāja*, are the descendants of the seven sons of Viṭṭhaleśa. Each *guru* has a temple of his own which the devotees have to visit for conducting worship. There is no common temple of worship for this sect.

The worship of Rādhā along with, or in preference to, Kṛishṇa led to the debasement of Vaishṇavism. In the early centuries of the Christian era, Kṛishṇa was conceived as having amorous dalliances with the cowherdesses Later, Rādhā, who is not mentioned by name in the *Harivaṁśa*, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was conceived as his mistress[13] Reference may be made in this connection to the sect of the Sakhībhāvas who affect to be women and dress themselves and act accordingly. Their goal is the realization of the position of the female attendants of Rādhā.

c. *Mādhva School.*[14]

Jayatīrtha was the most important teacher of this school during the period under review, and he is usually regarded as the second great and outstanding personality of this sect after its founder. He was born in a Marāṭhā family at Mangalved, 13 miles south of Paṇḍharpur He spent his life mostly at Mālkhed and wrote a number of commentaries. It is said that he was invited to Vijayanagara by Vidyāraṇya. He must have, therefore, flourished during the first half of the fourteenth century A.D.

The next important name is that of Vidyādhirāja. As the result of a split among his disciples, Kavīndra and Vāgīśa migrated to Anegundi (Hampi) towards the end of the fourteenth century. There were altogether about eleven pontiffs during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

D. MYSTIC SAINTS

1. *Rāmānanda*

There are conflicting traditions about the time when Rāmānanda flourished. Bhandarkar suggested that he was born in A.D. 1299-1300, and died in A.D. 1411. But if the tradition that his disciple Kabīr lived at the time of Sikandar Lodī (A.D. 1489-1517) is genuine, even these dates must be regarded as doubtful. It seems better to refer Rāmānanda's birth to the fourteenth, and his death to the fifteenth, century. He is said to have been born at Prayāga or Allahābād and to have studied the Viśishṭādvaita system of Rāmānuja at Vārāṇasī at the feet of a teacher named Rāghavānanda. After some time he gave up some practices followed by orthodox Vaishṇavas (e.g. taking food without being seen by anybody), and founded a new school of Vaishṇavism based on the gospel of love and devotion. The most important reform attributed to him is the abolition of considerations of caste among his followers. He made no distinction between a Brāhmaṇa and a member of the lowest castes. He was himself a Brāhmaṇa, but had no objection to dine with members of the low castes if they were Vaishṇavas He took pupils even from the so-called degraded castes. According to tradition, his first twelve disciples were Āśānanda, Surāsurānanda, Sukhānanda, Paramānanda, Mahānanda, Pīpā (a Rājput ruling chief), Kabīr (weaver), Bhavānanda, Senā (barber), Dhannā (Jāṭh peasant), Śrī Ānanda, and Ravidās (cobbler). Although a spirit of sympathy for the low castes was a feature of Vaishṇavism, the earlier Vaishṇavas did not put sufficient emphasis on this point. Rāmānanda, however, made it a fundamental tenet of his doctrine. The use of the vernacular instead of Sanskrit was another reform introduced by Rāmānanda. The third important reform attributed to Rāmānanda is the introduction, on a firm basis, of the cult of Rāma and Sītā in place of the worship of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. Rāmānanda borrowed ideas from the various religious schools that flourished before him, but vitalized them with the love and devotion of his heart, and founded a new path of spiritual realization. It is this path which Kabīr and others followed later and decorated with their lives and sayings. Rāmānanda may be said to have begun what is known as the religious renaissance in Medieval India.[15]

Rāmānanda occupies a unique place in the history of religion in Medieval India. Although brought up in the traditional school of Vaishṇavism founded by Rāmānuja, he gave an altogether new turn to it by his reforms, and was mainly instrumental in ushering in the new epoch of medieval mysticism to which reference has been

made above. He has not left behind any written records of his new message, but his disciples and their successors embodied in their lives and teachings the new way of spiritual realization revealed by him. One of his songs, preserved in the Sikh scripture *Granth Sāhib*, may be taken as the gist of his teachings. "I had an inclination to go with sandal and other perfumes to offer my worship to Brahman. But the *guru* revealed that Brahman was in my own heart. Wherever I go, I see only water and stones (worshipped); but it is Thou who hast filled them all with Thy presence. They all seek Thee in vain among the Vedas. My own true *guru,* Thou hast put an end to all my failures and illusions. Blessed art Thou! Rāmānanda is lost in his Master, Brahman, it is the word of the *guru* that destroys all the million bonds of action".[16]

2. *Kabīr*

The most famous disciple of Rāmānanda was Kabīr. His early life is shrouded in mystery. All that is definitely known is that he was brought up by a Muslim weaver named Niru. According to legends of uncertain date, he was the illegitimate son of a Brāhmaṇa widow She cast off the infant to escape infamy, and the weaver's wife found him and adopted him as her son According to other legends, Kabīr was really the son of the Muslim weaver. Wilson thought it improbable, if not impossible, that Kabīr was a Muslim. Malcolm and Westcott are inclined to regard him as a Muslim by birth.[17]

The date of Kabīr's birth is not definitely known. According to legends, Sikandar Lodī, the bigoted Sultān, tried by various means to kill Kabīr, but the latter was miraculously saved each time Both Hindu and Muslim legends make Kabīr a contemporary of Shaikh Taqqī, the former represent them as rivals, while the latter regard Taqqī as the *Pīr* or religious guide of Kabīr. Taqqi is said to have been the *Pīr* of Sikandar Lodī also So we may take Kabīr as a contemporary of Sikandar Lodī, who ruled from A.D. 1489 to 1517. This fits in with the tradition that Kabīr died in A.D. 1518, and that Nānak met him about A D 1496, but not with the other tradition which places his birth in A D 1398.[18]

The way in which he became a disciple of Rāmānanda is described in the legends. It is said that Kabīr lay down on the steps of the bathing *ghat* where Rāmānanda used to take his bath early morning every day. Rāmānanda, having stepped on him by accident, exclaimed Rām, Rām. Kabīr took that as the *mantra,* and Rāmānanda, apprised of the whole fact, accepted him as his disciple. After that Kabīr returned home and led a pious and saintly life.

But he did not favour asceticism or mortification of flesh which he considered as useless. "If", said he, "salvation is achieved by living on roots and fruits alone, birds' and animals' would be ideal lives." He married and had two children, a son and a daughter He led the life of a simple householder and earned his livelihood by his father's profession of weaving. He himself wove cloth and took it to the market, even when he had numerous disciples and were held by them in the highest veneration His usual place of residence was at Vārānasī (Banaras).

Of Kabīr's learning and scholarship we know very little But he was conversant with the religious literature of the Hindus. The following short account is preserved in the *Bhakta-māla* of Nābhāji which is generally regarded as an authentic source.

"Kabīr refused to acknowledge caste distinctions or to recognise the authority of the six schools of Hindu Philosophy, nor did he set any store by the four divisions of life (Ashram) prescribed for Brahmins. He held that religion without *bhakti* was no religion at all and that asceticism, fasting and alms-giving had no value if unaccompanied by worship (*Bhajan*, hymn-singing). By means of *Ramainis*, *Shabdas* and *Sakhis* he imparted religious instruction to Hindus and Muhammadans alike. He had no preference for either religion, but gave teaching that was appreciated by the followers of both. He spoke out his mind fearlessly and never made it his object merely to please his hearers."[19]

Kabīr made no distinction between Hinduism and Islām "Kabīr is the child of Allāh and Rām", he used to say, and made an earnest, though unsuccessful, effort to remove the differences which separated Hindus and Muslims. The Hindu and Muslim followers of Kabīr are naturally prone to represent him as having derived his moral and spiritual truth more from the one or the other source. A western scholar, who has gone deeply into the study of this subject, makes the following observations "His favourite name for God is Rāma Like all his Vaishṇavite predecessors he seeks release from transmigration and opens the path to deliverance by loving devotion. The ancient mythology provides him with frequent illustrations; the great gods of the venerable Triad, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva still perform their functions in the economy of existence. And Kabīr has not studied philosophy for nothing; its language is often on his lips".[20]

Kabīr, however, was insistent on bringing home to the minds of his disciples that the difference between Hindus and Muslims is merely an artificial one. "In the beginning", said he, "there was not Turk nor Hindu,—no race, no caste."

There is no doubt that Kabīr had a large following both among Hindus and Muslims. It is said that when he died at Maghar in the district of Gorakhpur, there was a dispute among the Hindus and Muslim Kabīr-panthīs (followers of Kabīr) as to the disposal of his body. The Hindus wanted to burn, and the Muslims to bury it. But when the sheet covering the dead body was removed, nothing was found but a heap of flowers. The Hindus took half of these and burnt them at Vārānasī. The other half was buried by the Muslims at Maghar.

Kabīr did not codify his doctrine in the form of a book. He was fond of oral teachings in the shape of small poems. These are collected in the *Bījaka* (the Seed Book), the sacred text of the Kabīr-panthīs who all recognize it to be an authoritative exposition of their master's teachings. It contains poems and songs in a great variety of metres. A current edition of this text contains 83 *Ramainis*, 113 *Shabdas*, 33 poems of various kinds, and 364 *Sākhis*. To these have been added 60 *Sākhis* found in other editions[21] The most important of these are *Sākhis* (corruption of Sanskrit *sākshī*, meaning evidence) or rhyming couplets bearing witness to the truth[22] The fine rhythm of these enables one to easily remember them. The language of the *Bījaka* is said to be Hindī, then in vogue in the neighbourhood of Vārānasī (Banaras), Mirzapur and Gorakhpur. But it contains more than 235 words of Persian, Arabic and Turkish origins[23] Reference has been made above to the *Bāṇīs* or "Message Poems" of Kabīr.

According to tradition, the *Bījaka* was dictated by Kabīr himself to a disciple named Bhagawān Dās But some modern scholars hold that the oral teaching of Kabīr was not reduced to writing till A.D 1570, that is, about half a century after Kabīr's death The *Bījaka* is the first collection, and belongs to this period It may be added, as an evidence of the authenticity of this work, that most of the sayings attributed to Kabīr in the *Ādi-Grantha* of the Sikhs, are also found in the *Bījaka*.[24]

The message of Kabīr and the spirit of his teachings can be easily gathered from his poems which go straight to the heart of man and are even today well-known over a large part of Northern India. Some of these have been quoted in the Appendix, and a few passages are given below in order to give an idea of the views held by this great preacher.

1. Sanskrit is the water in a well, the language of the people is the flowing stream.

2. If by worshipping stones one can find God, I shall worship a mountain.

3 If by immersion in the water salvation be obtained, the frogs bathe continually. As the frogs, so are these men, again and again they fall into the womb.

4. If by wandering about naked, union with Hari be obtained, then every deer of the forest will become emancipated If by shaving the head, perfection is obtained, the sheep is emancipated.

5. O Qāzī, what book is expounded by thee; all such as are pondering on the book are killed; give up the book, adore Rām.

6. A man may read many books before he dies and yet not be a Paṇḍit, he is a Paṇḍit who understands the two and a half letters which form the word 'Love'

7. Be truthful, be natural, Truth alone is natural Seek this truth within your own heart, for there is no truth in the external religious observances; neither in the sects nor in the holy vows, neither in religious garb nor in pilgrimages. Truth resides within the heart and is revealed in love, in strength, in compassion. Conquer hatred, and extend your love to all mankind, for God resides in all.

8. The difference among faiths is only due to difference in names; everywhere there is yearning for the same God Why do the Hindus and Muslims quarrel for nothing? Keep at a distance all pride and vanity, insincerity and falsehood; consider others the same as yourself, let your heart be filled with love and devotion. Then alone will your struggle be successful Life is transitory, do not waste your time, but take refuge in God He is within your own heart, so why do you fruitlessly search Him in holy places, in scriptures, in rites and ceremonials?

9. Brother' From where have the two masters of the Universe come? Tell me. who has invented the names of Allāh, Rām, Keśav, Hari and Hazrat? All ornaments of gold are made of a unique substance It is to show to the world that two different signs are made, one is called *Nimāz* while the other is termed *Pūjā*. Mahādev and Muhammad are one and the same. Brahmā and Adam are one and the same What is a Hindu? What is a Turk? Both inhabit the same earth. One reads the *Veda*, and the other the *Qur'ān* and the *Khutba.* One is a Maulānā and the other a Paṇḍit. Earthen vessels have different names, although they are made from the same earth. Kabīr says: both are misled, none has found God.

10. Rām, Khudā, Śakti, Śiva are one. Then to whom do the prayers go? The Vedas, the Purānas and the *Qur'ān* are only different manners of description. Neither the Hindu nor the Turk, neither the Jain nor the Yogī is cognizant of the secret

11. Allāh and Rām are thy names. Thou art master full of *misericorde*. It is no use bending the shaven head to the ground; it is no use washing your bodies with water. The Hindu observes twenty-four fasts of Ekādaśī, while the Muslim observes his full month fast If only one month is sacred, what about the other eleven months?

12. Saints, see how the world has gone mad. If I tell them the truth they run after me to beat me. The world believes in falsehood. I have seen those who observed punctiliously all the religious practices and ceremonies. I have seen those too who take a bath every morning. They worship idols of copper and stone. They have become mad by the pride of their pilgrimages. The Hindu says that he worships Rām and the Muslim says that he worships Rahmān. They die of disputing with one another. Both are ignorant of the secret Kabīr says. O Saints, listen! All this is due to error and ignorance![25]

After the death of Kabīr his disciples approached his son Kamāl with a request to found a sect Kamāl, as a worthy son of his father, replied "My father had striven throughout his life against all forms of sectarianism; how can I, his son, destroy his ideal and thereby commit his spiritual murder?"[25a] This disappointed the disciples of Kabīr, but could not prevent the rise of Kabīr-panthi sects. Kabir's Muslim disciples founded a monastery at Maghar, while his Hindu disciples likewise organized themselves into an order under the leadership of Surat Gopāl Many of his other disciples also founded separate sects The seed of the message of the unity of Hari and Allāh was not evidently sown on a fertile soil and did not sprout. Nevertheless the spirit of Kabīr's teachings did not die out, and was kept alive by his numerous disciples and followers. Their activities, however, fall beyond the period under review, and will be treated in the next volume

3 *Other disciples and followers of Rāmānanda.*

It is doubtful whether all the twelve disciples mentioned above were really initiated by Rāmānanda Some of these were probably attracted by his ideas and teachings, but joined his order after his death. That was the case with Anantānanda who founded a sect His grand-disciple, Nābhā, an untouchable, was the author of the *Bhakta-māla* or 'Lives of Devotees' which is one of the most important source-books for the history of the medieval saints.

Another famous follower of Rāmānanda, though not an actual disciple, was Sadnā, a butcher by caste, two of whose songs are included in the *Grantha Sāhib.*

Among the twelve disciples mentioned above, Ravidās occupies a high place on account of his exalted spiritual life and purity of heart. He is reputed to have been the spiritual *guru* of Jhālī and Mīrābāi, two queens of the Śiśodiyā Rāṇā family of Chitor. His religious ideas followed the same lines as those of Kabīr.

We need not dwell at length on the other disciples of Rāmānanda, each of whom gathered round him a devoted band of followers. The monasteries founded by some of them still attract devoted pilgrims.

4. *Chaitanya.*

Though differing in some respects from the views of Rāmānanda and Kabīr, Chaitanya (an abbreviated form of the full name Kṛishna-Chaitanya) must be regarded as one of the greatest saints in Medieval India His original name was Viśvambhara (nickname, Nimāi), and he was born in February, 1486, in a family which had migrated from Sylhet (E. Pakistan) and settled in Navadvīpa or Nadīyā in West Bengal. He studied in a Sanskrit *ṭol* and, after the death of his father, himself set up a *ṭol* He married twice, as his first wife died shortly after her marriage At the age of twenty-two Viśvambhara visited Gayā to offer oblations to his deceased father. There he met a recluse named Īśvarapurī, who gave him *Kṛishna-mantra.* This changed the whole tenor of his life He became veritably a god-intoxicated devotee Wrapped in mystic and emotional experience, he incessantly uttered the name of Kṛishna, laughed, wept and raved, and not unoften fell into trances. A band of followers gathered round him, including two great devotees named Advaita and Nityānanda, and with their co-operation he introduced some striking innovations in religious life. A new type of emotional and devotional songs, called *kīrtana,* often consisting of merely recitation of the names of Hari and Kṛishṇa, and sung in chorus to the accompaniment of loud instrumental music, became the regular feature of religious life. Huge processions of *kīrtana* parties paraded the streets of Navadvīpa, with Viśvambhara and his prominent followers at the head, singing and dancing wildly in a mood of ecstasy. Devotional meetings, the main feature of which was *kīrtana,* were held almost daily in the house of pious Śrīnivāsa, where strange scenes were witnessed of hysterical orgy of dancing and wild fits of ecstatic thrills. Men trembled, wept, and raved, while dancing, for hours together; this covered their body with copious perspiration, and in some cases brought on exhaustion ending in fits of unconsciousness or mystic trances. But whatever we may think of it, such emotional mode of worship, merely consisting in musical

recitation of the names of Hari and Kṛishṇa, made this new cult of Vaishṇavism highly popular among the masses. A section of the public got disgusted with the tumultuous scenes in public streets, and the Muslim governor prohibited the *kīrtana* party. But Viśvambhara adopted, what is called in our day, methods of civil disobedience or passive resistance. He openly defied the order till it was rescinded (by divine interference in the shape of a dream, as the scriptures would have us believe).

Viśvambhara was initiated as a *sannyāsin* (ascetic) by Keśava Bhāratī in January, 1510, and adopted the name Śrī Kṛishṇa-Chaitanya, abbreviated into Chaitanya His first idea was to settle at Vṛindāvana, the reputed scene of Kṛishṇa's boyhood, as described in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. But at his mother's request he agreed to fix his permanent residence nearer home, at Puri. Here both Partāparudra, the Gajapati king of Orissa, and Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, a renowned Vedāntist, are said to have become his followers, and the new cult obtained a firm footing Later, Chaitanya made an extensive pilgrimage to South and West India (c. 1509-11), preaching his gospel all along his way. Shortly after his return he made a similar tour in North India, proceeding as a far as Vṛindāvana. The sacred sites of Vrindāvana were deserted and forgotten. Their recovery by the Bengal Vaishṇavas, at the instance of Chaitanya, and the conversion of the holy site into a great religious centre, must be regarded as one of the most important events in the history of Vaishnavism The task was mainly accomplished by two highly placed Hindu officials of the Muslim ruler of Bengal, who met Chaitanya at Gauḍa on his way to Vṛindāvana and became his devoted followers They became celebrated under their new names Rūpa and Sanātana, and settled at Vṛindāvana From A.D. 1515 till his death in 1533, Chaitanya remained at Puri He spent his time in expounding his teachings, amidst frequent religious trances and divine ecstasies. During the last twelve years he was seized with an extraordinary degree of devotional fervour and passed in a state of continual frenzy, which is described in Vaishṇava literature as a state of *divyonmāda* or *premonmāda* (madness of divine love)[26]

Like other medieval saints, Chaitanya laid stress on sincere and passionate love for God as the only way to salvation, but he was thoroughly saturated with the Rādhā-Krishṇa cult, and stressed the amorous episodes described in the *Bhāgavata*. There is no doubt that he was profoundly influenced by the passionate romantic poems of Jayadeva, and the melodious songs of Chaṇḍīdāsa, both based on the theme of the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. According to Chaitanya

School, Kṛishṇa took his birth as a human being (Chaitanya) in order to enjoy, through personal experience, the ardour of Rādhā's passions for her beloved Kṛishṇa. As a matter of fact, probably no other religious saint carried to such an extent the emotional approach to God as a lover to his beloved. But this love had nothing physical in it and Chaitanya put it on a high spiritual plane. Hence he took good care to guard against its degeneration into sensual amours Any kind of social intercourse with women was forbidden to his followers, and Chaitanya refused to see the face of one of his most favourite disciples for no greater offence than having exchanged a few formal words with an elderly Vaishṇava lady whose piety and virtue were well known to him. He did not lay great stress on knowledge, though a profound philosophy grew round his teachings in course of time. He laid down, by his precept and example, sincere zeal and devotion, and a passionate love for Hari or Kṛishṇa, as the only means of salvation, and elevated the simple recitation of the names of Hari and Kṛishṇa to the level of a high spiritual discipline as a sacred *mantra* He emphasized universal love and brotherhood as the first step to the love of God. He was a mystic *par excellence*, and may even be said to have carried his mysticism beyond all rational limits; yet, though he did not care for rituals, he did not discard the sacred scriptures, or worship of images of gods, as utterly useless In his attitude towards caste, also, he seems to have followed a middle path He disregarded all distinctions of caste and creed so far as reilgious initiation was concerned, and one of his most favourite disciples was a Muslim devotee named Haridāsa But he is said to have approved of the latter's conduct in not entering the temple of Jagannātha or taking his meals with the Hindu devotees There are, however, incidents, in his authentic biography, which are not fully in consonance with this conservative attitude There is, however, no doubt that his catholic spirit made no distinctions between the Brāhmaṇas, Chaṇḍālas, and Yavanas (Muslims), and brought them all within the fold of his religion of love and charity This liberal outlook, which formed an essential feature of Chaitanya's sect, at least to begin with, was one of the most important reasons for its wide popularity among the masses.

Chaitanya did not leave behind any regular organization to carry on his work, but as in the case of Kabīr and others, several sects grew in course of time. The main sect, which flourished in Bengal, rapidly became very popular and exists even today.

The descendants of Nityānanda living at Navadvīpa, and those of Advaita residing at Śāntipur, are the spiritual heads of the sect. There are several temples of this sect in Bengal and at Mathurā

and Vṛindāvana. The followers of Chaitanya wear two white perpendicular lines on the forehead, joined together at the bridge of the nose, together with a line continued up to the tip of the nose. They also wear a necklace of three strings of *Tulasī* beads and a rosary of the same.

5. *Nānak*

Nānak, an elderly contemporary of Chaitanya, holds a unique place among the medieval saints of India. He cut himself adrift from all associations with prevailing sectarian religions, and although his approach to God was through love and devotion, he did not adopt the imagery or symbolism of Vaishṇavism or any other creed. His was the first, and also the last, successful attempt to bring together the Hindus and Muslims in a common fold of spiritual and social brotherhood. The fact that it was not destined to spread beyond the confines of a narrow geographical region, merely demonstrates the almost insuperable difficulty involved in the task that he had undertaken, and the high place that must be given to him in the socio-religious history of India even for his partial success. The political achievements of Sikhism, the great sect which owes its origin to him, have largely over-shadowed its spiritual character, but it is this latter aspect alone with which the name of Nānak must ever be associated, and which therefore should engage our sole attention

Nānak was born in A D. 1469 in a Khatri family, at Talwandi, now known as Nankānā, situated about thirty-five miles to the south-west of Lahore His father, Kālu, was an accountant in the village, and Nānak received his first education in the local school. But he was indifferent to study and preferred the retirement of the forest and the society of the religious men who frequented it. Kālu did not like the religious temperament of his son, and made Nānak study the Persian language so that he might be fit for the post which he (Kālu) then held. But though Nānak became highly proficient in Persian, his religious and spiritual tendencies grew more and more with his age. He also showed a marked disinclination to abide by religious customs and conventions such as putting on the sacred thread. Nānak married at an early age but could not be induced to do any useful work to earn his livelihood It is said that he spent his time in carrying on discourses with the *sādhus* or saints, and composing religious hymns in praise of the one God whom he loved. Through these hymns he preached high ethical and spiritual doctrines by means of simple allegorical representations. Thus when Nānak was asked by his father to turn his attention to agriculture, he replied: "Make thy body the fields, good

works the seed, irrigate with God's name; make thy heart the cultivator, God will germinate in thy heart, and thou shalt thus obtain the dignity of *nirvān*". When his father asked him to keep a shop, Nānak replied in a similar strain: "Make the knowledge that life is frail thy shop, the true Name thy stock-in-trade". Once his father sent him with a sum of money to buy some articles of trade, but he gave the whole amount to some mendicants whom he met on the way. Jairām, who had married Nānak's sister and held the post of a revenue officer at Sultānpur, took him there and secured the post of store-keeper for him He did the work quite well for some time But suddenly one day he disappeared in the neighbourhood and is said to have the vision of God in a trance and heard a divine voice: "My name is God, and thou art the divine *guru*".

On his return from the forest after three days, he gave to the poor all that he possessed and left the world. He put on a mendicant's garb and sought the company of religious men He then announced that there was no Hindu and no Musulmān. When questioned by the Muslim *qāzī*, he replied· "Make kindness thy mosque, sincerity thy prayer carpet, what is just and lawful thy *Qur'ān*, modesty thy curcumcision, civility thy fasting, so shalt thou be a Musulmān" In this strain Nānak laid emphasis on the purity of character and conduct and a high ethical code, rather than any dogma or creed of any sect, as the sole means of salvation He believed in one God, and love and constant meditation upon Him as the only way of receiving His grace He denounced the worship of images and all distinctions of caste and creed He preached his catholic views through the hymns which he sang to the accompaniment of the *rebek* (a stringed musical instrument) played by Mardānā, who belonged to the tribe of hereditary minstrels called Dums, and came from Talwandi to become a servant of Nānak at Sultānpur Accompanied by his faithful attendant Mardānā, Nānak is said to have undertaken wide tours all over India, and even beyond it to Ceylon in the south, and Mecca and Medina on the west A number of miracles are attributed to him throughout his travels He made quite a large number of converts during this journey and his name and fame spread on all sides

Nānak died in A D 1538 at Kartārpur in the Punjāb His Hindu and Muslim disciples wanted to dispose of the body according to their respective customs But, as in the case of Kabīr, when the covering sheet was removed next morning, the body had disappeared and there remained only two bunches of flowers deposited on his two sides by the respective groups. The Hindus erected a shrine, and the Muslims, a tomb, on the bank of the Rāvī.

Nānak had two sons, but their minds were insincere and they had rebelled and deserted him. So shortly before his death, he appointed Angad his successor.

The hymns of Nānak have been preserved in the *Ādi-Grantha* In these he sang the glory of one great God, and man's duty of meditating His name with a pure heart, bereft of all evil passions and desires for worldly good. One of his hymns contains the following: "At God's gate there dwell thousands of Muhammads, thousands of Brahmās, of Vishṇus, of Śivas, thousands upon thousands of exalted Rāmas. There is one Lord over all spiritual lords, the creator whose name is true".[27] Nānak preached that religious acts and austerities practised by the different religious sects were useless, and love and devotion to the one God is the only way of attaining His grace and blessings "The real temple was the house in which the Lord's praises were ever sung and the Lord's name continually repeated" Setting aside the Vedas and the *Qur'ān*, he taught his followers to repeat the name of the infinite God who surpasses all conceptions He stressed the role of *guru* whose guidance was of the utmost value in the development of spiritual life[28] Nānak acknowledged Kabīr as his spiritual guide[29], and the following hymns,[30] like many others, closely echo the teachings of that great saint:

I Religion consisteth not in a patched coat, or in a Yogi's staff, or in ashes smeared over the body;
Religion consisteth not in earrings worn, or a shaven head, or in the blowing of horns.
Abide pure amid the impurities of the world; thus shalt thou find the way of religion

II Religion consisteth not in mere words:
He who looketh on all men as equal is religious.
Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation;
Religion consisteth not in earrings worn, or a shaven head, or bathing at places of pilgrimages
Abide pure amid the impurities of the world, thus shalt thou find the way of religion

III. On meeting a true *guru* doubt is dispelled and the wanderings of the mind restrained
It raineth nectar, slow ecstatic music is heard, and man is happy within himself.
Abide pure amid the impurities of the world, thus shalt thou find the way of religion

APPENDIX

THREE POEMS OF KABĪR[31]

I

I. 13 mo ko kahan dhunro bande[32]

O servant, where dost thou seek me,
Lo, I am beside thee.
I am neither in temple nor in mosque:
I am neither in Kaaba nor in Kailash:
Neither am I in rites and ceremonies, nor in yoga and renunciation.
If thou art a true seeker, thou shalt at once see Me: thou shalt meet Me in a moment of time.
Kabir says, "O Sadhu! God is the breath of all breath"

LXVI

1. 20. man na rangaye

The Yogi dyes his garments, instead of dyeing his mind in the colours of love:
He sits within the temple of the Lord, leaving Brahma, to worship a stone.
He pierces holes in his ears, he has a great beard and matted locks, he looks like a goat:
He goes forth into the wilderness, killing all his desires, and turns himself into a eunuch.
He shaves his head and dyes his garments; he reads the Gita and becomes a mighty talker.
Kabir says: "You are going to the doors of death, bound hand and foot!"

LXIX

III. 2. jo khoda masjid vasat hai

If God be within the mosque, then to whom does this world belong?
If Ram be within the image which you find upon your pilgrimage, then who is there to know what happens without?
Hari is in the East: Allah is in the West. Look within your heart, for there you will find both Karim and Ram;
All the men and women of the world are His living forms.
Kabir is the child of Allah and of Ram: He is my Guru, He is my Pir

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1 *Katha*, I, 2, 23, *Mundaka*. III, 2, 3. *SBE*. XV 11, 40.
2. Vol. V, 353 ff
2a. Vol. V. p 467
3. Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture* (1957), p 43.
3a Ibid, 46
4. Ibid, 67
5. A. M. A Shustery, *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, p. 364
6 Yusuf Husain, op cit. 13

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid, 31
9. Ibid, 1.
10. Ibid, 31.
11. *Cultural Heritage of India*, II, 249
11a. Above, p. 272
12. Vol V. 439-40
13. Ibid, 435-6
14. Cf. *JIH*, XV. 103 ff
15. *Cultural Heritage*, II, 249 ff.
16. Ibid, 250.
17. G. H. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabirpanth* (Second Edition, Calcutta, 1953), p 20. Cf also Ch. XV B II 1 (pp 502-4)
18 Ibid, 2.
19 Ibid, 18-9
20. Ibid, 118.
21. Ibid, 49.
22. Ibid, 51
23 J. E Carpenter, *Theism in Medieval India* (quoted by Westcott, 116-7)
24 Westcott, op. cit. 28, 48.
25 For these sayings, cf *Cultural Heritage*, II, 255, Westcott, 59, 66, 70, Yusuf; op cit 20-1.
25a. *Cultural Heritage*, II.254
26. For a critical account of Chaitanya on which this para is based, cf. S K De, *Early History of the Vaishnava Faith and Movement in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1942)
27. M A Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1909), p 41
28. Ibid, 193
29 Westcott, op. cit., 1
30. Macauliffe op cit, 60
31 *One Hundred Poems of Kabir* Translated by Rabindranath Tagore Reproduced with the kind permission of Messrs Macmillan and Co, Ltd, Calcutta
32 The reference of the headlines of the poems is to *Kabir* by Srī Kshitimohan Sen, 4 parts, Brahmacharyāśrama Bolpur, 1910-11

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL LIFE

A HINDU SOCIETY

1 *Introductory*

The conquest of the major parts of North India by the Muslim Turks is the dominant historical event of the thirteenth century A.D., but its full effects were felt for the first time during the period under review The conquest was attended by extensive settlements of the foreigners whose number was being increased by constant migrations from the Islamic lands as well as by occasional mass conversions of the indigenous people. Because of the inflexibility of their religious creed, which permitted no compromise with other faiths, the settlers remained (as their co-religionists still remain) a distinct social unit, thus introducing a permanent cleavage of the Indian population along religious lines. The impact of militant Islām had as yet but little effect upon the age-old social life of the older inhabitants Even the teachings of the saints and mystics of the fourteenth and later centuries, which formed one of the most characteristic developments of the time, left the Hindu society as yet practically unchanged Indirectly, however, the new menace to the existence of the indigenous culture led to the production of a large number of *Smṛti* Digests and Commentaries tending towards systematization of the old social and religious law The somewhat different pattern of the social structure, envisaged in the historical records of the indigenous people of different regions of the time, bear the impress of this teaching [1]

In so far as the social life of the vast majority of the Indian population following the indigenous faiths is concerned, the *Smṛiti* authorities therefore constitute, for the centuries of our survey, our basic authority. What distinguishes this period from the preceding one is the paucity of inscriptions such as those which helped previously to check the *Smṛti* evidence in the precise context of its application to specific regions and dates This defect is somewhat compensated by the rise of regional schools of *Smṛitis* with their respective authoritative Digests. Such, in the first place, is the school of Mithilā of which the principal authorities for our period are the *Gṛihastharatnākara* and other works of Chaṇḍeśvara (1300-70), the *Vivādachintāmaṇi* and other works of Vāchaspati Miśra

(1425-90), and the *Vivādachandra* of Misarumiśra (*flor.* c 1450). Such, again, is the school of Banaras of which the *Madana-ratna-pradīpa*, attributed to a chieftain in Gorakhpur area called Madanasiṁha and consisting of *Vyavahāravivekoddyota* and other sections (composed between A D. 1425 and 1450), and the *Madanapārijāta* of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa (composed between A D. 1360 and 1390) are our authorities. Such is also the school of Bengal with the celebrated commentary, *Dīpakalikā*, on *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti* and other works of Śūlapāṇi (1375-1440) as our authority. Such, finally, is the Southern school having as its principal authorities, *Parāśara-Smṛiti*, with the gloss of the celebrated Mādhavāchārya (hereafter referred to as *Parāśara-Mādhava*) and other works of the same Mādhavāchārya, otherwise called Vidyāranya (1300-1380), the *Nrisiṁha-prasāda* consisting of the *Vyavahārasāra* and other sections (composed between A.D. 1490 and 1515) of Dalapati, and the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* (comprising *Vyavahārakāṇda* and other sections) of Pratāparudra (1497-c. 1540).[2] More indefinite in their application are the *Smṛiti* sections belonging to the late *Purāṇas* like the *Brihaddharma Purāṇa* The picture which emerges from our survey of this vast and scattered material is that of conformity to the general pattern of the old *Smritis* with some important developments which will principally form the subject-matter of this chapter

2 *Social divisions and sub-divisions*

The social structure in the *Smṛitis* consists, as is well known, of four primary castes (the Brāhmanas the Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras) with diminishing rank and status, an indefinite number of the so-called mixed castes of varying status, and finally, of a group of despised castes coming at the bottom of the scale The duties and occupations of these castes (specially of the Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas) are described at great length in these works The *Smritis* likewise describe, under the head *āhnika*, the daily routine of the householder (*gṛihastha*) and the would-be householder (*snātaka*) belonging to the three upper classes. The picture is that of incessant toil devoted to religious practices and acts of piety As a *Smṛiti* authority (Daksha quoted in the *Grihastharatnākara*, 134) observes· "From sunrise to sunset the Brāhmaṇa should not remain idle for an instant, and he should devote himself to his compulsory, occasional and optional duties, as well as other blameless occupations."

The above rules are repeated in the *Smṛiti* commentaries and Digests of our period with occasional comments which will be briefly noticed here. As regards the Brāhmaṇa's occupations the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 425-26) first declares agriculture and so forth

to be of the nature of duties prescribed in the scriptures, on the ground that officiating at sacrifices and the like are of too rare an occurrence to furnish means of subsistence for householders in the Kali Age. Quoting in the next place a number of mutually contradictory texts about the lawfulness of the Brāhmaṇa's occupation of agriculture, the author adjusts the difference in two alternative ways; they refer, we are told, to different degrees of distress (the Brāhmaṇa being held to be entitled to pursue agriculture through others in a time of slight distress, and in person at a time of grave distress), or else to different *yugas* or Age-cycles (the Brāhmaṇa's pursuit of agriculture through others being declared to be his duty in times of distress in the other Ages and his principal duty in the Kali Age). The professions of trade and crafts, like that of agriculture, we are told elsewhere by the same authority (I, 435), belong to all castes, and the Brāhmaṇas in particular are entitled to practise agriculture. In view of this clear and authoritative exposition of the normal occupations of Brāhmaṇas, the ban on the modes of subsistence previously conceded to them in times of distress, which occurs in a list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age (*Kalivarjyas*) quoted with approval by the author in another context (I, 123-27), seems to be somewhat unreal. On the other hand, the prohibition in the same list of *Kalivarjyas* of the Brāhmana's living by non-accumulation of grain for the next day—a practice which is extolled in some of the *Smritis* as the most praiseworthy for a Brāhmana—appears to be thoroughly in accord with the spirit of the age. The high eulogy of Brāhmaṇas is accompanied in our present works, as in the *Smṛitis*, with strong denunciation of unworthy members of this order (*Parāśara-Mādhava*, III, 158 ff; *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa*, III, 2. ff).

As for the duties of the next two castes in the order of social precedence, it will be sufficient for our purpose to quote the observations in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 390-97). Describing the duties of the king, after the *Smṛiti* standards, under the heads, 'punishing the wicked' and 'cherishing the good', the author takes great pains to justify the orthodox position that these constitute the distinctive duty of the Kshatriya. The title of king, it is argued after quoted texts, appertains to the Kshatriya, and the right to wield weapons for the purpose of protecting the people likewise belongs to him alone.

In so far as the *Smṛiti* routine of the daily duties of the householder is concerned, a few comments of our authors call for notice. One who has studied the whole Veda, we are told in the *Gṛihastha-ratnākara* (249), should repeat the same from the beginning, one who

has studied only a portion of the Vedas is to repeat the *Purusha-sūkta* (*Rv.*, X, 90) and similar texts, while one who has studied only the *Gāyatrī* hymn is to repeat the *Purāṇas*. The *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 292-93) similarly explains that one who is capable of performance of the Vedic rites should not be content with the rites prescribed in the *Smṛitis*, but one incapable of performance of the Vedic rites should perform those of the *Smṛitis*, and one unable to perform even the latter should follow good custom. These extracts, while illustrating the characteristic tendency of the *Smṛitis* to adjust their rules to the varying capacities and inclinations of the people at different periods, are a reminder of the decline of Vedic learning and rites among the upper classes at this period Of equal importance is the explanation in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* of the householder's daily obligation of hospitable reception of guests. The praise of feeding friends along with condemnation of feeding enemies, as well as the prohibition of feeding the ignorant along with the injunction of feeding the learned which we find in the *Smṛiti* texts, we are told (I, 349-50), does not apply to guests arriving at the end of the *Vaiśvadeva* offering (presenting to the fire before meals). In fact the mark of a guest is not his learning and so forth, but simply his arrival within the prescribed time-limit after that offering The term 'guest', it is further explained (I, 352), excludes one of the same village arriving regularly on selected days, and is confined to an unknown man arriving on a sudden and suffering from the pangs of hunger Furthermore, the reception of the guest with words of welcome, the customary offering for a respectable person, a seat and so forth, is the due of the Brahmana alone, while the Kshatriya and the rest are simply to be given food at the Brāhmana's residence (I, 353). These extracts illustrate the continuance of the old *Smṛiti* rule inculcating universal, though not indiscriminate, charity, somewhat limited by the exigencies of caste It remains to mention that the householder's duty of hospitality to guests is impressively set forth in the *Smṛiti* sections of the late *Purāṇas* (*Bṛihaddharma Purāna*, II 5.34-36, 15 26-30; *Brahmavaivartta Purāna*, 84.1.ff.).

As regards the duties and occupations of the Śūdras our authors betray a twofold attitude The complete dependence of the Śūdra upon the Brāhmana is reflected in such works as the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 418-20), where we are told that the Śūdra's highest duty is the service of the Brāhmaṇa, as it ensures for him supreme bliss, along with his distinctive occupation; while, by contrast, the service of the Kshatriya and the Vaiśya is his subordinate duty, as it secures for him merely his occupation It is emphasized still more in the *Brihaddharma Purāṇa* (III, 4-5; 24-25, 31-32). On the other hand,

our authors tend to relax the strict *Smṛiti* rule forbidding dealings in certain classes of commodities by a Śūdra engaged in trade in default of service, and they justify this by reference to different occasions as well as different grades of Śūdras. The prohibition of the sale of five specified classes of commodities, we are told in the *Gṛihastharatnākara* (479-80), applies to the Śūdra in normal times, but not in times of distress; the parallel set of prohibitions, the author further observes, refers to good Śūdras and not to condemned ones. the Śūdra does not become an outcaste even by selling meat, and so forth. The prohibition of the sale of salt and the like, we are told more briefly in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 422-23), applies to Brāhmaṇas engaged in trade in times of distress, but the Śūdras incur no blame on that account, although they are forbidden in other texts to deal with liquors and meat

The older religious disabilities of the Sūdras are repeated by our authors with a certain tendency to relax them within the narrow canonical limits. The Śūdras, according to the *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa* (III, 4 15-32), must not practise the Vedic or the ordinary religious exercises, and he must not study the Vedas or the Purāṇas nor explain the sacred texts, but he may listen to recitations of the Purāṇas and study as much of the Āgamas (Tantras) as is permitted to him by his *guru:* he must not utter *mantras* with the words *svāhā* and *om*. Discussing a hypothetical argument which questions the Śūdra's right to enter upon the householder's life, the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 537) concludes that the Śūdra is so entitled on the ground of reference to him in the section on marriage and to his rights in the section on householder's duties of the type of the five great sacrifices Similarly discussing an argument which disqualifies the Śūdra for rites capable of being performed only by offering to the sacred fires, the *Madanapārijāta* (231) concludes that whenever the Śūdra is allowed to offer oblations to the fire, he should perform the same in the ordinary fire, and that he should use only the *mantra* consisting of the single word *namaskāra*, as he is not entitled to use any other.

As regards the Śūdra's social disabilities our authors' views vary from comparative laxity to extreme rigidity. In the face of strong condemnation of eating food from a Śūdra in a *Smṛiti*, the *Gṛihastharatnākara* (334) explains that the prohibition refers to the food of condemned Śūdras, while the food of good Śūdras may be eaten (the author slyly adds) for the purpose of gaining cows, lands, and so forth, but not otherwise Referring to the permission even for Brāhmaṇas to take the food of five specified classes of Śūdras, the author further explains (337) that their uncooked food

may be eaten in normal times and even their cooked food may be taken in times of distress This explanation is repeated by Śūlapāṇi (on Yājñavalkya, I, 166) By contrast, the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (III, 305) mentions the penances of different grades which a Brāhmaṇa, eating a Śūdra's food, must undertake according as he does it intentionally, or in a time of distress, or else unintentionally. The author expands this statement in another context (III, 379-80), where he explains that not only eating the Śūdra's food, but living in the same house with him, sitting in the same cart with Śūdras engaged as agricultural labourers, and receiving religious instructions from a learned Śūdra whose sense of right and wrong has been developed by listening to the recitations of the Purānas and so forth, are to be avoided. The author likewise (III, 325) qualifies the *Smṛti* permission to eat four varieties of the Śūdra's food by explaining that it applies to the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas at a time when they are tired by the toils of journey, and are unable to procure food from other castes, and that the food in any case should be limited to just what is sufficient to save one's life in times of distress This is further qualified by the statement (III, 327) that for the above purpose the food of condemned Śūdras, like that of Chaṇḍālas, should not be taken, while the food of good Śūdras may not be avoided The author concludes (III, 337) with clarification of the *Smṛiti* rule admitting the lawfulness of the food of certain specified classes of Sudras, although, somewhat inconsistently, he elsewhere (I, 123-27) quotes with approval the *Kalivarjya* text including the acceptance of food of five classes of Sudras in the list The extreme limit of the Sudra's social disability is reached in the *Madanapārijāta* (133) justifying by argument a quotation which requires purification by bathing with clothes on for touching a Śūdra The divergence of our authors' views is reflected in two contradictory interpretations of Manu's celebrated dictum about the natural as well as the divinely ordained servitude of the Śūdra. On the one hand the *Vivādaratnākara* (146), applying the dictum to the general clause of law permitting four specified classes of Śūdras to be released by the master's favour, observes that the clause does not apply to the Sūdra. Applying the same dictum to the clause which makes a Brāhmaṇa liable to punishment for enslaving men of the three upper classes out of greed, the author states that he who forcibly reduces a Śūdra to slavery is exempt from punishment. On the other hand, the *Vivādachintāmaṇi* (68), quoting the same dictum, observes that it is meant simply to deprecate the condition of the Śūdra, for otherwise there would be no such dealings as the sale of Śūdras and so forth (which are laid down in the *Smṛitis*).

At the end of this brief survey of the status of the four castes after our authors, we may notice their references to the discriminatory clauses, caste-wise, of the *Smṛiti* penal law. These clauses, which provide for punishment for the same offence committed by a Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra on an ascending scale, are repeated often at great length in the *Smṛiti* Digests and Commentaries of our period. Not only, however, was their operation necessarily restricted by the occupation of large tracts of the country by the arms of Islām, but our authors occasionally drop hints about the disuse of the old discriminatory clauses, as when the *Vyavahāra-vivekoddyota*, concluding its chapter on defamation and assault, observes that although many other varieties of punishment have been laid down in the *Smṛitis* according to the differences of subject-matter under these heads, kings in these times are unable to put them into effect for fear of rousing popular discontent.

Of more practical application than the above are our author's references to the discriminatory clauses in the *Smṛiti* law of penances. The *Madanapārijāta* (791-92), in the context of its statement of the penances for Brāhmaṇa-murder, upholds a *Smṛiti* rule fixing the penances in the ratio of 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 for Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, so as to make an inconvenient text (Śankha) yield the forced interpretation that the diminishing scale of penance 1 : $\frac{3}{4}$: $\frac{1}{2}$: $\frac{1}{4}$ according to the order of the castes refers to the diminishing capacity of the individual sinner irrespective of caste. This is followed by the author's clear and emphatic statement, on the authority of Vijñāneśvara, that the rule fixing the penances for the Brāhmaṇa, the Kshatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra in the diminishing proportions, as mentioned above, applies to other matters than the four specified crimes of violence. The ascending scale of penances, is likewise applied in respect of various sins in the *Prāyaśchittasāra* (30 and 36) and in Śūlapāṇi's commentary on Yājñavalkya (II. 250). This is justified by the argument just stated that the descending scale of penances applies to matters other than the four crimes of violence (which are specified in the *Prāyaśchittasāra* (36)) as comprising homicide, theft, criminal assault on other men's wives, and assault in general). Elsewhere (121), however, the *Prāyaśchitta-sāra* prescribes the same penances for Brāhmana, Kshatriya and Vaiśya on the ground of silence of the texts about the descending scale of the same. The *Madanapārijāta* (869) neatly sums up its view by stating that the descending scale of penances applies to the minor sins, and the ascending scale to the mortal sins.

In so far as the group of mixed castes is concerned, we may notice a short discussion in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 512-13) about

the status of the *anuloma* castes, meaning those supposed to have sprung from the unions of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas with girls of inferior castes. Repeating the view of Manu, the author observes that the issue of a Brāhmaṇa by his married Kshatriyā wife is similar to, but not quite the same as, a Brāhmaṇa, because of connection with his low-caste mother, and that the same is the case with the issue of such other unions. The view of Vishṇu and Śaṅkha, assigning to the issue of *anuloma* marriages the caste of the mother, we are further told, refers to their acquisition of the duties of the mother's caste, while they are proved on the contrary to form a separate caste by the fact that otherwise the superiority of the father would have no application. The above discussion proves the author's position to be midway between the exceptional *Smṛiti* view elevating the issues of *anuloma* marriages to their father's caste, and the ordinary view degrading them to the caste of their mother.[3]

As regards the despised castes our authors recapitulate the Smṛiti rules about their degraded status. The *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 257-58) explains after quoted texts that one touching a Chaṇḍāla at the first, the second and the third remove, should purify himself by bathing with his clothes on, while one doing so at the fourth remove should merely touch the water. Purification by bathing should be undertaken in both cases, when the touch is intentional The Chaṇḍāla, we are elsewhere (III, 387-88) told in amplification of the original text, should be kept at a distance of four *yugas* (the length being understood in the light of popular usage): one coming nearer without touching him should bathe with his clothes on: one touching him unintentionally should bathe and look at the Sun (by way of purification), and one doing so intentionally should perform double this penance or some other act of purification. Explaining the detailed description in the original, the author elsewhere (III, 81-94) mentions the different penances to be undertaken by a Brāhmaṇa for conversing or sleeping on the same bed, or going in company with a Chaṇḍāla, for looking at or touching a Chaṇḍāla, for drawing water from a pond owned by a Chaṇḍāla, for drinking water from a well wherefrom water has been drawn in a Chaṇḍāla's vessel, for unwittingly eating a Chaṇḍāla's food or living for some time in the same house with him, for association with a Chaṇḍāla on a journey to a field or garden or another village, and lastly in the event of a Chaṇḍāla's entrance into the house even once. The author likewise mentions the similar but less severe penances for drinking water from the vessels of other despised classes such as washermen and so forth, and for association with them

A pattern of social structure, somewhat different from the above, prevailed in the different regions of the country according to the realistic accounts of this period. In the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, for instance, there were, next to the Brāhmaṇas, such important caste-groups as Cheṭṭis (merchants), Vīra Pañchālas (artisans), Kaikkolas (weavers), and barbers. There were besides immigrant castes from the north like the Tottiyars, the Saurāshṭras and the Reḍḍis, whose influx resulted in degradation of certain indigenous castes like the Kurumbars. The lowest caste consisted of the Dombaras (jugglers and soothsayers), Jogis, Maravaras, and so forth. The disputes between the various middle castes above mentioned (and specially between the two great divisions of the right-hand and left-hand castes) made up much of the social history of those times. In so far as the Brāhmaṇas were concerned, they were treated with the traditional high respect by kings and nobles alike. In agreement with the *Smṛiti* standards of the south, as mentioned above, the Brāhmanas were employed on a variety of occupations, namely, as merchants and agriculturists, ministers and provincial governors, generals and commanders of fortresses.[4] A cross section of the social structure in the Vijayanagara Empire, which is but very imperfectly noticed in the *Smṛitis*, consisted of the great ministers and other officials, as well as the feudatories (*amaranāyakas*) holding charge of districts on condition of furnishing financial contributions and military contingents, on the one side, and the mass of the people on the other side.[5]

3. *Slavery*

Slavery was fairly common, and the matter-of-fact way in which Ibn Batūtah refers to the acquisition of slave-girls in lots, and their distribution as ordinary gifts or presents, throws a lurid light on the moral ideas of the time A sort of communal spirit seems to have prevailed in this matter The Muslims took delight in enslaving Hindu women *en masse* from the highest to the lowest rank, and many of them, including even those who once were princesses, were forced to entertain the Muslim court and the nobility with dance and music. Sultān Mahammad bin Tughluq made free gifts of them to his relations and the nobility, and sent as presents to the Chinese Emperor "one hundred male slaves and one hundred slave songstresses and dancers from among the Indian infidels". On the other hand, according to Nizām-ud-dīn, "even Musalmāns and Sayyid women were taken by the Rājputs and were turned into slave girls They were taught the art of dancing and were made to join the *akharās*."[5a]

The *Smṛti* authorities of this period repeat the clauses of law relating to slavery in the older texts under the familiar head of law called 'non-rendition of service after making a contract to serve or obey.'[5b] It will suffice to quote here their comments on the rules for the emancipation of slaves. Expanding the *Smṛti* clause on this point the *Prāśara-Mādhava*, the *Vivādachandra*, the *Vivāda-chintāmaṇi* and the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa* observe that not only the four classes of slaves (one born in the household, one purchased, one acquired, and one inherited), but one who has sold himself to slavery, are released by the masters's favour, the privilege being extended still further in the *Vyavahāravivekoddyota* so as to apply to all classes other than those who have fallen off from the monastic order. According to the *Vyavahāravivekoddyota* and the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, five other specified classes of slaves are released simply by saving the master from imminent danger of his life, the *Parāśara-Mādhava* extending this privilege to all classes of slaves. On the other hand, the *Vivādaratnākara*, *Vivādachandra* and the *Vivādachintāmaṇi* limit the application of the equitable *Smṛiti* rule, requiring the master begetting a son on his female slave to release them both, by stating that this should be done when the master has no other son. Coming to the historical records we may state that slavery, to judge from the combined evidence of the contemporary inscriptions as well as foreign accounts, was a recognized institution in the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara [6]

A word may be said here about a disreputable class of women whom we had occasion to notice in the course of our survey of the preceding periods From the combined testimony of a number of foreign observers (Abdur Razzak, Barbosa and Paes) and a Kanarese poem, we can estimate the large numbers and the affluence of the courtesans at the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire The combined evidence of inscriptions and foreign notices in the same area likewise points to continuance of the institution of dancing girls in the service of temples.[7]

4. *Marriage*

The elaborate rules, relating to marriage, in the *Smṛitis* are repeated, often at great length, by our authors with occasional comments, which will chiefly concern us here Thus, in the first place, inter-caste marriages among the three upper classes are included in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age, quoted with approval in the *Parāśara-Mādhava*, (I, 123-27) and the *Madanapārijāta* (15-16). This would tend towards the creation of strictly endogamous castes. In fact, however, our authors repeat and amplify the old *Smṛiti* rules of hypergamy. Summing up its explanation on

this point after the canonical standards, the *Gṛihastharatnākara* (38) observes that girls of other castes (*jātis*) may be married (by a Brāhmaṇa) one after another in the regular (*anuloma*) order, that he becomes liable to censure by doing otherwise, and that the *Smṛiti* prohibition against marriage with a Śūdra girl refers to a marriage where another wife (of a superior caste) is available, just as the *Smṛiti* condemnation of begetting a child on a Śūdra wife is applicable when the same can be done on another wife. The hypergamous rule in the *Smṛitis* is justified by other authors on more worldly grounds Referring to the texts which recommend a Brāhmaṇa to marry Kshatriya and other girls in the *anuloma* order after his marriage with a girl of his own caste, the *Madanapārijāta* (133-34) declares the latter type of marriage to be of the principal kind, and the former type to be the less desirable course For it is a *Smṛiti* rule that among the two duties laid down for the married man, the first (namely, the sacrifices) can be performed only with a wife of the same caste, while the second (namely, sexual pleasure) can be enjoyed with any married wife We have a more complete explanation in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 493-98) While girls both of the same and of different castes are suitable for marriage (with a Brāhmana), we are there told, the former are praiseworthy, but if the Brāhmana, after first marrying a girl of the same caste for the purpose of his religious exercises, feels sexual desire, he may marry girls of inferior castes in the respective (prescribed) order The author next adjusts two contradictory views, one condoning the Brāhmana's union with a Śūdra girl, and the other requiring a Brāhmana and a Kshatriya to avoid her, by observing that they reflect the opinions of different authorities (as is illustrated by a text of Yājñavalkya), or else refer to different Age-cycles (as is proved by a text including inter-caste marriages of the three upper classes in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age).

The *Smṛiti* authorities of our period repeat the old exogamous rules forbidding marriages on the ground of sameness of *gotra* and *pravara* as well as of *sapiṇḍa* relationship between the parties to the match, and they extend the last relationship, after the great majority of the older authors, to seven degrees on the father's side and five degrees on the side of the mother As regards the term *sapiṇḍa*, both the *Madanapārijāta* (129-133) and the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I 465-66) refer to its double interpretation signifying, after the school of the *Mitāksharā*, those who are connected together by having particles of the same body, and after the school of the *Dāyabhāga*, those who are connected because of the ball of rice or its leavings offered to the common ancestor at the *Śrāddha* ceremony. But while the *Madanapārijāta* quotes the former explanation, only for its

rejection in favour of the latter, the *Parāśara-Mādhava,* combining the two explanations, observes that one should marry a girl who is not a *sapiṇḍa* in both senses of the term. The *Gṛihastharatnākara* (8), by contrast, contents itself with quoting in part the classical exposition of Vijñāneśvara (on Yājñavalkya, I, 52-53) in favour of the former interpretation. To complete our account, the *Madanapārijāta* (139-40) and the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 467-68), as well as the commentary of Śūlapāṇi (on Yājñavalkya, I, 56), explain away the texts narrowing down the *sapiṇḍa* relationship still further to the third and the fifth degrees on the mother's and the father's side respectively. This is justified by the argument that the said texts apply to the issue of an adopted mother or father, or of step-mothers of different castes, or of *āsura* and similar disapproved types of marriage, or else to Kshatriyas, and so forth.

On the question of validity of the ancient South-Indian custom of marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle (*mātula-sutā*), —which by the way disregards the *Smṛiti* rule of prohibited degrees of marriages as between cognates—our authors, like their predecessors, are sharply divided in their opinions. On the one hand, the *Gṛihastharatnākara* (8 and 10), while pointedly condemning marriage with the *mātula-sutā* in the course of its explanation of a verse of Manu, quotes the text requiring one to perform a penance for marrying such a girl and to maintain her after separation. On the other hand, Dalapati, the author of the *Saṁskārasāra*,[7a] justifies the above custom on the ground of its mention in the Vedas. The strongest defence of this custom, mostly after the arguments in the *Smṛitichandrikā* (I, 70-74), is found in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 469-73), where the author, in the course of a long and learned discussion, observes that the custom is justified by the combined authority of the Vedas, the *Smṛitis* and the customs of cultured men, and he concludes that it is lawful within its particular region, even in respect of *āsura* and similar forms of marriage.[8]

The *Smṛiti* authorities of this period repeat the arguments of their predecessors for explaining the relative importance of the prohibitory rules about marriage. Where (as in the texts prescribing marriage with a girl who is not *sapiṇḍa* of the mother), we are told in the *Madanapārijāta* (140-42), the injunctions and prohibitions have no visible merits and demerits, these can be deduced from the scriptures alone, and when a man disregards the same, the girl does not become a wife at all, where, however, the injunctions and prohibitions are laid down in view of their visible merits and demerits (such as auspicious names of girls), their violation does not prevent the girl from becoming a wife, but it merely entails a

penance. The same explanation is found in the *Gṛihastharatnākara* (28-29). It is, however, remarkable that the *Madanapārijāta*, after quoting a few exceptions to the general rule given above, winds up with the remarks that the final decision should be made in accordance with regional usage—a statement which is in complete accord with the spirit of elasticity of the *Smṛiti* rules in these matters.

Long before this period, the *Smṛitis* had enjoined upon guardians of girls, under severe moral and spiritual sanctions, the obligation of giving them away in marriage before puberty, the age of the girl being specifically stated to extend to seven, ten, or, at the most, twelve years. The clear and emphatic repetition of this rule is found in the *Parāśara-Mādhava*. The author, in one place (I, 474), quotes the texts fixing the relative ages of the bridegroom and the bride as 30 and 12, 28 and 8, 30 and 10, 21 and 7, and more generally in the proportion of 3 : 1. Elsewhere (I, 481-82) the author, while commending, after the older writers, the guardian's bestowal of a girl not yet of a marriageable age and in fact of an age without any sense of shame, explains away a text permitting a girl even after puberty to stay in her father's house till her death rather than be given away to an unworthy husband In yet another context (III, 120-21) the author quotes the appropriate texts so as to emphasize the impurity of the girl reaching puberty in her father's house, as well as that of the guardians failing to give her away before that time. Only at the end, he grudgingly allows, that the giving away and acceptance of a girl even at twelve years of age is not prohibited, if she has not attained puberty at that time Equally emphatic is the view of the *Madanapārijāta* (149-50) The author enjoins upon guardians after quoted texts, the bestowal of a *nagnikā* (explained alternatively as one too young to have any sense of shame in the presence of males, and as one who has not attained the age of puberty) even upon a worthless husband, rather than keeping the girl unmarried beyond her puberty In accordance with other quoted texts the guardians are required, under strict social and religious sanctions, to give away the girl at eight, nine or ten years of age when she has not reached puberty

In contrast with the above clear statements, those of the *Gṛihastharatnākara* are singularly rambling and confused Quoting the older *Smṛitis* the author explains (39) that the marriage of a girl, twelve or sixteen years old, with a bridegroom of thirty years of age is commendable, but that of a young girl with a bridegroom thrice her age is still more praiseworthy Modifying the above statement in another context (47), the author observes that unlike the marriage of a sixteen-year-old girl with a thirty-year-old bride-

groom, which, though justified by the superior qualities of the husband, is still to be condemned, the marriage of a *nagnikā* (meaning a girl of ten years not knowing as yet how to wear clothes properly) is praiseworthy. The author ends, characteristically enough, with the forced interpretation of a *Mahābhārata* text so as to make it mean that a thirty-year-old bridegroom should marry a sixteen-year-old girl or else a *nagnikā*. In yet another context (83), the author quotes, without comment, a Purāṇa text which prescribes diminishing periods of continence immediately after marriage according as the ages of the bride and the bridegroom are in the proportion of 8 : 24, 12 : 30, 16 : 32 and as the bride's age is 20 or more

In the event of a girl failing from various causes to get herself married before puberty, the *Smṛitis* permit her the privilege of self-choice (*svayamvara*) of her husband after a short or long period of probation. These rules are quoted by our authors with some slight explanations Reconciling the older references to two distinct time-periods, the *Gṛihastharatnākara* (42-43) states that the girl should wait for three years if her father or other guardians, in spite of their efforts, fail for some reasons to give her away, but she should wait only for the expiry of her three monthly illnesses in the contrary case A girl without guardians, we are told in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 483-84), may select a husband with the necessary qualifications before reaching puberty: even where there is the father or other guardian, the girl on reaching puberty should await their decision for a little while, and in case they are indifferent she should herself select her husband Referring to the different time-periods prescribed by the authorities, the author further observes, that while normally waiting for three years, she need wait only for the three months, as stated above, if a sufficiently qualified bridegroom is available In the absence of other corroborative evidence it is not possible to ascertain how far these radical rules were still observed in actual practice

The eight forms of marriage known to the ancient *Smritis*, along with their estimate of the comparative merits and demerits of the same, are quoted with pedantic thoroughness by our authors [8a] It will be enough to mention here a striking defence of the disapproved forms of marriage in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 489-90) and the *Madanapārijāta* (157). Replying to a hypothetical objection that *āsura* and the like marriages, in the absence of the ceremony of taking the seven steps (*saptapadī*) together, do not produce the relationship of husband and wife, the authors state that this ceremony can be performed after the union, and therefore, the girl certainly becomes a wedded wife

The old *Smṛiti* rules, permitting the revocation of marriage in certain special circumstances, are repeated by our authors. A girl, says the *Madanapārijāta* (150-53), may be given away to another bridegroom after the ceremony of selection (*varaṇa*), but before that of *saptapadī*, in the event of detection of defects on either side, since the relationship of husband arises only after the last-named ceremony. The same rule applies in the case of a bridegroom dying before the *saptapadī* (the girl in this case being asked to be given away to the bridegroom's younger brother or a man of the same *gotra* or any other man in the order of sequence), of a girl carried away by force but not married with the utterance of the sacred texts, of a bridegroom going away to another country after selection of the bride and payment of the nuptial fee (the bride in this case being required to wait for a specific period of time), and lastly, of a bridegroom wanting in the qualifications of family, character and so forth. The author, however, qualifies his approval by stating that the practice of giving away the girl to the younger brother of the deceased husband, and so forth, like the one immediately mentioned before, is hateful to the people and as such should be followed in accordance with the regional usage. Referring to the same *Smṛiti* rules the *Grihastharatnākara* (48) explains that while the girl given away in any one of the first five forms of marriage can be given only once, one taken in marriage in accordance with the three other forms can be given away afresh to a worthier bridegroom. The ceremony of selection, we are further told (54), is not sufficient for the creation of wifehood in the event of a fault being found in the bridegroom. We may quote, lastly, the author's neat summary of Nārada's celebrated text enumerating fourteen classes of eunuchs, and permitting revocation of marriage with them after short or long periods When the defects of any one of these classes, we are told (33), are known beforehand, the girl should not be married to him· when the girl is married in ignorance of these defects, the man should be medically treated and the result should be awaited· when the man is proved to be beyond cure, the girl should be married to another, even though she had been given in marriage to the former.

The lead of the canonists of the preceding period forbidding re-marriage of widows is followed by our authors. The re-marriage of girls, whether the marriage has been consummated or not, occurs in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age quoted with approval in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 123-27), and that of girls whose marriage has not been consummated is found in the similar list of the *Madanapārijāta* (15-16). Consistently with this attitude the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 492-93, III, 44) interprets a number of texts.

clearly in favour of widow re-marriage, as referring to another Age-cycle.

On the subject of the mutual duties of the husband and the wife, our authors repeat the old *Smṛiti* view with occasional comments. According to the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 506) it is the husband's duty properly to maintain his wives, irrespectively of their youth or old age, provided they are of good behaviour. The *Gṛihastharatnākara* (86) quotes a text making the husband liable to heavy punishment for abandoning his chaste and gentle wife, and compelling him to take her back. By neglecting to maintain his wife who has been given to him by the gods, we are told in the *Vyavahāravivekoddyota* (318), the husband becomes guilty of injuring them: even the wicked wife should be given maintenance in the shape of bad food and so forth. The husband deserting his faithful wife, it is further declared (319), should be fined and compelled by the king to take her back, failing which the husband should be made to pay her one-third of his property if he is rich, and what is sufficient for her maintenance, if he is poor. On the wife's part, she has, we are told in the *Madanapārijāta* (190-96), the obligation of leading a life of studied dependence (she should not act independently even in domestic affairs), of sobriety (she should be restrained in her dress and behaviour in the presence of superiors and she should avoid bad company), and above all of absolute devotion and loyalty to her husband. she should adopt a life of ascetic restraint during her husband's absence abroad The wife despising her husband on any account, such as poverty, explains the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (III, 30 and 34), commits great sin and, as such, is liable to the prescribed penance, while the wife, undertaking vows and so forth in disregard of service to her husband, should propitiate him and perform a penance at his dictation: the wife, undertaking a vow without the husband's permission, is purified by the fact of fruitlessness of her endeavour and is not liable to a separate penance.

The specific moral as well as physical defects of the wife justifying her supersession by the husband, along with the time-lags for certain varieties of these defects, are repeated by our authors after the old *Smṛiti* law. The *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 508) somewhat relaxes the strict *Smṛiti* rule on this point by stating expressly that out of the two kinds of supersession, the one meant for fulfilling the law in the shape of begetting a legitimate son and so forth is justified by the occasions mentioned, but the other which is intended for gratifying sexual passion needs no such occasion Nevertheless we are told (509), that the husband, in the latter case, must propitiate the wife, failing which he should be compelled by the king

to pay her one-third of his property, or to maintain her with food and clothing, according as he is rich or poor. The superseded wife, if she has not been given *stridhana* before, should get as much as is given to the newly married wife, and in the contrary case, she should get half of the same[8b] or as much as would make their shares equal.[8c]

The old *Smriti* rule, relating to the abandonment of women in special circumstances, is relaxed in one respect, and intensified on another point, in the *Kalivarjya* text quoted with approval in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 123-27). On the one hand, it prohibits the abandonment of women of honoured relationship on the ground of sexual connection with men of low castes, although it is a fact that some *Smṛiti* texts (Vaśishṭha and Bṛihaspati) had expressly required women guilty of such connection to be abandoned. On the other hand, the above-mentioned text forbids social intercourse with women who have been polluted by rape and so forth, even after their performance of the prescribed penance, such women having been held previously (Vaśishṭha, Atri and Parāśara) to become pure after penance and their own monthly illness. A complete explanation of the occasions justifying the abandonment of women is given in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* While a couple, belonging to the despised caste and incapable of performance of the ceremony of marriage, incur no blame by mutual separation on account of disagreement (II, 324-25), a wife, taken in accordance with the ceremony of marriage can be abandoned only for unchastity, for wanton character, and for other specified serious crimes While the act of hating her kinsmen, to the point of applying poison or black magic and so forth against them, as well as of procuring abortion, makes the women equally liable to be cut off from conversation (III, 32), the latter act is incapable of expiation, and the guilty woman must certainly be abandoned On the treatment of the abandoned women, our authors explain and expand the older views. Fallen women, equally with men, we read in the *Madanapārijāta* (968), are to be abandoned in the event of their not performing the (appropriate) penance, and to be taken back after its performance, but there is this special rule that the women in the former case are to be allowed residence near the house as well as food and clothing Neither death nor mutilation, according to the *Vivādaratnākara* (426) and the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (II, 325), is to be the lot of the abandoned woman A woman abandoned for specified crimes, we read in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (II, 324-25), in the context just quoted, should be denied conjugal relations and participation in Vedic and *Smṛiti* rites as well as conversation and so forth, while one abandoned for

disease and the like should be denied conjugal relations alone. A woman guilty of proved unchastity, as when she becomes pregnant by her paramour in the event of her husband's death or prolonged residence abroad, it is further observed (III, 284-90) by the same author, shall be banished to a foreign land; a woman of suspected unchastity, as when a Brāhmaṇa woman goes out to another village or country to live with a man who is not her guardian and to whom she has made advances of love, cannot be allowed to return to her residence; a woman going out wilfully to live in another village cannot be permitted to return to her kinsmen even after performing a penance, for the *Smṛiti* ban against the abandonment of women applies (only) to one who is repentant for her act and is entitled to penance for the same, a woman, angrily leaving her house herself and alone for being assaulted by her guardians for her faults, may return home within ten days without being liable to a penance, but a Brāhmaṇa woman returning home after these days of grace is incapable of penance and is to be abandoned, and even the house where she is given shelter becomes impure like that of the Chaṇḍālas

The *Smṛitis*, from the time of Bṛihaspati onwards, inculcate upon the widow, the obligation of self-immolation on the funeral pyre of her husband (*sahamaraṇa*, *anumaraṇa*, or *anugamana*, commonly known as *satī*) as her alternative or else as her exclusive duty. The former view is repeated in the *Madanapārijāta* (196-203) The author, it is true, explains that the injunction (after Hārīta) to perform *sahamaraṇa* is the general duty of all chaste wives, other than those who are pregnant or have infant children, down to the Chaṇḍālas Where the husband has died abroad, it is further explained, the Brāhmaṇa widow may certainly burn herself along with his bones, while a widow of another caste, failing to procure the bones, may burn herself with or even without any of his symbols. The author, again, offers a double defence of self-immolation after the Digests of the preceding period, namely, that the ban on Brāhmaṇa women (Paiṭhīnasi, Angiras and others) refers to their mounting a separate pyre, and that the Vedic passage forbidding unapproved suicide in general terms does not conflict with the *Smṛiti* text specially prescribing suicide (to the widow) by entering the fire on her husband's death On the other hand, the author, after stating that self-immolation is an optional rite as being attended with the reward of heaven and the like, emphatically rejects the contrary view declaring it to be a compulsory rite, by pointing to Manu's silence in this matter. This is followed, significantly enough, by a long quotation tending to show that the observance of the vows of widowhood likewise procures (for the woman) the reward of heaven and so forth The view declaring self-immolation to be the widow's

exclusive duty finds its emphatic support in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (III, 45-49). While great bliss, we are told by the author after the original text, attends the widow adopting a vow of chastity instead of contracting a second marriage, she earns still greater merit by following her husband on the funeral pyre; in fact while the chaste wife, performing the ceremony, brings bliss both on herself and on her husband, the sinful wife is released from her sins by this act. This statement is accompanied by the double defence of the rite as above mentioned. The author concludes with the remark that subject to the usual restrictions all women are eligible for *sahamaraṇa*. That the above discussions, involving the qualified or absolute sanction of self-immolation by the widow, must be interpreted in a limited sense, is proved by the fact that the same authors elsewhere (as we shall presently see) vindicate the widow's right as the foremost heir of her sonless and divided husband, the author of *Parāśara-Mādhava* taking the lead in this respect.

The most authentic evidence of the prevalence of *satī* in different areas is furnished by the contemporary historical records. It is noticed as a peculiar custom of the Indians of Quilon on the Malabar coast by Friar Odoric (c A D. 1321-22), and of 'India the Less' (meaning Sind and the western coast as far as the north of Malabar) by Friar Jordanus (A.D. 1323-1330) We have eye-witnesses' accounts of the performance of *satī* near Dhar in Mālwa by Ibn Batūtah (1342), and in the Vijayanagara Empire by Nicolo Conti and Duarte Barbosa in the beginning of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. The two last-named writers testify to the large numbers of wives and female slaves who burnt themselves along with their deceased husbands and masters in the Hindu empire We have a striking reminiscence of the *Smṛti* doctrine on this point in the statement of Odoric that women, with sons, were exempted from the performance of *satī*, and of Ibn Batūtah that the custom was not obligatory, although highly esteemed. Ibn Batūtah further adds that permission had to be obtained from the Sultān to burn the widow[9]

55 *Position of women*

The *Smṛti* authorities of this period extensively quote the old doctrine of perpetual subjection of women as well as that of their lifelong tutelage under their male relations at successive stages of their lives They quote likewise the corollary of these doctrines in the shape of the duty of the husband to guard his wife well by keeping her engaged in household work and so forth in the interest of the families of both and of their progeny.[9a] Our authors repeat

in particular the religious disabilities of women (such as their disqualification for Vedic study and sacrament in accordance with Vedic *mantras*) after the older texts. We may quote in this connexion the very characteristic explanation of the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 484) and the *Madanapārijāta* (37), that the division of women into two classes (after Hārīta), namely, *brahmavādinīs* or 'students of sacred lore' (who go through the ceremonies of *upanayana* or investiture with the sacred thread, keeping the sacred fire, begging for alms within their own household) and *sadyovadhūs* or 'those who are married straightway' (for whom, as the time for marriage draws near, the *upanayana* is performed somehow), belongs to a different time-cycle (*Kalpa*).

The penalties for women under the *Smṛiti* criminal law, which include capital punishment with revolting cruelty for a number of serious crimes under the heads of violence (*sāhasa*) and adultery (*strīsaṁgrahaṇa*), are repeated by our authors. References are made simultaneously by them to the remarkably humane rule of Kātyāyana that women are liable to half the fine payable by men, and that they are to lose a limb where the men are punished with death. In view of the fact that the operation of the *Smṛiti* penal law was necessarily restricted by the occupation of large tracts of the country by Muslim rulers, and that the above penalties are repeated by our authors without any serious comment, it may be surmised that their application at this period was largely a matter of academic interest

Of more practical importance than the above are our authors' references (with a distinct tendency towards their lenient interpretation) to the penance for women in the *Smṛitis* Thus the special rule, prescribing half the penance for women as compared with men, is applied to particular types of sins in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (III, 29 and 34) and the *Prāyaśchittasāra* (32, 56, 64 and 75), although the *Madanapārijāta* (891-92), by way of exception, makes the women liable to the very same penances as men for one of the mortal sins Women are exempted from tonsuring the head according to a quotation in the *Prāyaśchittasāra* (22), and from a longer list of such penances after a quotation in the *Madanapārijāta* (870) Although women (of the three upper classes), conceiving as a result of illicit intercourse with a Śūdra paramour, we are told in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (III, 115-16), cannot be purified and must be abandoned, a woman doing so by connexion with a man of another caste is purified by penance; a woman guilty of unchastity, not resulting in conception, is purified by the appropriate penance, or even by her monthly illness, according as the sin is physical, mental or verbal. Elsewhere (280), the author, meeting the objection that a

woman having connexion with a Chaṇḍāla cannot be purified by the observance of vows but must be abandoned, argues that like land contaminated by the residence of Chaṇḍālas and so forth which is reclaimed by the operations of digging (the soil), applying colour-wash (to the wall), and so forth, a woman in the above situation can be reclaimed by the performance of vows. To this the only qualification is that Brāhmaṇa women are purified by special penances.

The most considerable development of our authors' ideas on the present subject relates to the women's property rights. Thus, in the first place, they amplify Yājñavalkya's clause of law (I, 115) about partition of property by a father among his sons and wives. The father, says the *Vivādaratnākara* (65), should make his wives equal or unequal sharers, according as he gives equal or unequal shares to his sons. This is subject to the explanation that a wife, not receiving wealth from her husband or father-in-law (as *strīdhana*), should receive as much wealth as would make her share equal to that of her son, and in the contrary case, a half share. Where the sons, born of the Brāhmaṇa and other wives, we are told more fully in the *Madanapārijāta* (662-63), take equal shares, their mothers likewise receive the same, and where the sons by a Kshatriyā, a Vaiśyā and a Śūdrā wife take their shares in the proportion of $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ respectively, their mothers also follow suit. According to the *Vyavahāravivekoddyota* (331), the mother takes equal share with her sons at partition after the father's death if she has no *strīdhana*, but she takes a half share at partition during as well as after the father's lifetime, if she has the same. The author, in the same context, rejects the view of an anonymous authority, permitting the mother and the rest to take what is necessary for their bare existence, as well as the view of *Smṛitichandrikā*, allowing them to take what suffices for their subsistence where the property to be divided is large, and an equal share where it is small. Expanding Yājñavalkya's clause (I, 117) about partition of property by a father among his sons, Śūlapāṇi observes that the daughters should divide their mother's property equally among themselves after payment of her debts.

The widow's right as the foremost heir of a deceased sonless male divided from his family, which was first conceded by Yājña-valkya and Vishṇu, is repeatedly vindicated by our authors against adverse criticisms. The wife, it is explained, is the first heir if she is chaste, but not otherwise (*Vyavahāravivekoddyota*, 359); the order of succession, with the wife coming first in the list of heirs, applies to all castes, meaning those born of marriages in the *anuloma*

and the *pratiloma* orders, as well as the Brāhmaṇas and the rest.[9b] The wife, following the vow of widowhood, takes the property of a man without principal or subsidiary sons, while one who has fallen off from her vow is to get only her maintenance;[9c] the wife of a man dying without son, grandson, and great-grandson takes his property.[9d]

The widow's right is supported with discussions by the other authorities. The reference to widows, even of divided and not reunited husbands, getting a maintenance alone, says the *Vyavahāra-vivekoddyota* (360), applies to exclusively kept concubines. Similarly Śūlapāṇi (on Yājñavalkya, I, 135-36), explaining the references to brothers and daughters taking the property, observes that the former text applies to an unchaste and adulterous wife, while the latter passage refers to an appointed daughter. In the next place the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa* (405-08) justifies the widow's right to take the property before the father on the ground of her greater propinquity; the wife (*patnī*), it is argued, confers greater seen and unseen benefits after the Vedic and *Smṛti* standards (upon the deceased)— the *patnī* being explained to mean a wife who is married according to *brāhma* and other approved forms—and is entitled as such to perform the sacrifices, and not a wife who is acquired by purchase. According to the *Vivādaratnākara* (589-93), the reference (Manu) to the mother and the father as the heirs of a son dying without issue applies to one who has left no principal or subsidiary sons and no wife The clause of law (Paiṭhīnasi) declaring the wife of a sonless man to be the heir after the brother and so forth, the author continues, refers to one who is other than a chaste wife, and who slightly fulfils the duties of widowhood. Giving another explanation of the above clause, the author observes that it refers to property other than that which has been earned by the father, the grandfather and so forth (or in other words, to self-acquired property).

The fullest vindication of the widow's right as her husband's foremost heir occurs in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (II, 355-60). The clause of law (Nārada), making the other brothers the heirs in case a brother dies without issue, and giving his widow a life-long maintenance, the author observes, applies to one who has been re-united with his family, or has not been divided at all. Again the clause (Manu), mentioning the father or the brother as the heir of a sonless man, does not lay down the order of succession, while the rule (Kātyāyana), making the father, the brother, the mother and the paternal grandmother, the heirs as above, refers to the case of an adulterous wife The interpretation (Dhāreśvara and the author of

Smṛitisaṁgraha) that the widow inherits the property provided she submits to *niyoga* (appointment for raising issue to her deceased husband), is disproved by the argument *inter alia* that the vow of chastity is imposed upon the widow by a number of *Smṛitis* in the present context. Other texts giving the widow a bare maintenance during her lifetime refer to an exclusively kept concubine, or else to a wife guilty of proved or suspected adultery. The author finally argues that a Vedic text, held to disqualify women for a share in the property, which, by the way, led even such an advanced legist as the author of *Smṛitichandrikā* to exclude such women as are not expressly declared to be heirs in the Smṛitis, simply means that the wife of the sacrificer is not entitled to her share of the *Soma* juice taken in a particular (*pātnīvata*) cup

Besides justifying the position of the widow as the next heir of a sonless man divided from his family, our authors vindicate the extent and nature of her interest in her husband's property. The clause (Bṛihaspati) denying to the wives the right of inheriting immovable property, we are told in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (II, 360), means simply that they are forbidden to sell the same without the consent of the other heirs. The widow, says the *Vyavahārasāra* (250) after a *Smṛiti* clause, takes the whole property comprising movables as well as immovables. According to the *Vivādachintāmaṇi* (237), the widow should perform the first as well as the yearly funeral offerings for her husband and take his whole property. When the property is divided, we are told more fully in the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa* (408-10), the *patnī* (as distinguished from a wife procured for enjoyment) should take the whole property (along with immovables) of her husband, and perform, to the measure of this wealth, various pious acts for her own and her husband's spiritual benefit Adjusting a few contradictory texts after the *Smṛitichandrikā*, the author further observes that where there are wives with and without daughters, the former take the immovables and the latter the movables, and where there are only wives without daughters, they take both immovables and movables to the exclusion of the mother, and so forth

The widow's interest in her husband's property is most fully vindicated in the *Vyavahāravivekoddyota* (359-63). The clause of Bṛihaspati quoted in the *Smṛitichandrikā* as denying immovable property to women, we are told, is not found in many other Digests and authors of Digests, namely, Vijñāneśvara, *Kṛityakalpataru*, *Ratnākara*, *Pārijāta*, Halāyudha and others, and it appears, as such, to be unacceptable. Even if we are to accept it on the authority of the *Smṛitichandrikā*, it should be taken to refer to a wife married accord-

ing to the *āsura* and other disapproved forms, unlike the *patnī*, who is married in accordance with *brāhma* and other approved forms. The adjustment of contradictory texts in the *Smṛitichandrika*, the author continues, in the sense that the wife without daughters does not take the immovable property while the wife with daughters takes the same, seems to be a guess and nothing more. Adjusting a few other texts, the author further observes that where the husband has died undivided or reunited with his family, his wife gets only food and clothing during her lifetime, if she is other than a *patnī*, but if she is a *patnī*, she gets as much share out of her husband's wealth as will enable her to live in comfort and to perform her compulsory and occasional duties, as well as her optional duties of the kind within women's capacity. The clause (Kātyāyana) denying to the *patnī* the freedom of gift and so forth, we are further told, means that she cannot spend the money on actors, dancers and such-like visible objectives, but she is certainly entitled to gift, pledge or sale of the same for "invisible" purposes The author's final conclusion is that where the husband has died divided and not reunited, the wife is entitled to his entire property, both movable and immovable

We may briefly notice in this connection our authors' references to other female heirs of a sonless man as described above. Justifying the order of succession after Yājñavalkya, *Vyavahārakāṇḍa* (413-14) observes that while the daughter's propinquity to the deceased arises from the invisible benefit conferred through her son, the mother's greater propinquity is derived from the benefit conferred through her direct participation in the fire-offering (*agnihotra*) and other rites (performed by the father). On the other hand, although the father himself confers spiritual benefit upon the deceased by the performance of his *śrāddha*, the daughter is physically inseparable from the latter. The author next rejects the narrow interpretation of the daughter in the present context in a number of specified and unspecified Digests, as one who was appointed to raise male issue for her father having no son of his own Coming to another point, we find that the father is preferred to the mother in the order of succession in the *Vivādachandra* (93) and the *Vyavahāravivekoddyota* (364), and the mother to the father in the *Vivādaratnākara* (595), the *Vyavahārasāra* (251) and the *Vivādachintāmaṇi* (241). The mother, it is argued in the *Vyavahārasāra* after Vijñāneśvara, comes before the father in the dissolution of the copulative word (*pitarau*) for parents in the original, while the mother's propinquity is greater than the father's. Lastly, we have to observe that the paternal grandmother is placed after the brother and the brother's son in the *Vyavahāravivekoddyota* (365) and the *Vyavahārasāra* (252) on the ground

that the contrary text of Manu does not lay down the order of succession.

We now come to our authors' treatment of the *Smṛiti* law of *strīdhana* (which term is used in the technical sense of certain special kinds of property acquired by a woman on specified occasions and at different stages of her life). These authorities, namely, the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (II, 368), the *Madanapārijāta* (671) and the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa* (379), give us a comprehensive view of the scope of *strīdhana* so as to include under this head, according to the fullest interpretation, what is inherited, acquired by partition, received as gift, or obtained as treasure trove, and so forth, as well as the nuptial fee. A similarly comprehensive definition of *saudāyika* (dowry) is given in the *Vivādaratnākara* (511) and the *Vivādachintāmaṇi* (217), so as to make it comprise what a girl receives either before or after marriage at her father's or her husband's residence from her father or mother, or their respective families. The remarkable clause (Kātyāyana and Vyāsa), limiting the amount of *strīdhana*, is interpreted in different ways by our authors. It is taken in its narrow literal sense, so as to disqualify the wife for receiving *strīdhana* beyond the limit of the prescribed 2000 *paṇas* as well as immovable property[9e] in a slightly wider sense so as to disqualify the wife for disposing at her will of property exceeding this limit although given by her husband[9f], and in its widest sense so as to mean that the limit applies to property given only once during many years for the girl's livelihood and in this case it does not exclude immovable property.[9g]

The woman's dominion over her *strīdhana* is completely recognized by our authors[9h] after the older texts. The wife, we read, is free to dispose of her *saudāyika* property (and of *strīdhana* in general), comprising both movables and immovables, by gift or sale at her will; she can dispose of her property acquired from her husband, other than immovables, which she is entitled to enjoy during her lifetime and which devolve upon the other heirs thereafter; the husband is civilly and criminally liable (in the sense of being forced to pay back the principal with interest and to pay a fine) for appropriation of his wife's *strīdhana* otherwise than on a number of specified occasions. Referring to a clause under which the husband is liable to pay the value of the *strīdhana* appropriated by him even with his wife's consent, the author of the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa* explains that the husband is not dependent upon another, but has no independence in respect of his wife's *stridhana*, while by contrast the lawfully married wife is constantly dependent, though entitled to ownership thereafter in respect of her husband's wealth.

Finally we may mention that our authors repeat after the older texts the special rule of succession for the *strīdhana* of the mother so as to make full brothers along with full sisters or the unmarried sisters alone, or the full brothers alone, or else the mother and the father the first heirs according to the particular class of such property.[10] Following the equitable interpretation of the *Mitākshарā* and the *Smṛitichandrikā* our authors further declare that unmarried sisters take the property in preference to the married sisters, and among married sisters those who are unsettled (i.e. without children or with poor husbands or unfortunate) take the same in preference to those who are settled.

6 *Food and Drink*

The *Smṛiti* rules relating to lawful and forbidden food and drink, along with the penances for violation of the same, are repeated, sometimes at great length, by our authors. The rules about meat-eating, in particular, follow the old pattern, with a distinct tendency towards abstention from the same. The *Madanapārijāta* (338) and the *Gṛihastharatnākara* (380-81) explain the occasion justifying meat-eating in the *Smṛitis*, which include, according to the former's interpretation, the preparation of meat for feeding Brāhmaṇas at the honourable reception of guests and so forth, and, according to the interpretation of the latter, partaking of the same when this is commended by the Brāhmaṇas. Other occasions, explained in the *Gṛihastharatnākara*, are those when the meat is purified with *mantras* for the purpose of sacrifice, when there is the risk of a man losing his life otherwise, when the meat is procured by the man himself (in the case of Kshatriyas engaged in hunting animals), and when the meat is purchased and eaten after worship of the gods The ban against meat-eating at *śrāddhas* in the Kali Age, we are further told by these authors, applies to the Brāhmaṇa alone, since a *Smṛiti* text (Pulastya) prescribes the offering of hermit's food by Brāhmaṇas, of meat by Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, and of honey by Śūdras respectively. Going further than the above the *Grihastharatnākara* observes that the merit of abstention from meat-eating applies likewise to the occasions above mentioned, while the *Madanapārijāta* states that there is no obligation to eat the remnants (of meat) offered in honour of the Brāhmaṇas, the gods, the fathers and so forth, and that meat-eating on other occasions is attended with considerable demerit According to the *Śrāddhasāra* (57-58), the decision of Pulastya, quoted above, is to be followed, in spite of the general reference to meat, honey and the like, as fit offerings at *śrāddhas* by all castes, while the provision for meat-offering at *śrāddhas* and so forth in numerous (*Smṛiti*) works should be under-

stood to apply not to all and sundry (this being hateful to the people), but only to those (such as the Kshatriyas and so forth) who are inclined towards meat-eating.

The *Smṛiti* rules forbidding or restricting the drink of intoxicants, caste-wise, are repeated and amplified by our authors. The *Gṛihastharatnākara* (393-95), referring to three kinds of wines (*surā*),—namely, those prepared from rice-flour (*paishṭī*), from molasses (*gauḍī*), and from honey or from *madhuka* flowers (*mādhvī*), —repeats the older view that all these are forbidden to the Brāhmaṇas, while the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas incur no blame by drinking the last two kinds. Intoxicants (*madya*), we are further told, are forbidden only to Brāhmanas. The point is stated more fully by the other authors. The *Madanapārijāta* (813-24), while identifying *paishṭī* with *surā*, and declaring *gauḍī* and *mādhvī* to be equivalent to the same in respect of Brāhmaṇas alone, observes that the Brāhmaṇa, from his very birth, is forbidden to drink all *madyas* with *surā* at their head, that the Kshatriya and the Vaiśya are forbidden to drink *surā* but not *gauḍī* and other kinds of *madya*, and that neither *surā* nor *madya* is forbidden to the Śūdra. The *Parāśara-Mādhava* (III, 409-13), after distinguishing in the first instance between eleven kinds of *madya*, observes that *madya* is forbidden to the Brāhmaṇas but permitted to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas Further it explains the grounds (according as the act is intentional or not, is done once or repeatedly, is performed for the treatment of a disease, otherwise incurable) for the application of different types of penances to Brāhmaṇas The *Prāyaśchittasāra* (39-45), after first quoting the above-mentioned division of *madya* into eleven kinds and of *surā* into three varieties, and after observing that *madya* is a generic designation of which *surā* is a species, concludes at the end of a short discussion that all *madyas* are forbidden to the Brāhmaṇas, but not to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who are in fact expressly permitted to drink *gauḍī* and *mādhvī* In accordance with the old *Smṛiti* estimate of different varieties of intoxicants, the *Madanapārijāta*, the *Parāśara-Mādhava* and the *Prāyaśchittasāra* apply the extreme penance of suicide by drinking red-hot *surā* to a Brāhmana who has drunk *surā* (meaning *paishṭī*) intentionally once, or the other two kinds of *madyas* repeatedly In so far as the Śūdra is concerned, it is significant that the *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa* (III, 4, 27) and the *Prāyaśchittaviveka* (37) substitute the act of illicit connexion with a Brāhmaṇa woman, in place of drinking wine, in the list of five mortal sins for Śūdras

The *Smṛiti* ban on drinking intoxicants by women is applied with different degrees of intensity by our authors Strictly apply-

ing the rule, the *Parāśra-Mādhava* (I, 507) requires that wives of the three upper classes drinking *surā* (identified with *madya*) are not only to be superseded, but abandoned. The *Gṛihastharatnākara* (84) more leniently explains that wives of the three upper classes drinking *madya* are to be superseded. Going further than this, the *Madanapārijāta* (188) observes that the wife is to be superseded if she drinks *madya* forbidden to her proper caste We have a further explanation, though of a somewhat academic character, in the *Madanapārijāta* (824) where we are told that wives of the three upper classes, belonging to all castes down to the Śūdras, are forbidden to drink *surā* on pain of suffering half the penance for men, and that even the Śūdrā wife of a Brāhmaṇa is forbidden to drink any kind of *madya* on pain of bringing sin upon her husband and blame upon her offspring, though not loss of caste either for herself or her husband.

The contemporary historical records partly confirm and partly supplement the evidence of the *Smṛitis*. The Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas among the Marāṭhā people, we are told by Ibn Batūtah, while living on a diet of rice, vegetables and sesame oil, forbore to drink wine which was regarded by them as one of the worst vices. From the evidence of Barbosa we learn that Brāhmaṇas and Liṅgāyats in the Vijayanagara Empire abstained from eating fish or flesh, while the king and the nobles were used to eating fish and all kinds of meat except beef The daily slaughter of countless sheep as well as of pigs of excellent quality for food at the capital city of Vijayanagara is noticed by Paes [10a]

7 *Standard of Living*

The high standard of living known to the earlier times seems to have prevailed at least at the upper levels of society during this period Leaving aside for the present the references to the conditions prevailing in the contemporary Delhi Sultanate, we may quote here the authentic evidence relating to the Vijayanagara Empire. Speaking of this territory, 'Abd-ur-Razzāq observes that "all inhabitants, high or low, down to the artificers of the Bazar" wear "jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers". The male costume, according to Barbosa, consisted of clothes with girdles along with short shirts of cotton (or silk or coarse brocade) and small turbans (or silk or brocade caps). The people, we are told by the same observer, wore "rings set with precious stones as well as many ear-rings set with fine pearls", and they anointed themselves after bath with "white sandal wood, aloes, camphor, musk and saffron all ground fine and kneaded

with rose water." The women, according to the same traveller, wore garments of very thin cotton or silk, while their ornaments consisted of "nose-screws made of fine gold wire, sapphire or ruby pendant, ear-rings set with many jewels, necklaces of gold and jewels of very fine coral beads, bracelets of gold and precious stones and many coral beads fitted to their arms." The height of luxury was reached, as in the preceding period, at the royal courts. The splendours of the royal palace at Vijayanagara, the display of pomp and magnificence by the kings at their ceremonial public receptions as well as on festive occasions like the annual *Mahānavamī* festival, their huge female establishments including their numerous queens with their eunuchs and other attendants, their costly dress and furniture, are vividly described by a number of contemporary observers, namely, Nicolo Conti (1421), 'Abd-ur-Razzāq (1443), Varthema (1502), Barbosa (1514) and Paes (1522).[11]

8. *Trends in general manners and character*

Some important references, after the *Smṛiti* authorities of this period, to the manners and general character of the great majority of the Indian people who were followers of the indigenous faiths, have been given in the foregoing pages. But the point is sufficiently important to deserve a more detailed treatment. Firstly, as regards the question of rigidity of caste distinctions our authors' attitude indicates some contradictory or at least divergent tendencies On the one hand, they continue to condone (as we have seen above) *anuloma* marriages (even of Brāhmaṇas with Śūdra girls under special circumstances), while simultaneously condemning, in the *Kalivarjya* text, quoted with approval in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 123-27), inter-caste marriages of the three upper classes in general terms. On the other hand, they emphasize the immense difference between the status of the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra in such passages as the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (III, 171-76), explaining the qualifications for membership of the learned assembly (*parishat*) for adjudging penances.[12] In the second place our authors, while discussing the eligibility of the three upper castes for the order of ascetics, arrive at different conclusions. the *Madanapārijāta* (365-73) confines these privileges to the Brāhmaṇa alone to the exclusion of the Kshatriya as well as the Vaiśya, and the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 536-38) extends it to all the three castes, with the qualification that the Kshatriya and the Vaiśya are not to wear the red robe and not to carry the (ascetic's) staff. The opinion of the *Madanapārijāta* is followed by Śūlapāṇi (on Yājñavalkya III, 56-57) Thirdly, the *Madanapārijāta* (785-86), discussing the vexed question of the validity of killing a desperado (*ātatāyī*) Brāhmaṇa, seeks to reconcile the con-

tradictory texts condemning and exonerating the act, by taking the former to mean that killing an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa is inherently blamable, and the latter to signify that the blame for this act is less than that incurred by killing a Brāhmaṇa who is not an *ātatāyī*. On the other hand, killing an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa is included in the *Kalivarjya* text quoted as above in the *Parāśara-Mādhava*. Again, the *Madanapārijāta* (827), explaining Manu's text (which prescribes the penance of courting death by a Brāhmaṇa guilty of stealing gold), observes that the injunction not to kill Brāhmaṇas and the prohibition against killing them for any offence whatever apply to matters other than penances. Similarly, while our authors treat the penance for suicide in various ways by Brāhmaṇas guilty of one or other of the mortal sins, the *Kalivarjya* text quoted as above in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* as well as the shorter passage cited in the *Madanapārijāta* (16-17) includes prescription of the penance of death in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age In the fourth and the last place, we have seen how our authors tend on the one hand to emphasize the Śūdra's duty of serving the Brāhmaṇa, and on the other hand seek to relax the rules relating to dealings in forbidden commodities in the case of Śūdras engaged in trade. We have further seen how the same authors differ on the point of lawfulness of the Śūdra's food as well as that of interpretation of Manu's celebrated dictum about the Śūdra's natural servitude. An extreme view of the Śūdra's social disabilities is taken in the *Kalivarjya* list, quoted in the *Parāśara-Mādhava*, which includes partaking of food of five specified classes of Śūdras by the Brāhmaṇa householder, and engaging Śūdras as cooks in householder's residences among the prohibited practices of the Kali Age The furthest limit in this direction is the *Smṛiti* passage quoted in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* which requires (as we have seen) penance by bathing for touching a Śūdra. For the rest, our authors agree in combining, as before, the eulogy of deserving Brāhmaṇas with condemnation of unworthy members of this order, as well as in continuing the old restrictions on the Brāhmaṇa's food and drink Only in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* we have a striking relaxation of the strict rule requiring the Brāhmaṇa to engage in the occupation of agriculture, trade and crafts only in time of extreme distress. Lastly, it may be mentioned that our authors tend to relax, as mentioned above, the old religious disabilities of the Śūdras within strictly canonical limits. On the other hand, they agree in perpetuating the extreme disabilities of the Chaṇḍālas and other despised castes.

On the question of rigidity of social behaviour, the attitude of our authors is marked by similar contradictory tendencies. On the

one hand the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (I, 112), following the original text of Parāśara, explains that there is no degradation from caste for conversation and so forth with one fallen from caste (*patita*) in the Kali Age in contrast with former Ages. With this may be compared the inclusion of pollution, by contact with a *patita*, in the *Kalivarjya* text quoted in the same work. This involves relaxation of the strict *Smṛiti* rule (Manu and Vishṇu) prescribing degradation from caste for close association with one guilty of the mortal sins. On the other hand, social intercourse with individuals of the three upper castes making a sea-voyage, even after their performance of the prescribed penance, is included in the above-quoted *Kalivarjya* text. This implies an intensification of the old *Smṛiti* rule, which merely includes (in Baudhāyana and Brihaspati) sea-voyage among the mortal sins, and declares (in Manu) a Brāhmaṇa undertaking sea-voyage to be unfit for a *śrāddha* invitation.

The position of women was not made worse, but was actually strengthened and consolidated on some points by our authors. To begin with, they continue, but do not add to, the social and religious disabilities of women. Again they repeat the old rules enjoining upon the guardians early marriage of girls along with those giving the girl the right of self-choice of her husband, and permitting the revocation of her marriage with an unworthy bridegroom under special circumstances. They reproduce likewise the old rules of penance relating to sinful women with a distinct tendency towards relaxation of the old severity Similarly they repeat the old rules relating, on the one hand, to the wife's supreme duty of service and devotion to her husband and, on the other hand, to the husband's reciprocal obligation of maintaining the faithful wife together with its legal sanctions. The husband is held, as before, to be liable to pay compensation extending to one-third of his property to his superseded wife Again, while it is agreed that the abandonment of sinful women means their expulsion from the household in extreme cases, it is usually taken to involve their temporary disgrace and penance, followed by restoration to their old position On the subject of the widow's obligation of self-immolation on the funeral pyre of her husband, our authors' opinions vary (as we have seen) from its emphatic approval to its qualified recommendation. To their great credit, it must finally be said, that they completely vindicate the widow's right as the foremost heir of her sonless and 'divided' husband, as well as the woman's complete dominion over her special kind of property (*strīdhana*)

The old custom of religious suicide was continued during our period. The *Tīrthachintāmaṇi* (47-52) and the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* (305-

10) contain a high eulogy (after the Puranic texts) of suicide (by starvation and even by cutting off limbs from the body for being devoured by birds and so forth) as well as of natural death at various selected spots in Prayāga and its environs. We have a similar approval of suicide at Vārāṇasī by entering the fire and so forth in the *Tīrthachintāmaṇi* (347) as well as suicide by starvation in the waters of the Gaṅgā in the *Tīrthachintamaṇi* (263) and the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* (267-92). The prohibition of suicide by starting on the 'Great Journey' (till one falls dead), as well as of suicide of very old people by entering the fire, or falling down from the precipice, in the *Kalivarjya* text above mentioned, is negatived by other references. For the *Smṛiti* authorities of this period not only continue to prescribe suicide in the above and other forms as a penance for the mortal sins, but the *Madanapārijāta* (801) explains that the penance of entering the fire belongs to the Kshatriyas alone, and that of falling down from the precipice belongs to the other castes as well, while it deliberately extends (844) the penance of starting on the 'Great Journey' to Brāhmaṇa women guilty of illicit intercourse with Śūdras, and so forth, in the *pratiloma* order. While on this subject, however, we may notice the tendency of our authorities, namely, the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (III, 393) and specially the *Prāyaśchittasāra* (203-06), to amplify the principle of substitutes (*pratyāmnāyas*) for penances according to the diminishing capacity of the sinners.

The custom of religious suicide, noticed above, is corroborated by the evidence of the contemporary foreign observers. How Hindu devotees used to cut off their limbs with sharp knives or their necks with sharp swords in fulfilment of their vows before their deities in Ma'bar (Coromandel coast) and in "Greater India" (meaning the tract extending from Malabar indefinitely towards the east), is told by the Friars Odoric and Jordanus respectively. According to Ibn Baṭūtah, the Indian people (meaning the Hindus) had the custom of drowning themselves voluntarily in the Gaṅgā as an act of spiritual merit.[13]

The statements of our authors testify to the continuance of the ancient custom of pilgrimages to the scared places (*tīrthas*). The ritual of pilgrimages to Prayāga, Purushottama (Puri), Konārka, the Gaṅgā, Gayā, Vārāṇasī and so forth, is given at great length in the *Tīrthachintāmaṇi*, just as that of the pilgrimages to Dvārakā and along the Gaṅgā is described in the works *Dvārakīpattala* of Bīnābāī and the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* of Viśvāsadevī (or perhaps of the poet Vidyāpati) respectively. The sacred legends (*māhātmyas*) of Setubandha-Rāmeśvara, Amardaka, Gayā, the Godāvarī, the Kṛishṇaveṇī, the Narmadā and other *tīrthas* are enumerated

in the *Tīrthasāra* of Dalapati. The *Prāyaśchittasāra* of the last-named author mentions (206-11) pilgrimages to various *tīrthas* as *pratyāmnāyas* for a number of penances. Among the foreign observers Ibn Batūtah noticed pilgrimage to the Gaṅgā as a peculiar Indian custom.

From the statements of our authors we may conclude that the old sentiment of veneration for the cow was continued during this period. A long list of penances for killing or maiming a cow is given in the *Madanapārijāta* (856-59), and a much shorter list in Śūlapāṇi's commentary on Yājñavalkya (III, 263-64). We have a high eulogy of the cow in the *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa* (II, 6.31f). No wonder, therefore, that Śūlapāṇi (on Yājñavalkya, I, 109) and the *Gṛihastharatnākara* (294) specifically forbid the killing of cows in honour of guests (as laid down by Yājñavalkya and Vaśishṭha) on the ground of its inclusion in the *Kalivarjya* list of *Brahma Purāṇa*. The worship of the bull is mentioned as a peculiar Indian custom by Odoric and Jordanus in their accounts of Quilon and 'India the Less' respectively The high respect paid to the cow by the inhabitants of Calicut is noticed by 'Abd-ur-Razzāq.[14]

The sentiment of veneration for the cow is extended by the *Smṛiti* authorities to other animals as well. Sacrificing animals with recitations of the Vedic texts in honour of the bridegroom, the guests and the ancestors is included in the *Kalivarjya* texts which are quoted in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* and the *Madanapārijāta* A long list of penances for killing different species of birds, rodents and quadrupeds is given in the *Parāśara-Mādhava* (III 61-72)

B MUSLIM RELIGION AND SOCIETY

The early history of Sūfīism in India has been discussed above.[1] The Khaljī period (1290-1320) saw a further intensification of the activities of this school, thanks mainly to the three great saints of the period, Hazrat Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā of Delhi, his spiritual preceptor, Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan, and the latter's nephew and disciple, 'Alā-ud-dīn Sābir of Piran Kalyar. The memory of these saintly personages and their successors is as fresh today as it was centuries ago, and their anniversaries (*'urs, a'rās*) are celebrated with as great eclat today as ever, when musicians and poets gather in thousands to pay the tribute of glowing praise to their miraculous lives and to enliven the huge concourses of the pilgrims to their shrines. The unbounded influence of the saints on the masses often roused the jealousy and suspicion of the rulers, but they carried on their mission quietly and peacefully, unruffled alike by the glamour of the royal court and the hostility of the kings

None of the latter, indeed, had the courage to molest them or to persecute their followers openly, though some of them tried, ineffectively, to alienate popular sympathy from them, accusing them of disseminating heretical ideas and sheltering criminals in their monasteries.[2] It is possible that occasionally these saints encouraged certain public risings and demonstrations against tyrannical rulers, but that they ever did so with any selfish motive can hardly be proved. On the other hand, their sole purpose in blessing such movements was the welfare of the common people.

Besides these spiritual teachers, mention may also be made of another class of ascetics, the *qalandars*, who did not usually found any orders or establish any spiritual centres, but wandered about, leading lives of seclusion, renunciation, and poverty, striving not so much for the spiritual and moral uplift of the common people, as for their own individual salvation. This attitude of aloofness, however, did not protect them against popular curiosity, and they were generally held in high esteem and surrounded by admirers and devotees They were usually clean-shaved, went about clad in woollen robes of coarse texture, and were not so particular about the observance of religious duties enjoined by Islām. Of these *qalandars*, the most celebrated was Bū 'Alī of Pānipat, a brother of Shaikh Jamāl-ud-dīn Hanswī who died about A D 1333 The cumulative effect of the presence in large number of such saints and ascetics was the transformation of Islām in India from a simple and puritanic religion, with emphasis on the performance of outward legal duties (*takālīf-i-shar'iya*) to a complex, devotional creed in which miracles and superstitions, combined, of course, with saint-worship, played an important role. It became a common practice now to get oneself attached to a spiritual preceptor, who alone, according to the popular belief, could guarantee bliss and happiness in this life and the life hereafter. Dates of the anniversaries of the more famous saints used to be memorized with assiduous care, and in course of time the months of the lunar calendar, in which these dates fell, came to be known by their names.[3] A pious Muslim, especially among the uneducated classes, would rather miss the five ritual daily prayers and the obligatory fast of Ramazān than fail to make a suitable offering (*nayāz*) on any of the important dates consecrated to the memory of a saint

The dissemination of Sūfī ideas in India was continued during the Tughluq period by the disciples of Hazrat Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā, the most notable of whom was Shaikh Nasīr-ud-dīn of Awadh known as Raushan Charāgh (the Bright Lamp), who was killed by a *qalandar* in A.D. 1356 and lies buried near Delhi.

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B MUSLIM RELIGION AND SOCIETY

The early history of Sūfīism in India has been discussed above [1] The Khaljī period (1290-1320) saw a further intensification of the activities of this school, thanks mainly to the three great saints of the period, Hazrat Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā of Delhi, his spiritual preceptor, Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan, and the latter's nephew and disciple, 'Alā-ud-dīn Sābir of Piran Kalyar. The memory of these saintly personages and their successors is as fresh today as it was centuries ago, and their anniversaries ('*urs*, *a'rās*) are celebrated with as great eclat today as ever, when musicians and poets gather in thousands to pay the tribute of glowing praise to their miraculous lives and to enliven the huge concourses of the pilgrims to their shrines. The unbounded influence of the saints on the masses often roused the jealousy and suspicion of the rulers, but they carried on their mission quietly and peacefully, unruffled alike by the glamour of the royal court and the hostility of the kings.

None of the latter, indeed, had the courage to molest them or to persecute their followers openly, though some of them tried, ineffectively, to alienate popular sympathy from them, accusing them of disseminating heretical ideas and sheltering criminals in their monasteries.[2] It is possible that occasionally these saints encouraged certain public risings and demonstrations against tyrannical rulers, but that they ever did so with any selfish motive can hardly be proved. On the other hand, their sole purpose in blessing such movements was the welfare of the common people

Besides these spiritual teachers, mention may also be made of another class of ascetics, the *qalandars*, who did not usually found any orders or establish any spiritual centres, but wandered about, leading lives of seclusion, renunciation, and poverty, striving not so much for the spiritual and moral uplift of the common people, as for their own individual salvation. This attitude of aloofness, however, did not protect them against popular curiosity, and they were generally held in high esteem and surrounded by admirers and devotees. They were usually clean-shaved, went about clad in woollen robes of coarse texture, and were not so particular about the observance of religious duties enjoined by Islām. Of these *qalandars*, the most celebrated was Bū 'Alī of Pānipat, a brother of Shaikh Jamāl-ud-dīn Hanswī who died about A D. 1333 The cumulative effect of the presence in large number of such saints and ascetics was the transformation of Islām in India from a simple and puritanic religion, with emphasis on the performance of outward legal duties (*takālīf-i-shar'iya*) to a complex, devotional creed in which miracles and superstitions, combined, of course, with saint-worship, played an important role. It became a common practice now to get oneself attached to a spiritual preceptor, who alone, according to the popular belief, could guarantee bliss and happiness in this life and the life hereafter. Dates of the anniversaries of the more famous saints used to be memorized with assiduous care, and in course of time the months of the lunar calendar, in which these dates fell, came to be known by their names[3] A pious Muslim, especially among the uneducated classes, would rather miss the five ritual daily prayers and the obligatory fast of Ramazān than fail to make a suitable offering (*nayāz*) on any of the important dates consecrated to the memory of a saint.

The dissemination of Sūfī ideas in India was continued during the Tughluq period by the disciples of Hazrat Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā, the most notable of whom was Shaikh Nasīr-ud-dīn of Awadh known as Raushan Charāgh (the Bright Lamp), who was killed by a *qalandar* in A.D. 1356 and lies buried near Delhi

As noted above, the *Bhakti* movement was very popular among the Hindus during the period when the Sūfī movement gained strength in India. The two parallel movements, based upon doctrines of love and selfless devotion, helped a lot in bringing the two communities closer together, in spite of occasional reactionary movements, such as that started by the fanatical Sayyid Muhammad who claimed to be the Mahdī[4]. Sultān Sikandar Lodī apparently came under the influence of the orthodox *'ulamā* and is said to have committed certain acts of intolerance, to which reference has been made above[5]

The Muslim society in the meantime was fast becoming Indianized. Below the Sultān, who was a despotic ruler with no limit or restraint on his powers except such as was dictated by considerations of a peaceful and stable government, there stood certain privileged classes, namely the *umarā* or nobles and the *'ulamā* or scholars, holding fiefs and estates. The slaves of the royal household may also be regarded as a privileged class, for in spite of their morally degraded position, they were usually well cared for and often exercised considerable influence on their royal masters. This is clearly shown by the examples of Malik Kāfūr, the lieutenant of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, and Malik Khusrav, the favourite of that monarch's son, Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh There does not appear to have been any strong and prosperous middle class in those days, so that the wealth and splendour of the upper strata of society formed a strange contrast with the poverty and squalor of the masses, both Muslim and Hindu The Muslim nobles were usually of foreign origin,—Persians, Turks Afghāns and Sayyids or Arabs,—and mostly kept themselves aloof from their Indian subjects and dependants The arrogant aristocratic classes gradually developed a sort of caste system which was alien to the spirit of Islām and was certainly the product of Indian influences. Thus a Turk (or Mughul), a Pathān, a Sayyid, or even a Shaikh,[6] would never think of a matrimonial alliance with a person of a lower rank, that is one outside these four *dhāts* or *qaums*, or even outside his own particular denomination. The *purdāh* or seclusion of women had already become a common practice This is evident from the remarks made by contemporary historians and poets on the bold step taken by Sultāna Raziyya in discarding the veil and dressing herself up in male attire. Khusrav, in the *Matla 'al Anwār* and elsewhere, has addressed his "paradise daughter" in the most loving words, but it is obvious from the bits of fatherly advice which he gives her, that he considers the woman's right place to be her home, and her most sacred duty, obedience to her father or brother. This naturally led to the institution of the *harem* in the case of the more prosperous and respectable classes of

society. It must not, however, be supposed that polygamy or the keeping of concubines was a common practice. This sort of luxury could be afforded only by a privileged few. In most cases the *harem* was no more than a separate living quarter for the women-folk of the family, corresponding to the *zanānkhāna*, as opposed to the *dīwānkhāna* or the male quarters of a later period. *Purdāh* was, however, unknown among the lower classes, specially in rural society. How far the adoption of the *purdāh* of a rigid type by the Muslims in India was due to Rājput influence, it is difficult to determine. What is certain is that the peculiar social conditions in India were largely responsible for the development of this system which was unknown in other Muslim countries in medieval times.

Right from the kings and the nobles at the top down to the humblest citizens, the Muslims had become thoroughly Indianized. The costly royal dresses, the gilded and studded swords and daggers,[7] the umbrellas (*chhatra*) of various colours, the richly caparisoned elephants which, as an emblem of royalty, were stationed in the durbār-hall and accompanied the state cavalcades, were all typically Indian paraphernalia of royal pomp and splendour The old Indian practice of chewing the betel-leaf had become very popular among the Muslims.[8] Khusrav, in his account of his maternal grandfather 'Imād-ul-Mulk, speaks of continuous relays of this delicacy being brought to his assemblies in the *dīwān-i-'arz*, and distributed among those present there The seasoning of food with rich spices and chillies, almost unknown in the Muslim lands, had also become widely prevalent, the culinary art brought by the Muslims to India had already absorbed several Indian elements Standard dishes which, from their names, would appear to be of foreign origin, such as *pilāu* and *qawarma*, were now very different from what they had been in Irān or Khurāsān. The amazingly large range of dishes (*alwān*), indulged in by the wealthy or served on festive occasions,[9] would clearly show how luxurious and refined had become the tastes of the well-to-do people, which could only be possible in a rich country like India. Among the articles of dress in common use, the head-gears known as the *chīra* and the *pāg* were certainly of Indian origin and were borrowed from the Rājputs. They would appear to have been in vogue among the dandies of Delhi and other big cities.[10] The tight-fitting cloak for men and the tight-fitting trousers, often worn beneath a loose skirt, for women, on the other hand, were of foreign origin, and were adopted by the Rājputs from their Muslim neighbours The use of rings, necklaces, ear-rings and other ornaments by men was also due to Indian influence, for such vanities were strictly forbidden to the faithful in the Islamic law. India was famous for its fine cotton and silk fabrics, which now

began to be widely used by the gentry among the Muslims who had been accustomed to much humbler and coarser stuffs in their original home-lands.[11] Textile industry flourished in several parts of India —the Deccan, Gujarāt, Bengal, Bihār and Mysore,—under the patronage of the Muslim rulers. It is a significant fact that most of the weavers and master-craftsmen came to be, in the course of time, Muslims, who had either embraced Islām, or were of foreign origin and had brought with them some of their native traditions to India. The names of certain fabrics such as *Sūsī* or *Daryā'i,* would clearly show that the textile art, developed in Muslim countries, had been grafted on the Indian indigenous art, resulting in great improvement and development.

The same admixture is prominently visible in other branches of useful and fine arts that flourished in the pre-Mughul period. The fine, massive edifices raised by the Khaljīs, the Tughluqs, and the Sharqī kings of Jaunpur, all betray Indian influence and are very dissimilar to those raised in contemporary times in other Muslim lands.[11a] The stone-carvers of India, who were mostly Hindus, were employed in large numbers in shaping the pillars and engraving the floral and calligraphic motifs and designs in these buildings. The use of lintels instead of arches in some of them is also an indication of the architectural synthesis that was brought about in this age. Painting was comparatively little developed in the Sultanate, due possibly to the religious ban on it.

The cultivation of music has always been a matter of controversy among the Muslims in India. There are two schools of Muslim jurists; one maintains that music has been prohibited, while many liberal thinkers claim that it has been permitted. An Arabo-Irānian music was already in vogue in the Muslim world before the eighth century A.D Probably this influenced the Hindu music in Sind after the Muslims had conquered it, and Naurūz, Zangola, and Hejaz forms were incorporated by the Indians under the names of Nurochoka, Jangla and Hejaj

*Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī's band of *qavvāls* sang every evening. Illtutmish put a ban on music, but a member of the Chishtī order, who had gone to Delhi, was able to persuade him to withdraw it Since then musical soirées were organized for the *durbārs* and people began to indulge in them publicly. The *durbār* of his son, Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz, became a centre of celebrated musicians and dancers of both sexes. Balban was also a great patron of music. He has spoken of Indian music in the highest terms and regarded it as superior to the music of any other country. He is credited with the invention of several new melodies compounded

of Irānian and Indian tunes. During Kaiqubād's reign music became the order of the day, and both Jalāl-ud-dīn and 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī were great patrons of music.

*Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq banned music, but the ban was withdrawn by Muhammad Tughluq, and musical entertainment by both males and females is said to have been instituted for the royal *durbār*. He had twelve musicians in his regular service, besides one thousand slave musicians Ibn Batūtah refers to the popularity of music in the royal court. Fīrūz Tughluq, though orthodox, was not averse to music, and his accession to the throne was celebrated by entertaining the public for twenty-one days with music. A number of books on music and dance, found at Jvālāmukhī, were translated into Persian at his instance The Sayyid king Mubārak Shāh was noted for his love of music [12]

Music, both of secular as well as spiritual character, seems to have reached a high level of perfection, during the period under review. The contributions made by the Muslims to Indian music are generally recognized as of far-reaching consequence, and the devotional *qavvālī* music, practised by skilled artists at the monasteries of the dead or living saints, must have been a powerful factor in strengthening the bonds of unity between the two communities It is this unity of culture which finds proud expression in the verses of Amīr Khusrav, who pays glowing tributes to the manifold virtues of India, his birth-place Similar tributes are scattered in the poems of other writers, like Amīr Hasan Sijizī, Mutahhar of Karra and Jamālī Kanboh.

Among the religious ceremonies and social functions those of the *'aqiqa*,[13] the *bismillāh*,[14] the circumcision, the marriage, and the funeral played the most important part in the life of an individual, and in these also we can easily trace Indian influence. Several ceremonies, connected specially with marriage and death, were common, as they are today, to both the communities,[15] although the Muslims, following the old Arab tradition, continued in India, as elsewhere, to marry cousins and other close relations. The Indian bridal decoration, the *sola singhār*, had already become familiar to the Muslims, and is often mentioned by the name of "*haft-o-nuh*" by Khusrav and others. Ibn Batūtah's account of the marriage of a Sayyid noble, Saif-ud-dīn, with a sister of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq, provides a revealing picture of the great extent to which the Muslims had adopted the Hindu marriage ceremonies even in those early days. Ibn Batūtah also gives an account of the funeral ceremonies in connection with the death of his daughter.[16] Among the religious ceremonies the *hajj* or the annual pilgrimage to Mecca

was, of course, the most important, but pilgrimages to the shrines of famous saints were also very frequent, especially on the occasion of their *urses* or anniversaries. The close of the Ramazān fast, the Īd-ul-Fitr, was another important occasion for general rejoicing, while the Shab-i-Barāt, which has several common features with the Hindu festival of Śivarātri, was celebrated by keeping a night-long vigil and a noisy display of fire-works. Apart from these important festivals more or less of Islamic origin, the Indian Muslims freely participated in the Hindu festivals of a religio-social character, such as the Basant, the Holi and the Dīwālī, which is clearly proved by contemporary historical evidence.

The every-day humdrum life of the common people, devoid usually of amusements or excitements, was frequently brightened up by the royal cavalcades, *jashns* (such as that of the *naurūz*), and receptions, when the streets were lavishly decorated and beautiful kiosks or pavilions (*qubbas*) erected at regular intervals, in which there were stationed beautiful singing and dancing girls, and where the spectators were treated not only to music but also to pleasant drinks. Glowing accounts of these *qubbas* are found in the writings of Khusrav, Ibn Batūtah and other writers.[17]

The game of *chaugān* (polo), riding, racing, hunting, and archery were very popular as outdoor sports among the nobility and the better classes of society, but the poorer people could seldom indulge in them Among the indoor games, popular both among the rich and the poor, chess and backgammon (*nard* or *chaupar*) are often mentioned, although they were usually frowned upon by the religious divines as frivolous pursuits beguiling the faithful from more useful and more serious occupations. Drinking of wine, in spite of the strict ban placed on it by Islām, seems to have been very common, especially in the higher classes of society, and convivial wine parties supplied another source of recreation and amusement. To what extent the habit had become prevalent, may be judged from what Baranī says about 'Alā-ud-dīn's determination to root it out.[18] Huge quantities of the precious vintage were hunted out of the hidden cellars and poured out into the streets Some of it was given to the royal elephants, which made even the pious historian exclaim, not without a touch of envy: "How lucky were the elephants of that age to have thus enjoyed themselves." 'Alā-ud-dīn's stern measures against the use of wine and other corrupt practices, however, did not produce any lasting result, for in the reign of his son and successor, Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, the people, encouraged by the recklessly dissolute life of their monarch, again reverted to their old ways of life Jesters, buffoons and

mountebanks, who had already become a regular feature of society, had the time of their life under this profligate king, one of whose court jesters, Tamāsha by name, used to walk right into the ranks of the nobles and divines assembled in the *durbār*-hall, in a state of inebriation and revile the greatest of them with impunity. Some of the later monarchs, like Fīrūz Tughluq, again took up the task of reform, but their efforts succeeded, if at all, for only brief periods.

It must not, however, be supposed that the majority of the Indian Muslims of the Sultanate period were immoral or irreligious; for even among the nobles we often come across the names of some who were noted for their piety and abstemious lives.[19] Most of the common people, on the other hand, led exemplary moral lives and were deeply religious in their outlook. It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that the middle and lower classes of Muslim society in India have always remained free from the corrupting influence of the court, and staunchly loyal to the Islamic way of life as developed in the peculiar social and economic structure of India. The essentially religious mental attitude, which is a distinguishing feature of the Indian Muslims even today, has certainly been inherited from their forefathers who lived in the middle ages Indian Islām is very different in some respects from the Arabian Islām of the Prophet's days, but it is a powerful and practical moral and religious discipline which has enabled the Indian Muslims to preserve their unity and identity in this land of diverse cultures and religions.

As we have remarked above, the nobles and other privileged classes among the Muslims held fiefs and estates or large revenue-assignments, which enabled them to lead lives of ease and prosperity. They had enough money to emulate their royal masters in their extravagantly generous expenditure on special occasions, such as feasts, festivals, marriages, etc They lived in palatial houses with a large number of slaves and domestic servants, male and female Their houses were usually provided with rich furnishings, richly decorated sofas and divans, exquisitely made glass and china, costly tapestries and valuable carpets from Persia and Bukhara, vases, and gold and silver dishes and bowls Their stables were stocked with fine horses of indigenous and foreign breeds,[20] and many of them also kept elephants, so that a *fīl-khana* was almost an essential part of a noble's household They were usually surrounded by a large number of dependants and hangers-on, and were lavish in their gifts to poets and scholars who basked in the sun-shine of their favour Actually the house of each of these nobles was a miniature replica of the royal court, and it is not strange, therefore, that these nobles' wealth and munificence occa-

sionally excited the jealousy of the kings themselves. Hoarding of wealth was unknown, chiefly because all revenue assignments were personal and not hereditary, and could be cancelled even in the lifetime of the holder.

Next to the nobles, there was a large class of people with modest incomes derived either from small land-holdings or from the royal treasury in return for their services in different capacities. These latter consisted of district officers, revenue collectors, judges, post-masters and others, some of whom were directly connected with the royal household as scribes and secretaries, or as tutors and teachers of the monarch's children. Quite a few of them were also attached to the households of various nobles, and led, on the whole, fairly prosperous and happy lives, possessing their own houses in the cities and the villages. Their mainstay was their landed properties, small or large, and many of them were actively engaged in the cultivation of land. The arts of calligraphy and epistolography (*inshā*), which were assiduously cultivated by most of them, often provided remunerative sources of income.

The lowest strata of Muslim society comprised the peasants and cultivators, usually of Indian origin, workmen, artisans, and domestic servants Business and trade were mostly in the hands of Hindu merchants among whom the merchants of Gujarāt (usually Baniās) and Multān were famous for their large-scale mercantile activities and fabulous wealth, and their help was constantly sought by the spendthrift nobles and bourgeoisie who found themselves in difficulties. A large number of workmen and artisans—weavers, carpenters, metal-engravers, scribes, etc.—were usually attached to the royal ateliers or *kārkhānas*, while many more of them found employment as retainers of the nobles and the grandees; but most of them worked independently, and following the old Indian practice, had formed themselves into guilds or trade unions. They usually occupied separate and well-marked quarters in the cities which were named after them, as the weavers' market, the potters' market, and so on. While it is difficult to have any exact idea of the wages earned by these workmen, due to lack of reliable data, it would appear that they were fairly well off and could earn enough to keep themselves and their families in tolerable comfort. This was chiefly because the essential commodities were cheap and plentiful, and they had not yet become used to such luxuries as became common in later times. According to a rough calculation based on information derived from contemporary sources, a modest monthly income of five *tankas* (silver coins) was sufficient for the maintenance of a small family consisting of five members [21] On the whole, therefore, this

class of people also suffered no particular economic hardship. Starvation, unemployment and frustration were usually unknown, except, of course, during famines, which were rather too frequent, duc to lack of adequate means of irrigation.

To sum up this brief survey of the religious, intellectual and social condition of the Indian Muslims of the Sultanate period, we could make the following general observations:

(1) The religion of Islām, at least its popular form, underwent substantial change, having been profoundly influenced by the Sūfī beliefs, which, in their turn, owed a good deal to Hindu Vedāntic and Yogic philosophy. The majority of the Muslims, in spite of the corrupt lives led by some of their kings and nobles, remained, on the whole, religious, and conformed scrupulously to the moral standards set up by Islām.

(2) Intellectually, great progress was made in all fields of learning, and this age produced some of the greatest poets and scholars of Muslim India Many literary products of this period have been irretrievably lost, but those which have survived occupy a place of very considerable importance in Arabic and Persian literature produced in India.[22]

(3) Socially, the Muslims of foreign extraction, who came to India from Persia, Afghānistān and Khurāsān, in the early days, unlike the Arabs, held themselves aloof from the Indians for some time, but gradually the barriers between the two communities were removed, and a process of Indianization started, making rapid advance and reaching its climax during the Mughul period. The manifestations of this process were visible in every walk of life, and the Muslims had already adopt many habits. ways and manners of the Hindus.

C. HINDU MUSLIM RELATIONS

Reference has been made above[1] to the uncompromising spirit of animosity between the Hindus and the Muslims in India in the thirteenth century A D It is necessary to review the changes, if any, that took place in their mutual relation during the period of two centuries and a quarter (1300-1526) covered by this volume.

1. *Influence of one community upon another*

The Muslims made a large number of converts in India and, by the end of the period, the vast majority of Indian Muslims must have been descendants of Hindu converts.[1a] Even the Muslims who claimed descent from foreigners or foreign immigrants into India lived as close neighbours to the Hindus for generations It was

inevitable, therefore, that there must have been some reciprocal influence between the two communities. Sufficient data are not available for an exact determination of such influence, but it is possible to have a general idea. It has been pointed out in the preceding section that many social practices of Indian Muslims, such as marriage and class distinction, and some of their ideas and beliefs which differ materially from those of their co-religionists elsewhere, were probably due to the influence of the Hindu society. As regards dress, food, language, music, art and architecture, each influenced the other to a certain extent, at least in some regions, mostly in North India.

Even in religious matters there was some mutual influence, as is indicated by Sūfīism on the one hand, and the doctrines of medieval Hindu saints on the other, to which detailed reference has been made in Ch. XVI. Muslim saints, particularly of the mystic school, were revered by the Hindus, though, be it noted, the Hindus would not admit them in their houses nor give them food or water in their own utensils.[2] The Hindu mendicants, *yogis*, and astrologers were held in high respect by the Muslims. Some local cults, like those of Satyapīr (True Saint), were popular with village-folks of both the communities. Even in some minor matters, such as the auspicious day for commencing a journey, the Muslims adopted the customs of the Hindus.[3]

In the field of scholarship and literature there was some amount of sympathetic understanding between the two communities. The Muslim scholars studied Hindu philosophy and sciences, such as the systems of *Yoga* and *Vedānta*, medicine, and astrology, while the Hindus learnt from them subjects like geography, arithmetic and chemistry, in which the Arabs had made striking progress. Some Muslim rulers were patrons of Hindu writers, and a few Muslim scholars wrote in Indian vernaculars. A few Hindus also wrote in Persian The mutual linguistic influence was reflected in the change of Hindī on a line which ultimately led to the development of Urdu

But all these touched merely the fringe and external elements of life, and even as such, their influence was confined to a small section of the Hindus and Muslims of India, taken as a whole. It is noteworthy, that neither the Hindus nor the Muslims imbibed, even to the least degree, the chief characteristic features of the other's culture which may be regarded as their greatest contribution to human civilization. The ultra-democratic social ideas of the Muslims, though strictly confined to their own religious community, were an object-lesson of equality and fraternity which Europe, and through her the world, learnt at a great cost only in the nineteenth century The liberal spirit of toleration and reverence for all reli-

gions, preached and practised by the Hindus, is still an ideal and despair of the civilized mankind. The Hindus, even with the living example of the Muslim community before their very eyes, did not relax in the least their social rigidity and inequality of men exemplified in the caste-system and untouchability. Nor did the Muslims ever moderate their zeal to destroy ruthlessly the Hindu temples and images of gods, and their attitude in this respect remained unchanged from the day when Muhammad bin Qāsim set foot on the soil of India till the eighteenth century A.D. when they lost all political power. The Hindus combined catholicity in religious outlook with bigotry in social ethics, while the Muslims displayed an equal bigotry in religious ideas with catholicity in social behaviour.

As will be shown later, there was no *rapprochement* in respect of popular or national traditions, and those social and religious ideas, beliefs, practices, and institutions which touch the deeper chord of life and give it a distinctive form, tone, and vigour. In short, the reciprocal influences were too superficial in character to affect materially the fundamental differences between the two communities in respect of almost every thing that is deep-seated in human nature and makes life worth living. So the two great communities, although they lived side by side, moved each in its own orbit, and there was as yet no sign that the "twain shall ever meet"

2 *Status of the Hindus*

The political and religious condition under which the Hindus were forced to live in a Muslim State raised a great barrier between the two communities The political supremacy of the Muslims was absolute; the Hindus not only enjoyed no political status in practice but could not even aspire to it under Islamic theory This has been lucidly expressed by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, an eminent historian of international reputation, in an article from which the following passage is quoted·

"The poison lay in the very core of Islamic theocracy Under it there can be only one faith, one people, and one all overriding authority The State is a religious trust administered solely by His people (the Faithful) acting in obedience to the Commander of the Faithful, who was in theory, and very often in practice too, the supreme General of the Army of militant Islam (*Janud*) There could be no place for non-believers Even Jews and Christians could not be full citizens of it, though they somewhat approached the Muslims by reason of their being "People of the Book" or believers in the Bible, which the Prophet of Islam accepted as revealed.

"As for the Hindus and Zoroastrians, they had no place in such a political system. If their existence was tolerated, it was only to use them as hewers of wood and drawers of water, as tax-payers, *"Khiraj-guzar"*, for the benefit of the dominant sect of the Faithful. They were called *Zimmis* or people under a contract of protection by the Muslim State on condition of certain service to be rendered by them and certain political and civil disabilities to be borne by them to prevent them from growing strong. The very term *Zimmi* is an insulting title. It connotes political inferiority and helplessness like the status of a minor proprietor perpetually under a guardian; such protected people could not claim equality with the citizens of the Muslim theocracy

"Thus by the basic conception of the Muslim State all non-Muslims are its enemies, and it is the interest of the State to curb their growth in number and power The ideal aim was to exterminate them totally, as Hindus, Zoroastrians and Christian nationals have been liquidated (sometimes totally, sometimes leaving a negligible remnant behind) in Afghānistān, Persia and the Near East.

"The Quran (IX.29) calls upon the Muslims 'to fight those who do not profess the true faith, till they pay *jizya* with the hand in humality *(ham sagkhirun)*.' This was a poll-tax payable by Hindus (and also Christians) for permission to live in their ancestral homes under a Muslim sovereign

"In addition to the obligation to pay this poll-tax, the Hindu was subjected to many disabilities by the very constitution of the Muslim theocracy. He must distinguish himself from the Muslims by wearing a humble dress, and sometimes adding a label of a certain colour to his coat. He must not ride on horse-back or carry arms, though wearing the sword was a necessary part of the dress of every gentleman of that age. He must show a generally respectful attitude towards Muslims The Hindu was also under certain legal disabilities in giving testimony in law-courts, protection under the criminal law, and in marriage. Finally, in the exercise of his religion he must avoid any publicity that may rouse the wrath of the followers of the Prophet.

"Under the Canon Law, as followed in Islamic countries, a man who converts a Muslim to some other faith is liable to death at the hands of any private Muslim, and so also is the apostate from Islam."[4]

Sir Jadunath's exposition of the Islamic theory, and in particular his view of the nature of the *jizya*, has been opposed by some.[5]

But his views are fully borne out by the following passage in the *Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk* by Shaikh Hamadānī·

"There is another mandate relating to those subjects who are unbelievers and protected people (*zimmīs*). For their governance, the observance of those conditions which the Caliph 'Umar laid in his agreement for establishing the status of the fire-worshippers and the People of the Book (Jews and Christians) and which gave them safety is obligatory on rulers and governors. Rulers should impose these conditions on the *zimmīs* of their dominions and make their lives and their property dependent on their fulfilment. The twenty conditions are as follows:

1 In a country under the authority of a Muslim ruler, they are to build no new homes for images or idol temples.

2. They are not to rebuild any old buildings which have been destroyed.

3. Muslim travellers are not to be prevented from staying in idol temples.

4. No Muslim who stays in their houses will commit a sin if he is a guest for three days, if he should have occasion for the delay.

5 Infidels may not act as spies or give aid and comfort to them

6. If any of their people show any inclination towards Islām, they are not to be prevented from doing so

7 Muslims are to be respected.

8 If the *zimmīs* are gathered together in a meeting and Muslims appear, they are to be allowed at the meeting

9. They are not to dress like Muslims.

10 They are not to give each other Muslim names.

11 They are not to ride on horses with saddle and bridle

12 They are not to possess swords and arrows

13 They are not to wear signet rings and seals on their fingers.

14. They are not to sell and drink intoxicating liquor openly

15. They must not abandon the clothing which they have had as a sign of their state of ignorance so that they may be distinguished from Muslims.

16 They are not to propagate the customs and usages of polytheists among Muslims.

17 They are not to build their homes in the neighbourhood of those of Muslims.

18. They are not to bring their dead near the graveyards of Muslims.

19. They are not to mourn their dead with loud voices.

20. They are not to buy Muslim slaves

At the end of the treaty it is written that if *zimmīs* infringe any of these conditions, they shall not enjoy security and it shall be lawful for Muslims to take their lives and possessions as though they were the lives and possessions of unbelievers in a state of war with the faithful"[5a]

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to enter into any further discussion about the correctness of Sir Jadunath's interpretation of the Muslim scripture, but there is no doubt that he correctly represents the view accepted, both in theory and practice, by the Muslim rulers and theologians in India during the period under review.[6] And this is really more relevant to the present issue.

Reference has already been made above[7] to the position of the Hindus in Muslim State according to Islamic theory as explained by the 'wise men', and particularly Qāzī Mughīs-ud-dīn of Bayāna, to 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, and the earnestness with which the Sultān carried it into practice

Muhammad bin Tughluq is generally, and perhaps rightly, regarded as a man of liberal views. The Chinese Emperor asked for his permission to build a temple at Samhal, a place of pilgrimage in the Himālayan hills frequented by the Chinese, which the Muslim army "had seized, destroyed and sacked". But the Sultān, who accepted the rich presents sent by the Chinese Emperor, wrote to him a reply to this effect "Islām does not allow the furthering of such an aim and the permission to build a temple in a Muslim country can be accorded only to those who pay the *jizya*."[8]

It has been already stated above, that Fīrūz Tughluq, who also looked upon India as a Muslim country, held more bigoted views, for he would not permit the erection of new temples even by those who paid the *jizya*. He, however, realized this tax with utmost rigour even from the Brāhmans who were up to that time exempted from it.[9]

The true nature of the *jizya* is further revealed by the opposition of the orthodox Muslims to the idea that the Hindus should be allowed to perform their religious ceremonies simply by the payment of the *jizya* The historian Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī, a contemporary of the two Tughluq emperors, mentioned above, wrote in righteous indignation·

" . Should the kings consider the payment of a few tankas by way of *jizya* as sufficient justification for their allowing all possible freedom to the *infidels* to observe and demonstrate all orders and details of infidelity, to read the misleading literature of their faith and to propagate their teachings, how could the true religion

get the upper hand over other religions and how could the emblems of Islām be held high..."[10]

It would thus appear that an orthodox section of the Muslims chafed at the Hanafite doctrine which was officially accepted by the Muslim rulers in India. As Qāzī Mughīs-ud-dīn pointed out to 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, 'it was Hanifa alone who assented to the imposition of the *jizya* on the Hindus. Doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but 'Death or Islām'. As has been stated above,[11] Sultān Mahmūd followed this policy, and evidently Baranī and men of his ilk yearned for its restoration in the fourteenth century. Baranī gave vent to this feeling in the following passage in his *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī*: "If Mahmūd .... had gone to India once more, he would have brought under his sword all the Brahmans of Hind who, in that vast land, are the cause of the continuance of the laws of infidelity and of the strength of idolators, he would have cut off the heads of two hundred or three hundred thousand Hindu chiefs He would not have returned his "Hindu-slaughtering" sword to its scabbard until the whole of Hind had accepted Islam. For Mahmūd was a Shāfi'ite, and according to Imām Shāfi'i the decree for Hindus is "either death or Islam"—that is to say, they should either be put to death or embrace Islam. It is not lawful to accept *jizya* from Hindus as they have neither a prophet nor a revealed book." The same book shows how Baranī chafed at the idea that the "desire for the overthrow of infidels and the abasing of idolators and polytheists does not fill the hearts of the Muslim kings", who "permit the banners of infidelity to be openly displayed in their capital and in the cities of Muslims, idols to be openly worshipped ..." "How", asks the indignant historian, "will the true faith prevail if rulers allow the infidels to keep their temples, adorn their idols, and to make merry during their festivals with beating of drums and *dhols*, singing and dancing?"[11a]

If a learned historian and a distinguished Muslim felt no scruple in openly expressing such views in writing, in the fourteenth century A.D., i e six hundred years after the Muslims first settled in India, one can well understand why the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims could never be bridged.

A perusal of the history of 'Afīf, another great historian of the period, conveys the same lesson. He puts in the mouth of the *wazīr* of Fīrūz Tughluq a long speech in which he frankly says that a State should have only two ends in view, namely (1) prosperity of the kingdom and protection of the people, etc.; and (2) destruction of the infidels and expansion of the kingdom. Then he adds

with equal candour: "..... through God's grace the destruction of the infidels has achieved remarkable success."[12]

Yahyā, the historian of the fifteenth century, mentions a minor incident of etiquette which perhaps even more strikingly illustrates the fundamental difference between a Muslim and a Hindu ruler. When Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban proceeded to Bengal to chastise the rebellious Tughril, he sought to enter into an alliance with the Hindu king of Eastern Bengal, Rāi Danuj. An interview between the two was arranged. It was customary for a king to stand up to receive a royal guest. But, Yahyā comments, "the fact that a Muslim king ought not to show proper respect to an infidel made the Sultān pensive" A wily minister suggested a way out of the difficulty. The Sultān sat on the throne with a falcon on his hand, and on the approach of Rāi Danuj stood up and let the falcon go, so that the people would surmise that he left the throne only to set the bird in motion. The Muslim honour was saved by playing a trick upon the unsuspecting Hindu king.[13]

The fact that such an incident was remembered and recorded, nearly two hundred years later, by an eminent Muslim historian, speaks volumes about the way in which a Muslim Sultān was apt to regard even an independent Hindu king, not to speak of lesser potentates or individuals.

It would be tedious to multiply instances of this kind, many of which will be found in the famous historical chronicle of Firishta, while dealing with the history of the period under review.

It is little wonder then that, as the history of the Muslim States in Medieval India clearly shows, the Hindus had hardly any place in the highest branches of administration or in the formulation of its policy. With a few exceptions,[14] here and there, almost all the high offices were bestowed upon the Muslims, whether Indian or foreign It is interesting to note that many Muslim noblemen or adventurers, coming from Irān or Turān, were immediately appointed to posts of honour, dignity and importance in a Muslim court, which were practically barred to the Hindus. The Bahmanī court was, for long, the scene of rivalry between the foreign and the indigenous Muslim,[14a] but the Hindus had no place there The Muslim politicians and writers of the period took for granted that the natural distinction was between Muslims and Hindus, and not between Indians and foreigners The State and society were divided horizontally and not vertically.

As may be easily imagined, the Hindu attitude towards the Muslims was one of sullen bitterness. The Hindus resented the

Muslim conquest of India and wistfully looked for the day when the name Āryāvarta, the land of the Āryas, as appellation of their country, would once more be justified by the extermination of the *mlechchhas* (Muslims). The Hindus also looked upon their fellow-religionists in other parts of India as dearer and nearer to them than their Muslim neighbours. The Hindu rulers were also chary in appointing Muslims to high offices or admitting them in their counsels. There were, no doubt, exceptions, which prove the rule, and so far as recorded evidence goes, the Hindus were perhaps a little more liberal in this respect. But, in general, the *kāfirs* and the *mlechchhas* stood as far apart in politics as the poles, as there could not possibly have been any common ground between the two in respect of political feelings and sentiments or historical traditions and ideals. Muhammad Tughluq and Fīrūz Tughluq spoke the bare truth when they publicly declared that the Sultanate of Delhi was a Muslim State, and all the Muslim rulers of the period under review consciously or unconsciously followed this principle in formulating their policy and principles of administration. This alone can satisfactorily explain why even Muslim rulers, otherwise liberal and fair-minded, did not scruple to follow an extremely bigoted religious policy, even though it wounded the most cherished and sacred sentiments of their Hindu subjects. It is true that the Hindus occupied a large number of junior posts and, towards the close of the period, occasionally a few high offices, in civil administration, and more rarely, in the army. But they had no political status and lived on sufferance in the land of their birth, which was regarded as, and publicly declared to be, a Muslim State and country. The Hindus could, therefore, be hardly expected to be even as much satisfied with their political condition as the Hindus and Muslims at the beginning of the twentieth century when they held the offices even of governors and members of Viceroy's council under the British rule Whether we look at the intrinsic importance of the posts, or the number of them filled up by the subject people, the Hindus were in much worse condition after three hundred years of Muslim rule than the Indians after one hundred and fifty years of British supremacy. Judged by a similar standard, the patronage and cultivation of Hindu learning by the Muslims, or their contribution to the development of Hindu culture during their rule of three hundred years pale into insignificance when compared with the achievements of the British rule during half that period in the same direction. It is only by instituting such comparison that we can make an objective study of the condition of the Hindus under Muslim rule, and view it in its true perspective.

3. *Social and religious differences*

While the political status of the Hindus was not such as to inspire their love or goodwill towards the Muslims, the social and religious differences were so acute and fundamental that they raised a Chinese wall between the two communities; even seven hundred years of close residence (including two of common servitude) have failed to make the least crack in that solid and massive structure, far less demolish it.

In different stages in the history of a people's evolution, they lay special emphasis on certain aspects of life which they hold more dear and sacred than anything else, and on which they place the greatest value. In the age of which we are speaking, religious and social institutions were the most cherished objects of life, of both Muslims and Hindus, and they attached even much more value to them than their descendants put upon political status and economic welfare in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And it is precisely in those two highly prized aspects of life that they differed fundamentally from each other.

Religion, which formed the very basis of culture and the key-note of life, both among the Muslims and the Hindus, kept them apart like the two poles. They differed fundamentally in their theological conception, method of worship, and everything connected with daily devotion to God To the Hindus, images and temples were the most sacred objects, but both of these were anathema to the Muslims Their philosophical notions and sacred literature, their conception of heaven and hell, of this life and the next, in short the whole outlook on men and things lacked a common basis

There was a similar contrast between their social rules and regulations which were indissolubly connected with religion. The democratic ideas of the Muslims, leading to a wonderful equality among the brothers-in-faith, offered a strange contrast to the caste-system and untouchability of the Hindus. The Hindu ideas of physical purity differed from those of the Muslims. In social life there was absolute prohibition of intercourse by means of intermarriage or interdining, and their practices and rituals had little in common Coming down to concrete details we find that these two lived almost in two different worlds. The Muslims relished beef which was extremely abhorrent to the Hindus. The absence of marriage restriction within certain degrees of consanguinity and of rigid widowhood, as well as easy methods of divorce and remarriage of females among the Muslims, were repugnant to the Hindus. The laws of succession, disposal of the dead, and modes of eating and greeting were different. The Muslims assumed Arabic names, used

Arabic calendar of lunar months, and adopted distinctive dresses. Their congregational prayers were radically different from Hindu mode of worship, and music, which was an essential part of Hindu religious ceremonials, was usually forbidden within the precincts, or even in the neighbourhood, of mosques. The intellectual inspiration of the one was supplied by Arabic and Persian, and of the other by Sanskrit literature. The fact that the Muslims turned towards the west and the Hindus towards the east, while offering prayers or worship to God, though by itself of no great significance, very correctly symbolized the orientation of the two cultures

4. *Historical traditions*

In addition to social and religious differences, the historical traditions of the preceding centuries drove a wedge between the two communities and kept them apart. The Muslims naturally looked with pride and glory upon their successive military triumphs which laid the Hindus low and made them masters of the country. But no Hindu could possibly recollect them without a sense of shame and humiliation The wilful destruction of images and temples which the Muslims, perhaps naturally and justly, looked upon as a glory of Islām, outraged the most cherished and deep-rooted sentiments of the Hindus The massacre and enslavement of the Hindus on a massive scale, generally following upon the victorious campaigns of the Muslims, to which Muslim chroniclers refer with glee, wounded the noblest and most tender feelings and left a lasting scar upon the memory of generations of Hindus

It would be idle to deny the fact that the spirit with which the military campaigns were undertaken was often as much political as religious, i e anti-Hindu The following extract from the *Tārīkh-i-Wassāf*, written at the beginning of the period under review, is a good illustration of this view Referring to 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī's campaign in Gujarāt, the author writes·

"The vein of the zeal of religion beat high for the subjection of infidelity and destruction of idols ...... .With a view to holy war, and not for the lust of conquest, he enlisted.... .about 14,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry . The Muhammadan forces began to kill and slaughter, on the right and on the left unmercifully, throughout the impure land, for the sake of Islām, and blood flowed in torrents

"They took captive a great number of handsome and elegant maidens, amounting to 20,000, and children of both sexes, more than pen can enumerate.. . In short, the Muhammadan army brought the country to utter ruin, and destroyed the lives of the inhabitants,

and plundered the cities, and captured their offsprings, so that many temples were deserted and the idols were broken and trodden under foot, the largest of which was one called Somnāt. .... The fragments were conveyed to Delhi, and the entrance of the Jāmi' Masjid was paved with them, that people might remember and talk of this brilliant victory.... 'Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds[15]'".

It is not strictly relevant to our present purpose to discuss how far the details of the campaign and the motive behind it have been correctly described by Wassāf. If a Muslim writer or chronicler could take this view of things in a serious historical narrative, it is beyond question that the Hindus would exaggerate, and paint in a still darker colour, both the inhuman cruelties and the bigoted religious zeal which prompted them. The effect of such an exulting description, by a member of the community which inflicted the injury, upon those that suffered it, can easily be imagined.

The picture drawn by Wassāf belongs to the very beginning of the period under review. To the end of it reigned Sikandar Lodī, of whom another Muslim writer says

"He was so zealous a Musulmān that he utterly destroyed diverse places of worship of the infidels, and left not a vestige remaining of them He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathurā, the mine of heathenism, and turned their principal Hindu places of worship into caravanserais and colleges. Their stone images were given to the butchers to serve them as meat-weights, and all the Hindus in Mathurā were strictly prohibited from shaving their heads and beards, and performing their ablutions. He thus put an end to all the idolatrous rites of the infidels there; and no Hindu, if he wished to have his head or beard shaved, could get a barber to do it Every city thus conformed as he desired to the customs of Islam."[16]

Such instances can be easily multiplied. Indeed a perusal of the Muslim chronicles leaves no doubt that not only scenes like this were witnessed during the period, but were regarded as just and natural by the Muslim divines and learned men of the age. The blood-curdling tales of wholesale rapine and massacre of the Hindus by Muslims, narrated in a single chronicle like that of Firishta, would make one's flesh creep The Hindus, who must have looked upon such misdeeds as the most heinous crime and the greatest outrage on their religion and society, could hardly be expected to forget or forgive the sacrileges perpetrated in the name of Islām. They would be either more or less than human beings if they could do so. They paid the Muslims back in their own coins, but their opportunities were naturally few and far between.[17] In any case, such recorded

historical incidents are few, and contrary instances of religious toleration are by no means rare. The ferocity of Muslim bigotry, renewed at intervals and therefore always of recent memory, fed the ulcer that was eating into vitals of communal amity. No wonder, it created a river of blood between the two communities which centuries of residence together could not bridge.

5. *Facts of History*

All these are by no means imaginary pictures or mere theoretical deductions. They are fully supported by such positive evidence as we possess regarding the relation between the Hindus and the Muslims during the period under review.

(a) *Ibn Batūtah*

We may begin with the picture drawn by Ibn Batūtah, a learned Muslim of Africa, who travelled widely throughout India about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, one of the most enlightened and liberal-minded Sultāns in India

Ibn Batūtah confirms the general statement, made above, particularly about forcible conversion, mass-enslavement, and the inferior status of the Hindus as *zimmīs*[18] Thus he remarks that "other nations embraced Islām only when the Arabs used their swords against them" (p 128)[19] There are several references to Hindu female captives of the highest rank being accorded the most humiliating treatment Referring to the 'Īd ceremony at Delhi in the Sultān's palace he says "Then enter the musicians, the first batch being the daughters of the infidel rajas—Hindus—captured in war that year. They sing and dance, and the Sultān gives them away to the amirs and *a'izza* Then come the other daughters of the infidels who sing and dance, and the Sultān gives them away to his brothers, his relations, his brothers-in-law and the maliks' sons" (p. 63) Again, Ibn Batūtah casually observes. "At that time there arrived in Delhi some female infidel captives, ten of whom the vezir sent to me. I gave one of these to the man who brought them to me, but he was not satisfied. My companions took three young girls, and I do not know what happened to the rest" (p. 123). The presents sent by Muhammad bin Tughluq to the Emperor of China included "one hundred male slaves and one hundred slave songstresses and dancers from among the Indian infidels" (p. 151).

The position of the Hindus as *zimmīs* is occasionally referred to by Ibn Batūtah "The inhabitants of Habanq", says he, "are infidels under protection (*zimma*) from whom half of the crops

which they produce is taken; besides they have to perform certain duties" (p. 241). He refers more than once to actual fights between infidel Hindus and their Muslim neighbours. Most interesting and instructive are the details connected with Alāpūr, a small city, most of whose inhabitants were infidels under protection (*zimmī*). The commandant of this place "was one of those heroes, whose bravery was proverbial. Ceaselessly and quite alone he would fall upon the infidels and would kill them or take them prisoner, so much so that his reputation spread widely and he made a name for himself and the infidels feared him". One day he fell upon a Hindu village and was killed in course of the fray But his slaves seized the village. "They put its male population to the sword and made the womenfolk prisoner and seized everything in it" Later, the Hindus avenged the insult by killing his son (p. 162-63). Immediately after narrating this, Ibn Batūtah mentions an incident which shows the precarious tenure of a Hindu life When he visited Gwalior he went to see the commandant who "was going to cut an infidel into two halves". At Ibn Batūtah's request the life of the infidel was saved (p. 163)

Ibn Batūtah's graphic account of the barbarous, almost incredible, cruelties perpetrated on the Hindus by the Sultān of Ma'bar has been quoted above[20] Ibn Batūtah was a near relative of the Sultān and lived in his court There is, therefore, no reason to discredit the story, incredibly horrible though it might appear to us, as it did to Ibn Batūtah He has also cited other instances of cruelty inflicted upon the Hindus by the same Sultān in the most callous manner One day while Ibn Batūtah was taking his meals with the Sultān a Hindu (infidel) "was brought in along with his wife and their son who was seven years of age The Sultān beckoned the executioners ordering them to cut off the Hindu's (infidel's) head",[20a] and then uttered some words meaning "and his wife and son". Ibn Batūtah turned away his eyes while this was being done. Another day the Sultān ordered the hands and feet of a Hindu to be cut off. Ibn Batūtah left the place on pretence of saying prayers, and when he returned he found the unfortunate Hindu weltering in blood (p 228). Ibn Batūtah's attitude on both the occasions does credit to him and definitely goes against those who excuse the conduct of the Muslim Sultāns on the ground that such cruelties were common in those days.

Ibn Batūtah bears witness to the deliberate and perpetual outrage on Hindu religious sentiments, perpetrated by Muslim rulers and people. In the capital city of Delhi itself, he found near the eastern gateway of the famous Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque "two very

big idols of copper connected together by stones. Every one who comes in and goes out of the mosque treads over them" (p. 27).

Some random observations of Ibn Batūtah seem to indicate that the Hindu and Muslims lived as entirely separate communities. Thus he remarks: "In India the infidels occupy one continuous piece of land and inhabit regions which are adjacent to those of the Muslims The Muslims dominate the infidels" (p 124). Reference is made to Parwan as "a small city of Musalmans lying in the midst of the territories of the infidels" (p. 163). In the capital city of a Hindu State in Malabar coast, "there are about four thousand Muslims, who inhabit a suburb of their own inside the jurisdiction of the city. There is fighting between them and the inhabitants of the city often" (p. 185). Ibn Batūtah's narrative shows that such communal fights were by no means rare. In another city of the Malabar coast "there were three Muslim quarters" (p 188). When the Muslim Sultān of Hinawar conquered the Hindu city of Goa, he occupied the Hindu palace and gave the adjacent quarters to his followers, while ten thousand Hindu prisoners were removed to a suburb (p 196).

The segregation of the Muslim community was rendered necessary, at least to a large extent, by the social rules and habits of the Hindus who regarded the Muslims as unclean and impure (*mlechchhas*). The Hindus maintained no social intercourse with the other community by way of interdining and intermarriage They were uncompromising in this respect, and regarded the touch of Muslims, or even a scent of their food, as pollution. Ibn Batūtah keenly felt all this when he passed through the Hindu States of Malabar, where Muslims were few and far between He justly complains that no Hindu would give a vessel to a Muslim for drinking water of a well as he would do to another Hindu "If one happens to be a Muslim he (Hindu) pours water into his (Muslim's) hands and leaves off when the latter makes him a sign or withdraws. It is the custom among the heathens in the Malabar country that no Muslim should enter their houses or use their vessels for eating purposes If a Muslim is fed out of their vessels, they either break the vessels, or give them away to the Musalmans" (p 182). These Hindu ideas of untouchability concerning the Muslims were not confined to Malabar, but extended all over India, and Ibn Batūtah draws a refreshing contrast in this respect between the infidels of Ceylon and those of India. The infidels of Ceylon, we are told, were unlike the infidels of India who would neither admit even Muslim fakirs in their houses nor give them food and water in their own utensils (p. xxxiv) Then he observes in a reminiscent mood:

"Occasionally we were compelled to ask some of the infidels of India to cook meat for us. They used to bring it in their own cooking pots and to sit at a little distance from us; they used to bring also leaves of banana tree upon which they placed rice—their principal food—pouring over the rice broth called *koshān* and subsequently they withdrew. Then we used to eat it, and whatever remained would be eaten by the dogs and birds. If any innocent child happened to take anything from that remnant they would beat him and compel him to eat cow's dung which according to their belief purifies" (p. xxxiv).

Reference may be made in this connection to a story, narrated in detail by Ibn Batūtah himself, which throws a lurid light on the relation between the Hindus and Muslims in the very heart of the Muslim empire in North India.

Ibn Batūtah was appointed ambassador to China and proceeded from Delhi in July, 1342, with rich presents, and a guard of thousand horsemen. When they were in the neighbourhood of Aligarh they heard that the city of Jalālī, about eleven miles to the south-east, was besieged by the Hindus, numbering about a thousand horsemen and three thousand infantry. By a surprise attack the Sultān's cavalry guard "killed them (the infidel Hindus) to the last man and seized their horses and arms" The 'infidels', however, continued to raid the suburbs of Jalālī from their base on an inaccessible mountain. In course of one of these, Ibn Batūtah and a few friends were surprised by the raiders and had to flee for their lives. Being hotly pursued, Ibn Batūtah was captured and going to be killed, when one of the captors took pity on him and helped him to escape. After hiding himself in hills, forests, and fields, he came to a road. "But since that road was leading into a village of infidels", Ibn Batūtah took to a different road and hid himself. After seven days, famished by hunger and thirst, he reached "a thickly populated village of infiedels". "I begged of them something to eat, but they refused to give anything". One of them lifted an unsheathed sword to kill him, but let him off after taking his shirt. On the eighth day he chanced to come across a Muslim who took him to a Muslim ruler of a Hindu village (pp 151-7)

After all this we need hardly feel surprised at the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindus. The Brāhmans, says Ibn Batūtah, "are revered by the infidels and inspire hatred in the Muslims" (p. 188). The dislike was mutual "We used to meet infidels on this road at night; but as soon as they saw us they got out of the way until we had passed" (p. 183).

Any one who reads Ibn Batūtah's account would be reminded of what Al-Bīrūnī said regarding the attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims, and vice versa.[20b] Evidently things had not improved much even after the lapse of three hundred years

(b) *Indian Literature*

Unfortunately we possess no chronicle of the period written by a Hindu save and except the second *Rājataraṅginī* of Jonarāja. The terrible tales of persecution of the Hindus by Sultān Sikandar of Kāshmir, as recorded by him, have been narrated above.[20c] But isolated references to the persecution of the Hindus by the Muslims are not altogether wanting The Muslim sway over South India beyond the Krishnā was of short duration, and confined to Madurā, but the cry of anguish from this region in the far south has been preserved in a local chronicle of Madurā. The misery caused by the Muslims in this sacred city is also narrated in detail by Gaṅgādevī, the consort of prince Kampana of Vijayanagara. A few extracts are quoted below:

"The temples in the land have fallen into neglect, as worship in them has been stopped. Within their walls the frightful howls of the jackals have taken the place of the sweet reverberations of *mṛidaṅga* .... The sweet odour of the sacrificial smoke and the chant of the Vedas have deserted the villages which are now filled with the foul smell of roasted flesh and the fierce noise of the ruffianly Turushkas The suburban gardens of Madurā present a most painful sight, many of their beautiful cocoanut palms have been cut down; and on every side are seen rows of stakes from which swing strings of human skulls strung together The Tāmraparṇī is flowing red with the blood of the slaughtered cows The Veda is forgotten, and justice has gone into hiding; there is not left any trace of virtue or nobility in the land and despair is writ large on the faces of the unfortunate Drāviḍas"[21] In spite of possible exaggeration, the general truth underlying this doleful and dismal picture is borne out by Ibn Batūtah's description of the monstrous cruelty perpetrated by the Muslim Sultān of Ma'bar or Madurā.[21a]

Vidyāpati, the famous poet of Mithilā in the 15th century A D has given a gruesome account of the oppressions of the Hindus by the Turks.[21b] After describing the vital differences between the two in social and religious customs he mentions how the Turks force the Hindus to work without pay, place the leg of the dead cow on the heads of Brāhmaṇas, lick the sandalwood mark on their foreheads, tear off their sacred thread, break temples and build mosques in their place, abuse the Hindus and assault them

The medieval religious writers of Bengal, particularly the Vaishṇavas, have left a vast literature which contains casual references to the miserable plight of the Hindus in Bengal. These Vaishṇavas were the most inoffensive and peaceful members of the Hindu community and their views cannot be regarded, by any stretch of imagination, to be tinged by political or racial bias of any kind. This literature reflects the state of things prevailing in Bengal three hundred years after the Muslims had conquered it. It is important to bear this in mind, for it had been held by some that "after the first shock of conquest was over, the Hindus and Muslims prepared to find a *via media* whereby to live as neighbours".[22] A positive and definite idea of the neighbourly relation between the two during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. may be formed from the contemporary Bengali literature.

The *Chaitanya-mangala* of Jayānanda describes as follows the plight of the Brāhmaṇas of Navadvīpa, the birth-place of Chaitanya, shortly before his birth (A.D. 1485): "The king seizes the Brāhmaṇas, pollute their caste, and even take their lives. If a conchshell is heard to blow in any house, its owner is made to forfeit his wealth, caste and even life. The king plunders the houses of those who wear sacred threads on the shoulder and put sacred marks on the forehead, and then bind them. He breaks the temples and uproots *Tulasī* plants, and the residents of Navadvīpa are in perpetual fear of their lives. The bathing in the Gaṅgā is prohibited and hundreds of sacred *Aśvattha* and jack trees have been cut down. The numerous Yavanas (Muslims) who reside in the Piralyā village ruined the Brāhmaṇas. The feud between the Yavanas and the Brāhmanas is everlasting, and the terrible village of Piralyā is close to Navadvīpa. Misled by the false report of (the people of) Piralyā that a Brāhmana was destined to be the king of Navadvīpa.. the king (of Gauḍa) ordered the destruction of Nadiyā (Navadvīpa). Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭāchārya left Gauḍa with his family and kinsmen and fled to Orissa where he was honoured by its ruler Pratāparudra." Some time later, the king of Gauḍa changed his attitude and had the broken houses and temples repaired, but the Brāhmaṇas whose caste was polluted remained for ever outside the fold of Hinduism."[22a]

Such pogroms of Hindus were not accidental or merely passing episodes. As Jayānanda so tersely puts it, the feud between the Yavanas and the Brāhmaṇas was everlasting. So we find that, far from improving, the communal relation became even worse during the benign rule of 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh (A.D. 1493-1519) who is generally regarded as the most liberal-minded Muslim ruler of Bengal.

Vijaya Gupta, one of the eulogists of Husain Shāh, gives a gruesome detailed description of the outrage on Hindus by the Muslim *qāzis*, Hasan and Husain. These two made a pastime of baiting the Hindus in all possible ways. Anyone found with the sacred *Tulasī* leaf on his head (an obligatory Vaishṇava custom) was taken to the *qāzī* with hands and feet bound, and heavy blows were administered to him. The *piyādā*(peon) tore away the sacred thread from a Brāhman and spat saliva in his mouth. On one occasion a Muslim *mullā* happened to pass by a hut in a wood where some shepherd boys were worshipping the goddess *Manasā* with the symbol of sacred earthen pots to the accompaniment of music In righteous indignation the *mullā* made an attempt to break the pots, but was severely trounced The *mullā* brought it to the notice of the two *qāzī* brothers who exclaimed: "What! the scoundrel (*harāmzādah*) Hindus make so bold as to perform Hindu rituals in my village' The culprit boys should be seized and made outcast by being forced to eat Muslim bread " So the two brothers gathered a large number of armed Muslims and proceeded towards the shepherd's hut The mother of the *qāzīs*, a Hindu girl forcibly married by the former *qāzī*, vainly tried to dissuade her sons; they demolished the shepherd's hut, broke the sacred pots into pieces, and threw away the offerings to the goddess. The affrighted shepherd boys had concealed themselves in the wood, but some of them were hunted out and seized[23]

Iśāna Nāgara, another contemporary writer, describes the condition of the Hindus under Husain Shāh as follows

"The wicked *mlechchhas* pollute the religion of the Hindus every day They break the images of the gods into pieces and throw away the articles of worship They throw into fire *Śrīmad-Bhāgavat* and other holy scriptures, forcibly take away the conch-shell and bell of the Brāhmaṇas (two necessary articles of worship), and lick the sandal paints on their bodies They urinate like dogs on the sacred *Tulasī* plant, and deliberately pass faeces in the Hindu temples They throw water from their mouths on the Hindus engaged in worship, and harass the Hindu saints as if they were so many lunatics let large"[24]

The two great biographies of the great Vaishnava saint Chaitanya, namely, the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita* and the *Chaitanya-bhāgavata*, contain many stories of the religious bigotry of the Muslims and the consequent persecution of the Hindus. Both the books refer to a famous episode in the life of Lord Chaitanya. He had introduced the system of public worship in the form of *kīrtan* (a sort of congregational song loudly sung together by a large number of men in public streets to the accompaniment of special musical instru-

ments). This enraged the Muslim *qāzī*, and one day when Chaitanya's devotees were singing the name of God in the streets of Nadīyā (Navadvīpa in Bengal), he came out, struck blows upon everybody on whom he could lay hands, broke the musical instruments, and threatened with dire punishment all the Hindus who would dare join a *kīrtan* party in this way in his city of Nadīyā. To prevent the recurrence of public *kīrtan*, the *qāzī* patrolled the streets of Nadīyā with a party. The people of Nadīyā got afraid, but Chaitanya decided to defy the *qāzī's* orders, and brought out a large *kīrtan* party which was joined by thousands. The *qāzī* was at first wild with anger and held out the threat that he would destroy the caste of all the Hindus of Nadīyā; but terror seized him when his eyes fell upon the vast concourse of people in a menacing attitude He fled, and his house was wrecked by the angry crowd. The *Chaitanya-bhāgavata* does not describe the sequel. But the other work, *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita*, describes how Chaitanya sent for the *qāzī* who was now in a more chastened mood, and the two had a cordial talk.[25]

As is usual with religious books, the author of the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita* attributes the change in the *qāzī's* attitude to a miracle. A more rational explanation of the *qāzī's* forbearance is probably to be found in the attitude of the Sultān. Shortly after the above incident, the author describes the visit of Chaitanya to Rāmakeli, a village near the capital city of Gauḍa When Sultān Husain Shāh heard of the great ovation paid to the saint by millions of people along the whole route, he was surprised, and observed that one whom such a vast crowd follows without any expectation of material benefit must be a saint. He ordered the Muslim *qāzīs* not to injure him in any way and allow him to go wherever he liked[26]

It would be wrong to infer from this, that Sultān Husain Shāh had a tender heart for the Hindus. At least the contemporary Hindus thought otherwise. Even after Husain Shāh issued the above order, the intimate followers of Chaitanya argued. "This Husain Shāh had destroyed numerous temples in Orissa; the liberal views he expressed were but a passing phase, and might be changed at any moment by evil counsels of Muslim officials".[26a] So they sent an urgent message to Chaitanya to leave the vicinity of the capital One of the Hindu courtiers of the Sultān, when asked about Chaitanya, deliberately misrepresented him as an ordinary *sannyāsī*, in order to avert the Sultān's wrath against a great Hindu saint.[27]

Sanātana, a trusted Hindu official of the Sultān, became an ardent devotee of Chaitanya. So he (Sanātana) spent his time in religious exercises in his house, and ceased to attend the court on plea of ill

ness. One day the Sultān paid a surprise visit and found Sanātana hale and hearty, engaged in religious discourse with twenty or thirty Vaishṇavas. The Sultān got very angry and kept Sanātana in confinement. Sultān Husain Shāh was then making preparations for a military expedition against Orissa, and asked Sanātana to accompany him. But the latter refused, saying· "You are going to torment our gods(i.e destroy the images and temples); I cannot go with you."[28] This firm reply to the iconoclastic Sultān offers a striking contrast to the fulsome eulogies paid to him by some contemporary Bengali poets. One of them, Vijaya Gupta, mentioned above, describes Husain Shāh as an ideal king whose subjects enjoy all the blessings of life, and compares him to the epic hero Arjuna. Another goes even further and describes the Muslim Sultān, notorious for breaking Hindu temples, as the incarnation of Krishṇa in the Kali Age All these merely indicate the degree of abject surrender and the depth of moral degradation of the Hindus of Bengal caused by three hundred years of political servitude and religious oppression[28a] Evidently a new spirit was infused into them by Chaitanya, at least for the time being.

Throughout the *Chaitanya-bhāgavata* there are casual references to Hindus being constantly oppressed by the fear that the public performance of *kīrtan*, and even singing religious songs loudly in one's own house, would provoke the Sultān and bring untold miseries upon the people of Nadīyā A section of them was therefore angry with the Vaishṇavas, and once a rumour was spread that the Sultān had sent two boats full of soldiers to Nadīyā to arrest those who sang *kīrtan* Many people expressed their amazement that Chaitanya and his followers were engaged in loudly singing *kīrtan* at Rāmakeli near the capital city, Gauḍa, without any fear of the terrible Muslim king living so near[29] These incidental references constitute more valuable data than even the full-fledged stories of the sacrilegious conduct of the *qāzīs* for making a proper estimate of the wretched condition of the Hindus They had to live in perpetual dread of the religious bigotry and intolerance of the Muslims during the rule of even the most enlightened Muslim Sultān of Bengal No wonder that many Hindus embraced Islam to get rid of this ignominious fate Duarte Barbosa who visited India during the reign of Husain Shāh observes with reference to Bengal "The Heathens of these parts daily become Moors to gain the favour of their rulers"[30]

But the Vaishnava literature also shows the brighter side of the relation between the Hindus and Muslims When the *qāzī* of Nadīyā met Chaitanya after the tumultuous riot mentioned above, he reminded the latter that his (Chaitanya's) maternal grandfather was his

(*qāzī's*) uncle according to the customary usage of the village, and therefore Chaitanya was his nephew. It is thus apparent that although there was no interdining and intermarriage between the Hindus and the Muslims, some sort of cordial neighbourly relation was fostered between the two communities living together in the same village or city. This is quite natural But the pity of it is, that even such neighbourly feelings could neither mellow the bigoted fury of the Muslims against Hindu religion, as is proved by the conduct of the *qāzī* himself; nor relax in any way the social bigotry of the Hindus which got the better not only of humanitarian feelings, but also of their age-long virtues of respect for guest and mercy towards helpless seekers of shelter, as exemplified by the refusal of food and water to a hungry and thirsty foreigner, Ibn Batūtah. Incidental references have been made in the above stories to the forcible marriage of a Hindu girl by a Muslim, and dubious methods adopted to make the Hindus lose their caste Other corroborative concrete instances of these are met with in contemporary literature These were also so many sore points with the Hindus which widened the breach between the two communities.

Three different lines of evidence—Muslim chronicles, the account of Ibn Batūtah, and contemporary Indian literature—all agree in testifying to the fact that the basic and fundamental differences between the two communities continued, as before, during the period under review No doubt, mutual understanding was developed and there was a greater amount of cordiality in the normal social relation between the two Each was influenced by the other, in varying degrees, not only in different spheres of life, but also in ideas, beliefs, and even superstitions But all these merely affected the external and superficial in man and society, and left untouched the core of the heart and the mind It was only necessary to scratch the skin to bring out the Hindu and the Muslim in every Indian individually or collectively.

A HINDU SOCIETY

1 On Chaitanya's attitude towards caste, vide S K De *Early History of the Vaishnava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, pp 80-81n. On caste in Sikhism down to the time of Guru Govind Singh, vide Teja Singh and Ganda Singh *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol I, pp 66-67

2 The above dates, which are approximate are taken from P V Kane *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol IV, pp ix-xi

3 For references to these views, vide Kane, *op. cit.* Vol II, Part I, p 56.

4 For references, vide Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol II, pp 33 ff 122 ff Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara* pp 143-44, 210 ff, 245 ff

5 References in Mahalingam op cit 137 ff.

5a. *IBH*, 63, 151. *TA*, III 597. The Editor is responsible for this para.

5b *Vivādaratnākara*, 139 ff, *Parāśara-Mādhava*, II 238 ff; *Vyavahāravivekoddyota*, 214 ff *Vyavahārasāra*, 152 ff; *Vivādachandra*, 46 ff, *Vivādachintāmaṇī*, 63 ff; *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, 291 ff

6. *E.C.* VIII, p. 40 (gift of female slaves mentioned in inscription of 1382) *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, 1905, p. 40 (reference to bond-servant). For references to slavery in the preceding periods vide the earlier volumes, s v
7. For references, vide Saletore, op. cit Vol II, p 166 ff, p 362, Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 262 ff.
7a. Quoted in the preface to the edition of the *Vyavahārasāra*. See Bibliography.
8. For the history of the controversy about the validity of marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter in the *Smritis*, vide Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol II, Part I, pp. 458 ff
8a. *Parāśara-Mādhava*, I, 485 ff.: *Madanapārijāta* 155 ff, *Grihastharātnākārā*, 55 ff
8b. *Grihastharatnākara*, 86.
8c *Madanapārijāta*, 89
9. Vide Yule and Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol II, p 139 (Friar Odoric), Yule, Mirabilia (Jordanus), *IBH*, 21 22
9a. Full reference in *Vivādaratnākara*, 409 ff, less detailed references in *Madanapārijāta*, 191-192, *Parāśara-Mādhava*, II, 322-23, *Vyavahāravivekoddyota*, 315-17; *Vyavahārasāra*, 205-4 *Vyavahārakānda*, 342, *Vivādachintāmani*, 189-90
9b *Vyavahārasāra*, 249 50
9c. *Vivādachandra*, 92-93
9d. *Vivādachintāmani*, 236
9e. *Vyavahārasāra*, 237.
9f. *Vivādachandra*, 82-83
9g. *Parāśara-Mādhava*, II. 369, *Vyavahāravivekoddyota*, 376.
9h *Vivādaratnakara*, 511-15, *Madanapārijāta*, 670, *Vyavahāravivekoddyota*, 377-79; *Vivādachandra*, 81, *Vyavahārakānda*, 380-1, *Vivādachintāmani*, 218-21.
10. *Vivādaratnākara*, 516-18, *Madanapārijāta*, 665-69, *Vivādachandra*, 382-84; *Vyavahāravivekoddyota*, 380, *Vivādachintāmani*, 221-24, Śūlapāni on Yājñavalkya, I, 144-45
10a *IBH*, p. 171 (diet among the Maratha people) Saletore op cit Vol II, p 305 ff. Mahalingam, op cit, p. 281 ff (diet of people in Vijayanagara Empire)
11 For references see Saletore, op cit, 159 ff, 297 ff, Mahalingam, op cit, 263 ff 284 ff
12 In the above passage the author observes that the Brahmana though addicted to all sense-enjoyments is not disqualified because of the efficacy of his Vedic studies and his five daily sacrifices in removing sins, while his earthly divinity is not lost by eating forbidden food and the like because of the similar efficacy of single *mantras* Quoting in the next place a *prima facie* view which favours membership of a *parishat* for a Sūdra of good character and conduct in preference to a Brāhmana of bad character living in the same village, the author rejects the same on the ground that, as between the claims of birth and character, the superiority of the former is to be considered principally while the latter is to be considered as far as possible
13 Vide Yule and Cordier *Cathay*, Vol II, p 145 (Odoric); Yule, Mirabilia (Jordanus), *IBH*, p 23
14 Yule and Cordier, *Cathay*, Vol II, p 137, Yule, Mirabilia (Jordanus)

B MUSLIM RELIGION AND SOCIETY

1 Vol V, 467 ff.
2 See, for example, how Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Khaljī and later on Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq fell out with Hazrat Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya The former, indeed, threatened the saint with dire consequences if he failed to present himself at his court on an appointed date, but was himself murdered before that date
3 Thus we have the months Mīrānjī, Madar and Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn corresponding to the Arabic months of Rabī'-al-Sānī, Jumād-al-Awal and Jumād-al-Sānī, and named after Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Gīlānī of Baghdad, Shāh Madār and Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn of Ajmer respectively
4 See *Chashma-i-Kauthar* (p. 361 ff) He was a native of Jaunpur where he was born in A.D 1443 He gained numerous adherents, particularly in Gujarāt and Hyderābād
5 See above, p. 146
6 This title originally indicated a non-Sayyid Arab, a descendant, usually, of one of the first three Caliphs of Islām, but later on became indiscriminately used for any Muslim who was not of Sayyid, Mughul or Afghan origin Thus all the new converts to Islām came to be designated as *Shaikhs*
7 Khusrav mentions the *katāra* in one of his verses *Sarī an du chashm gardam ki chu Hinduān-i-rahzan I Hamarā zletigh i-abrū bejigar zadeh katāra* II "May

I be a ransom for those two eyes which like the the marauding Hindus, with their sword-like eye-brows, strike at even one's liver with a *katāra*."

8 The Arabs probably had become familiar with *tambul* in very early times, but it was unknown in Central Asia. According to al-Mas'ūdī, it had become popular in al-Hijāz and Yemen in the fourth century (Murūj, II, p 84).

9 See Khusrav, *Qirān-us-Sa'dain* (Aligarh edn.), pp. 183-185. Ibn Batūtah gives a graphic account of the dishes and dinner etiquettes (IBH, 15, 120, 180).

10. Khusrav says.
Ay Dihlī o ay butān-i-sādeh I Pag basteh o risha kadj nihādeh II.
"Oh Dihlī and oh her beardless beauties' Turbans tied (round their heads) and the turban-tails placed awry."

11. Khusrav speaks particularly of two varieties, the Deogiri and the Maradevnagri See the *Nuh Sipihr*. the *Ashiqa*. etc. Cf also the-*Khazāin-ul-Futūh*. (Edited by Mirza, p. 22)

11a. Cf Chapter XIX.

12. The Editor is responsible for the preceding three paragraphs which are based on an article by S N.H. Rizvi in *Is C.*, XV, 331

13 Shaving of the new born child's natal hair, corresponding to the Hindu *chūdākarana*

14. The first lesson given to a child, consisting usually of the recitation by the teacher of a Qur'ānic verse which the child was asked to repeat

15 Such as *chauthī*, *chāla* etc It may be interesting to note in this connection that the Indian practice of erecting a *mandhā* (*mandap*) for the bride has a curious resemblance to the Arab custom which finds expression in the phrase "*banā 'alaihā*" (built or erected a tent over her) in the sense of "married her"

16 *IBH*, 78 ff., 211, 120.

17. See Khusrav. *Nuh Sipihr* (ed Mirza, pp 376 ff) and Ibn Batūtah (Egyptian edn). Vol II, p. 38, *IBH*, 63

18 See p 23 above

19 The large number of mosques, inns, tanks and wells built by them bear eloquent testimony to their religious zeal

20 Called *kohī* and *bahrī* by Khusrav and others, *kohī*, because they were procured from the hill districts of Konkan, etc., and *bahrī*, as they were imported from over-sea countries, chiefly Arabia

21. See Ashraf Life and Conditions of peoples of Hindusthan, *JRASBL*, I pp 233-237.

22. Cf. Chapter XV, Sections D and E, particularly the three paragraphs marked with asterisk on pp. 538-9, which originally formed part of this section, and were transferred to the section on literature [Ed]

C HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

1 Vol V, 497-502

1a Recently, Kazi Abdul Wadud has challenged the theory, to which wide currency was given by the scholarly writings of Risley, Beverly and Hunter,' namely, "that the Mussalmans of Bengal sprang from the lower strata of the Hindus of the province, and that the sword of Islam was primarily responsible for the conversion." He has mostly relied on the arguments advanced by Khundkar Muhammad Fazle Rabbi in his book *The Origin of the Mussalmans of Bengal*, among which he cites the following as the "most weighty" 'How to account for the comparative paucity of Mussalmans in Northern India, the seat of Muslim power for centuries, where the notorious sword of Islam could not have been shy" It is forgotten that this objection may be advanced against any explanation that is offered to account for the large number of Mussalmans of Bengal, including those of Mr Rabbi and Kazi Wadud, namely, (1) that a fairly large number of Mussalmans were not indigenous to Bengal, but went there as soldiers, Government officials and traders; (2) Bengal was a stronghold of Pathans If the first argument had any validity, we would expect more Muslims in Upper India than in Bengal As to the second, Bihar, and to a certain extent, Orissa, were also strongholds of the Pathans, and yet these two regions contain a much smaller percentage of Mussalmans than Bengal ("The Mussalmans of Bengal" by Kazi Abdul Wadud in *Studies in the Bengal Renaissance*, edited by Atulchandra Gupta, pp. 460 ff)

2 *IBH*, p xxxiv

3 *IBH*, 151-2.

4. *Hindusthan Standard*, Puja Issue, 1950.

5. Cf. Vol. III, p 456, f.n, 1, also Ch XIV of this volume, p. 450.
5a. *Sources of Indian Tradition* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1958), pp. 489-90.
6. Confirmation and illustration of the adoption of Sir Jadunath's theory into practice meets us at almost every step in the Muslim historical chronicles and the political history of the Sultanate sketched above (cf specially, pp 25, 59, 104 ff., 147, 158). Cf. also the *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī* of Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī (*IBH*, 260 ff.) For the *jizya*, cf Vol III, 455-6.
7. P. 25
8 *IBH*, 150
9 Above, pp 104-5
10 *IBH*. 261
11 Above, Vol V, p 499
11a *Sources of Indian Tradition*, p 489
12 *TKB*, II, 110
13 *T M*, 40 It is difficult to believe the story, but the fact that a distinguished historian of the period thought fit to give currency to it shows clearly the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindus in the age in which he flourished.
14 The case of Medinī Rāi, in Mālwa (pp 183-4), is a striking example But even in this case his later career supports the theory enunciated here There are a few cases on record where Muslims occupied a high post in Hindu State and vice versa But the very small number of such cases supports the view mentioned in the text The careers of Ganeśa and his son, sketched above (pp 208 ff), are other striking illustrations of the wide gulf that separated the Hindus and Muslims in politics It is noteworthy that in spite of perpetual rebellions and usurpations, no Hindu ever succeeded in gaining the throne or maintaining it in a State ruled over by the Muslims
14a See pp 268 ff
15 *HIED*, III, 42-44
16 *HIED*, IV, 447
17 Rāna Kumbha claims to have imprisoned the *Yavanīs* (i e Muslim women) and also broken a mosque When Medinī Rāi was powerful in Mālwa, Musulmān and Sayyid women were taken by the Rājputs and were turned into slave girls" (*TA* III 597) The massacre and rapine of the Muslims by the Hindu kings of Vijayanagara are referred to by Firishta
18 For the significance of the term *zimmī*, see above, p
19 These figures within brackets refer to pages in *IBH*
20 Pp 233-4
20a In this quotation the word 'Hindu' has been substituted for 'enemy', as being the correct translation of the original word 'kāfir' (see above, p 245, f n, 19)
20b Cf Vol V, pp 500-501
20c See above, pp. 378 ff
21 *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, I 40
21a Above, pp 233-4.
21b Cf *Kīrtilatā*
22 Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p 137
22a Cf D C Sen, *Bangabhāsha o Sāhitya* 6th Edition, pp 319-20
23 *Manasā mangala* also called *Padmā-Purāna* (in Bengali), pp 54 ff
24 *Advaita-prakāśa* (in Bengali) Ch IX, p 39
25 For this episode cf *Chaitanya-bhāgavata* Madhyakhanda, Ch 23 (pp 271 ff), *Chaitanya-charitamrita* Ādi-līlā, Ch XVII (pp 122 ff)
26 *Chaitanya-charitāmrita*, Madhya-līlā, Ch I p 138
26a. *Chaitanya-Bhāgavata*, *Antyakhanda* Ch IV, p 358
27 *Ibid* *Chaitanya-bhāgavata*, *Antya-Khanda*, Ch IV p 358
28. *Chaitanya-charitamrita* Madhya-līlā, Ch XIX, p 326
28a For a different view on this point cf p 219
29 *Chaitanya-bhāgavata*, pp 14 140, 356
30 M L Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, 11, 148

CHAPTER XVIII

ECONOMIC CONDITION*

1. *The Village and the City*

During the period under review the village, following the traditional pattern of a unit more or less self-contained within its own limits, must have remained, as always, the backbone of India's economy There was, however, this important difference that, not to speak of North India, even in the South, the ancient self-governing village-assemblies decayed and perished under the withering influence of the quasi-feudal as well as centralized State administrations of the time. The economic life in the city, nevertheless, was maintained, as of old, in full vigour during this period. The Moorish traveller Ibn Batūtah, in the course of his Indian itinerary (1333-46 A D.), found great cities with rich markets in the Upper Gangā valley, in Mālwa and Gujarāt, in the Deccan and in Bengal, as well as in Malabar in the extreme south In another context the same writer, while describing the magnificent port of Alexandria in Egypt, observes that he has not seen its equal in the universe, if exception is made in the case of Quilon and Calicut in Malabar, Sudak in the Crimea, and Zaytun in China In the early sixteenth century the rich sea-ports of Gujarāt, the Deccan, Malabar and Bengal are described by the Portuguese writer Barbosa as handling an extensive trade (inland, coastal and overseas) in a remarkable variety of merchandise In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the city of Vijayanagara, because of its large size and huge population, its rich *bazars*, the number of its skilled craftsmen, and dealers in precious stones as well as other articles, impressed profoundly a succession of foreign visitors. One of these, the Portuguese Domingo Paes, describing its heavy traffic, observes that its streets and markets were full of countless pack-oxen making the passage in many streets difficult for men. In the kingdom of Vijayanagara, as in the independent Hindu kingdoms of older times, the temples played a large part in the public economy in the capacity of landlords and employers of labour, as well as of banks advancing loans to debtors on the security of their lands [1]

2 *Agriculture, Horticulture and Animal Husbandry*

The extensive cultivation of food grains and other crops, and nurture of fruit-trees as well as rearing of domestic animals by the Indians are vividly described by the foreign travellers of this period.

The advanced condition of agriculture was helped by the exceeding fertility of the soil to which these travellers frequently refer. We begin with a fairly exhaustive list of Indian agricultural and other products given by Ibn Batūtah at the beginning of the narrative of his Indian travels. We learn from him that the soil was so fertile as to produce two crops every year, namely seven varieties of autumn crops (including millet, peas and beans of different kinds), four varieties of spring crops (wheat, barley, chick peas and lentils). To this he adds that sesame and sugar-cane were cultivated along with the autumn crops, and that rice was sown three times a year. The list of Indian fruit-trees consisted of mangoes, jack-fruits, black-berries and oranges of three varieties, such as were unknown to the traveller in any other country, as well as the familiar pomegranate which bore fruit twice a year. The list of vegetables included ginger and pepper which, like the mango, were prepared into pickles Coming to the different localities, the writer noticed an abundance of fine rice at Sarsuti (modern Sirsā on the north of a dried bed of the Ghaggar river), of sugar at Kanauj, of wheat and betel-leaf at Dhār (in Mālwa), as well as the supreme excellence of wheat (matched only by that of China) at Marh (near Gwalior) At Daulatābād, grapes and pomegranates were grown twice a year while at Sagar (on the Narmadā, nearly thirty miles from its mouth) there were orchards of fruit-trees, and the lands were irrigated by water-wheels In the early part of the sixteenth century, according to Barbosa, wheat, millet, gingelly, peas and beans were grown abundantly and cheaply in the kingdom of Gujarāt. In 'the Deccan kingdom' (the Bahmanī Sultanate) the same traveller noticed many beautiful villages with well-tilled land and good breeds of cattle, as well as other villages with very fair gardens for the cultivation of betel-leaf. The villages belonging to the coastal province of 'Tulu-nād' (north and south Kanara), we are further told, yielded a great store of good (white) as well as coarse (black) rice along with sugar and myrobalan of good quality, which found a market in Malabar on the one side and Arabia and Persia on the other. In South India, Malabar was noted during these centuries, as at all other times, for its spices In the fourteenth century Abu-'l-Feda and Ibn Batūtah aptly described Malabar as "the pepper country", while in the following century Odoric and John de Marignolli declared it to be the only country in the world for the growth and supply of pepper The ginger of Malabar, according to Odoric, was the best in the world Along the great coastal road of Malabar there was, according to Ibn Batūtah, not a span of land left uncultivated, and everyone had his separate garden with his house in the middle. Among other products Ibn Batūtah noticed cocoa-

nuts, betel-nuts and areca-nuts, of which the last grew in such abundance in a particular area as to form an article of export to China. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries four Chinese writers (Wang Ta-Yuan, Ma Huan, Fei Hsin, and Huang Sheng-tseng) noticed cocoa-nuts, betel-nuts, jack-fruits, catechu and especially pepper (which was grown in gardens) among the products of Malabar. According to Barbosa, cocoa-nuts were grown along the whole sea-beach of Malabar, and the ten or twelve uses, to which it was put by the people, made them immune from dearth at all times. The flourishing condition of agriculture in the Vijayanagara kingdom is repeatedly mentioned by the foreign writers. According to Paes the region was well-cultivated and very fertile, and it produced a great quantity of food-grains and cotton as well as oil-seeds. The dearth of water, on account of the small number of streams and the scanty rainfall, was met to some extent by the use of lakes fed by the collection of rain-water and by springs The fellow-traveller of Paes, Barbosa, was struck with the wide cultivation of rice, peas, beans and other pulses, as well as the extensive breeding of domestic animals in the kingdom Within the circuit of Vijayanagara city there were, according to 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, excellent gardens with fruit-trees of different kinds, as well as fields irrigated with water from the lakes In Orissa, at the time of Fīrūz Tughluq's invasion (1360), as we learn from the contemporary Muslim chronicler, the inhabitants had fine gardens of fruit-trees in their houses, while the cattle and sheep were so numerous that they found no buyers, and the horses were sold at the extraordinary cheap price of ten copper coins (*jitals*) each. In Bengal Ibn Batūtah, descending down 'the Blue River' (identified with the Barak or the Surma River in Sylhet District), from 'the glorious and beautiful city of Habanq' (identified with a ruined site near Habiganj), passed through villages and orchards which reminded the traveller of those along the banks of the Nile in Egypt. The long list of cereals and vegetables of Bengal, noticed by Ma Huan in the middle of the fifteenth century, comprised rice growing twice a year, millet of two varieties, sesamum and beans, ginger, mustard, onions and garlic, cucumber and egg-plant. Other products mentioned by the same writer are cocoa-nut and betel-nut, banana, jack-fruit and pomegranate, sugar-cane, and honey. Another Chinese writer of the same period, Fei Hsin, makes particular mention of the mango. In 'the city of Bengala' (probably meaning the capital city of Gauḍa with its sea-port at Sātgāon on the eastern branch of the Gangā), there were, according to Barbosa, many cotton fields, sugar-cane, ginger and pepper plantations, as well as gardens of orange, lemon and other fruit-trees, the good white sugar produced from the sugar-cane finding a good

market in other lands. There was likewise an abundance of horses, cows, sheep, and domestic fowl.[2]

3. *Textile manufacture*

The textile industry of India appears from all accounts to have flourished as well in these as in the preceding centuries. From the detailed and valuable report of Barbosa it appears that Gujarāt, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, led the way in the volume of manufacture of Indian textiles. The great industrial city of Cambay, containing skilled craftsmen of many kinds 'as in Flanders', is especially mentioned by the foreign writer for the abundance and cheapness of its woven white cotton fabrics (of both coarse and fine varieties), its printed cotton stuffs, its silk cloth, coloured velvets, velvety satins, and thick carpets, as well as its very beautiful quilts, its finely worked and painted testers of beds and its quilted articles of clothing. Coloured and richly embroidered silk along with cotton cloths, we are further told, were extensively manufactured at the sea-port of Patenexy (probably Veraval-Somnāth) How the Cambay cloths found an extensive and most valuable market by the Red Sea route into Western Europe, and by the East African route to the great Bantu kingdom in the interior of South Africa, while the printed cotton and silk stuffs (*patolās*) of Cambay found their way via the Burmese and Malayan ports to the Indonesian Islands, will be told in the course of this chapter.

Of the textile industry of the Deccan during this period, our knowledge is very scanty. Barbosa, however, while describing the trade of the ancient towns of Chaul and Dabhol, observes that great quantities of cloth were carried down to these ports from the interior for export to other land in return for the merchandise imported from outside. We have fuller information of the textile industry of South India during these times In Malabar the town of Shaliyat (near Calicut) was already famous for its cotton fabrics at the time of Ibn Batūtah's visit. According to Ma Huan, a valuable variety of cotton cloth of standard size, each of which fetched as much as eight or ten gold pieces, was imported into Calicut from the adjoining territory of 'Kanpai' (probably Koyampadi, a former name of Coimbatore). A kind of silk cloth with coloured stripes, likewise in standard size and fetching as much as a hundred gold coins apiece, we are told by the same writer, was produced by the people of this country. Coloured cotton stuffs and flowered chintz are included in more general terms among the products of the cities of Malabar by other Chinese writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among the products of the Maldive Islands, strikingly enough, Barbosa, in the early sixteenth century, noticed very rich cotton, silk

and gold cloths, while he thought the thin kerchiefs worn by the men in those islands around their caps to be so finely wrought and perfect as to be beyond the capacity of his country's craftsmen. The famous printed cotton cloths of Pulicat, according to the description of the same writer, found a good market not only in Malabar and Gujarāt but also outside India, as far as Burma, Malacca and Sumatra.

In Eastern India, Bengal excelled in the abundance and variety of its finer textiles. At the time of Ibn Batūtah's visit in 1346, pieces of the finest cotton cloth were being locally sold at the extraordinarily cheap rate of thirty cubits for two silver coins (*dīnārs*) The Chinese writer, Ma Huan, writing in the middle of the fifteenth century, enumerated with their standard sizes and local names no less than six varieties of fine cotton stuffs, not to speak of silk brocaded kerchiefs and head-coverings woven with gold. Similar but shorter enumerations of Bengal cotton stuffs are made by two other Chinese writers (Wang Ta-Yuan and Fei Hsin) of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as by Barbosa in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The identifications of these varieties, though discussed by scholars for a long time, are still uncertain According to the interpretaion of the French scholar Paul Pelliot, the list in Ma Huan would seem to comprise the following:—firstly, a white stuff, glossy like starch-paper, which has been variously, but not convincingly, identified with the *bettela* (organdi) of the Portuguese writers and the *bairami* of Ibn Batūtah, secondly, turmeric cloth which has been plausibly identified with chintz, thirdly, a stuff of cotton gauze called *shana-baf* (wrongly written as *shana-baft*) in Persian; fourthly, stuff (as yet unidentified) which was used for making turbans; fifthly, a stuff corresponding probably to the *chowtar* of later writers; sixthly, velvets of cotton Whatever that may be, we learn from Barbosa that the Bengal cloths, no doubt because of their supreme excellence, found a good market in the two great international ports of Southern Asia at that time, namely Malacca in the East and Ormuz in the West[3]

4 *Work in precious metals as well as precious and semi-precious stones, ivory work, and polishing of pearls*

The advanced condition of these industries during the period under review is indirectly proved by the testimony of the foreign observers to the lavish display of jewellery and pearls (not to speak of the articles of gold and silver) at the courts of the great Hindu and Muslim rulers of the time, and to the use of costly ivory in the decoration of their furniture and palaces. Coming to the direct

evidence, we learn from the description of Barbosa that Gujarāt, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, thanks to the skill of its craftsmen, stood pre-eminent in the volume of these industries as much as in that of its textile manufacture before mentioned. At the great city of Cambay where the best workmen of every kind were found, there were, according to Barbosa, very good goldsmiths who did very fine work A great amount of work likewise was done there in coral, carnelian and other stones, while imitation stones and pearls were manufactured so well as to appear real. In the same city of Cambay, ivory was extensively used for inlay work in bracelets and sword-hilts as well as chess-boards, and for the manufacture of bedsteads as well as beads of different colours. From the carnelian mines (in the vicinity of Ratanpur in the former Rājpiplā State) these stones were brought down to the neighbouring inland town of Limodara to be cut into different shapes and used for making knobs of dagger-hilts. To the same town of Limodara chalcedony was brought from the neighbouring mines to be cut into shape and bored for being made an article of trade. From the vivid description of Barbosa we further learn that the Maldive Islands produced fine tortoise-shells which were exported to Gujarāt The ancient pearl-fisheries off Kayal (in the delta of the Tāmraparnī river in the present Tinnevelly district), which are described as a royal monopoly, were worked by the local fishermen who likewise exploited the pearl-fisheries off the northern coast of Ceylon twice a year by permission of its ruler. At Pulicat and at the city of Vijayanagara, and above all at Calicut and other cities of Malabar, there existed a great industry for cutting and polishing precious stones like diamonds, sapphires, and rubies which were procured principally from the Deccan, Ceylon, and Pegu respectively[4]

5 *Inland and coastal trade*

We have direct evidence of the great volume of India's inland and coastal trade from the accounts of the foreign travellers of this period As regards the inland trade, Ibn Batūtah, in the course of his Indian itinerary in the first half of the fourteenth century, frequently came across cities with large markets, one market at Delhi in particular being described by him as the largest in the world. From some incidental statements by the same author, we learn that Delhi was the common market for the sale of fine rice from Sarsuti, sugar from Kanauj, excellent wheat from Marh, and betel-leaf from Dhār. The Hindu merchants of Daulatābād, we are again told, dealt chiefly in pearls and were very wealthy. The inland trade was doubtless facilitated by the system of magnificent roads in existence at that time. Such was the great road extending from Delhi to

Daulatābād for a distance of forty days' journey, and thence continued to Telingāna and Ma'bar at a distance of six months' journey on foot. On the former road there were three postal stations at every mile for the accommodation of travellers so as to give it, according to the picturesque description of the traveller, the appearance of a market of forty days' journey. On the other hand, the insecurity of travel, to which sufficient evidence is borne by the traveller's own experience even in the vicinity of the imperial capital, not to speak of the constant insurrections against the Sultān's authority, must have seriously hampered the progress of trade.

More light is thrown upon the condition of India's inland trade by the detailed notices of Barbosa in the beginning of the sixteenth century. From the inland town of Limodara in Gujarāt carnelian beads were carried in large quantities to the great sea-port of Cambay for export to Europe and East Africa. Copper imported from abroad was borne from the Deccan port of Dabhol in large quantities to the interior, whence were obtained in return cloth, wheat, millet, and pulses. The sea-port of Rander in Gujarāt, thanks to the enterprise of its foreign Muslim merchants, was the largest centre of trade in that region for the products of Malacca and China. At Goa, which, because of the exclusive policy of the Portuguese government, replaced the southern port of Bhatkal as the great market for the sale of horses imported from outside, the dealers coming from the Deccan and the Vijayanagara kingdoms paid for each horse the extravagant price of 200 to 300 Portuguese gold coins along with a government duty of 40 such coins According to Paes, an earlier writer, a great trade existed between the port of Bhatkal just mentioned and an inland town in the vicinity of Vijayanagara, as many as 5000 or 6000 pack-oxen being employed for conveying the merchandise every year In a long list of imports into the Vijayanagara kingdom mentioned by Barbosa, we are told that diamonds were imported into the city from the neighbouring Deccan kingdom, other precious stones were brought from Pegu and Ceylon, pearls were obtained from Ormuz and Kayal, brocades from China and Alexandria, pepper from Malabar, coloured cloths, coral, metals, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, rose-water, opium sandal-wood, aloes-wood, camphor, and musk from other quarters. The horses from abroad were purchased by the king for the equivalent of 400 to 600 Portuguese gold coins for each of the common variety, and of 900 to 1000 such coins for each of those reserved for the king's own use Merchants from Vijayanagara made thier journeys to Pulicat, the great Indian market for the sale of Burmese rubies and musk at that time.[5]

We may now turn to the Indian coastal trade From the detailed narrative of Ibn Batūtah, and still more of that of Barbosa, it

appears that the Western coast of India was studded with a large number of sea-ports often possessing excellent harbours and extensive trade. Among these ports Diu in Gujarāt, Goa in the Deccan, and Calicut, Cochin, and Quilon in Malabar appear from Barbosa's description to have been the most prominent. The highly profitable direct trade between Gujarāt and Malabar was almost completely monopolized by the Malabari merchants. In the fullest list of imports from Malabar (at Diu) are included cocoa-nuts, cardamoms and other spices, emery, wax and iron, palm sugar (from Malabar) and other sugar from Bhatkal, sandal-wood and brazil-wood as well as silks and other articles (from south-east Asia and China). The exports consisted mainly of cotton, cloth, wheat and other grains, horses, and carnelians The coastal trade of the Deccan ports appears to have been shared by both Gujarātī and Malabarī merchants. The former imported silk and cotton cloth, opium and common silk camlets, wheat, and gingelly, as well as horses, and they exported cotton and linen fabrics The latter imported spices and drugs, areca-nuts and cocoa-nuts, palm-sugar, wax and emery, copper and quicksilver, and they exported cotton goods, wheat, rice, millet, gingelly oil, muslins, and calicoes. Coming to the Tulu region, we learn that its ports (principally Bhatkal) were visited by Malabar merchants who imported cocoa-nuts, spices, and palm-sugar, as well as palm-wine, and exported rice, iron, and another variety of sugar. The trade of the neighbouring island of Ceylon appears to have been largely controlled by the Indians Merchants from Coromandel and Malabar as well as from the Vijayanagara, Deccan, and Gujarāt kingdoms are described as visiting the island and especially its capital, Colombo. The imports consisted of very fine Cambay cotton cloths as well as saffron, coral, quicksilver, cinnabar, and especially gold and silver The high profit of this trade is illustrated by the fact that the elephants were sold in Malabar and Coromandel at the rate of 400 or 500 (rising up to 1000 or 1500) Portuguese gold coins, while gold and silver fetched more than their worth elsewhere. The coastal trade of Coromandel as well as the Vijayanagara kingdom was carried on largely by Hindu and Muslim merchants from the cities of Malabar, the imports consisting of areca-nuts, cocoa-nuts, pepper, palm-sugar, Cambay cloths and horses, and the exports comprising rice and cloth, and in the case of Coromandel, even children sold into slavery by their parents in times of famine. Muslim ships in large numbers visited Pulicat, the great market for Burmese rubies and musk. The famous muslins of Bengal (classified under four different heads), along with good white cane-sugar, was exported by the Muslim merchants in their own ships to Malabar and Cambay and other tracts,

the price of these goods in Malabar being sufficiently high to be noted carefully by the Portuguese writers.[6]

6. *Overseas trade—The Persian Gulf, Arabia and East Africa*

The vast overseas trade of India with Western Asia flowed during this period, as in the previous centuries, along the two ancient routes marked out by nature as international highways of her commerce. The merchandise was carried along the Persian Gulf and thence overland through Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean coast, and also by the sea-route to the Red Sea ports, and then, through Egypt, to the same destination; it was thereafter distributed over western Europe by the Venetian and other Italian merchants. In the latter part of the European Middle Ages, Ormuz (transferred from its old vulnerable site on the mainland to a secure position in a neighbouring island about the year A.D 1300) became the grand emporium of the trade by the former route, while Aden and Jiddah, (the port of Mecca), were the two great emporia of the trade by the latter route. In the early part of the fourteenth century, as we learn from Ibn Batūtah, Ormuz was the entrepôt of the trade of Hind and Sind, the merchandise of India being carried thence to the two Irāqs, Fārs and Khurāsān. Aden was then the port of call for India's great ships arriving there from Cambay, Thānā, Quilon, Calicut, Fandarina, Shaliyat, Mangalore, Fakanor, Hinawar; Sindabur and so forth A colony of Indian merchants lived in this city A minor entrepôt of the Indian trade was the neighbouring port of Zhafar (Dofar) which exported valuable horses to India in return for Indian rice and cotton. On the Indian side Malabar (completely replacing the Coromandel coast) was the great clearing house of the merchandise from the East and the West across the Indian Ocean Merchants of Fārs and Yemen, we are told by Ibn Batūtah, disembarked mostly at the port of Mangalore, and Chinese ships bound for India entered only the ports of Ely (Hili), Calicut, and Quilon In the work of Barbosa we have a valuable report (as detailed as it is accurate because of being based on the author's personal knowledge) of India's maritime commerce with the Western world in the beginning of the sixteenth century. We learn that an extensive and highly profitable trade was borne between the Indian ports, Diu, Chaul, Dabhol, Goa, Bhatkal, Calicut and so forth, on the one side, and those of Arabia and Persia, such as Jiddah (until the suppression of its trade by the Portuguese), Aden, Esh-Shihr and Ormuz, on the other. In a comprehensive list of imports from India into Ormuz are included pepper, cloves, ginger and cardamoms, sandal-wood and brazil-wood, saffron, indigo, wax, iron, sugar, rice, cocoa-nuts, precious stones, benzoin, porcelain, cloths from Cambay, Chaul, and

Dabhol, as well as Bengal muslins. The exports carried to India on the return voyage are said to have consisted of Arabian horses (to the number of one thousand to two thousand), dates, raisins, salt, sulphur and coarse seed-pearls Equally impressive was the extent of traffic between the Indian ports and Aden, which was adjudged by Barbosa to have a greater and richer trade than any other place in the world For while ships from Cambay brought to it cotton cloth in 'astonishing quantities' as well as drugs, gems, seed-pearls and carnelians in abundance, and carried back madder, opium, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, rose-water, gold, woollens, coloured velvets, and camlets (stuff of mixed silk and wool), those from Chaul, Dabhol, Bhatkal, and Calicut imported rice, sugar, cocoa-nut and spices, and those from Bengal brought muslins and sugar. The Muslim merchants of Cambay, Chaul, Dabhol, Bhatkal and Malabar imported cotton cloths, inferior gems, rice, sugar, and spices into the neighbouring Arabian port of Esh-Shihr, whence they exported many excellent horses as well as much frankincense. Some additional points are indicated by the author's detailed notices of the overseas trade of different Indian ports Ships from Cambay, we read, carried to Aden, Mecca and Ormuz cotton and linen cloths, large carpets, coloured cloth as well as spices, and brought back coral, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, gold and silver, alum, madder, rose-water and saffron, as well as opium of superior quality Merchants from Ormuz brought horses in large numbers to Goa Rice was exported from Barkur to Ormuz, Aden and Esh-Shihr The foreign Muslim merchants of Calicut made their great annual voyages (from February down to the middle of August, September and October of the same year), in their fleets of ten to twelve ships, to Aden as well as the Red Sea ports and back They imported pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cardamoms, myrobalans, tamarinds, precious stones, seed-pearl, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloes-wood, and cotton cloths, as well as porcelains, and they brought back from Jiddah copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, saffron, coloured velvets, rose-water, coloured camlets gold, and silver In the list of India's imports mentioned so far, rose-water and frankincense, and above all horses, are especially stated to be the products of Arabia Other merchandise like copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, woollen and silken cloths found at Jiddah and Aden for the Indian market were doubtless imported from Europe in return for the Indian merchandise which (we are expressly told) was carried via Suez and Cairo to Alexandria for distribution by the Italian merchants over the rest of the European world.[7]

Though we have but little direct knowledge of the condition of India's ancient trade with East Africa, we may reasonably conclude

that it was fostered by the chain of Arab settlements on the African coast like those of Zeila, Makdashau, Mombasa and Kilwa, visited by Ibn Batūtah in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and, in part, by the Chinese imperial missions under Cheng-ho, in the early part of the fifteenth We owe our first complete and detailed account of this trade to Barbosa in the early part of the sixteenth century. Many ships from 'the kingdom of Cambay' (Gujarāt), we are told, visited Makdashau with plenty of cloths and spices and returned with rich cargoes of gold, ivory and wax. Cambay cloths and beads were exported by Gujarātī merchants in large ships to the three ports of Melinde, Mombasa, and Kilwa, whence they were carried by the local Muslim merchants to the ports of the Zambesi delta and Sofala, further south, for sale to the inhabitants of a great Bantu kingdom in the interior. The cargoes of gold and ivory, obtained from the latter in return, were conveyed via Sofala to the three East African ports, mentioned above, whence they were carried back home by the Gujarātī merchants. The enormous profit of this trade is illustrated by certain figures. The Cambay cloths, we are told, were exchanged at the three African ports for gold at a sufficiently attractive price, and when they were carried to Sofala, they were exchanged for gold without weighing The African ivory was sold in the kingdom of Gujarāt at the rate of five or six gold coins in Portuguese currency for about one hundred and twelve pounds in English weight.[8]

7. *Overseas trade—South-East and East Asia*

The direct trade established by the Chinese with India during the twelfth century appears to have been continued and developed during this period. It received a great impetus through the series of maritime expeditions fitted out by the Chinese Emperor Yung-Lo (1403-24), culminating in a succession of seven such expeditions led by the eunuch Cheng-ho during and after his lifetime (between A.D. 1405 and 1433) In the early part of the fourteenth century, as we have noticed above, regular voyages were made by Chinese ships to the three Malabar ports of Ely, Calicut and Quilon The popular customs and trade of the regions along the Indian coast, together with those of the countries and ports of the rest of southern Asia and of a small portion of the coast of East Africa, are described by four Chinese writers in their works written between A.D. 1349 and 1520. The Chinese imports into the Indian ports followed a set pattern, the merchants bringing silks, coloured taffetas and satins, cloves and nutmegs, blue and white porcelain, gold, silver, copper, iron, vermilion, and quicksilver for exchange with the Indian products We have a full and valuable account, based on information

supplied by the merchants actually engaged in this trade, in the work of Barbosa which we have quoted so often. Malacca, established as an independent Muslim State in the fifteenth century A.D.,[8a] was the great international port of south-east Asia at that time. It contained a colony of wholesale merchants (Hindu and Muslim) who owned large estates and great ships. It was visited by ships from Tenasserim, Pegu, Bengal, Pulicat, Coromandel, Malabar, and Gujarāt as well as the islands of south-east Asia The list of its imports (evidently from India) included pepper, incense, Cambay cloths, saffron, coral, printed and other white cotton cloths from Bengal, vermilion, quicksilver, opium, and other goods from Gujarāt. The Cambay, Pulicat, and Bengal cloths as well as the Cambay drugs and beads were carried to the islands of Java, Sumatra, the Moluccas, Timor, Banda, and Borneo to be exchanged for the characteristic products of those tracts. These were gold from Sumatra, cloves from the Moluccas, white sandal-wood from Timor, mace and nutmegs from Banda, camphor from Borneo, along with aloes-wood from Champa. No wonder that Malacca is described by Barbosa as the richest sea-port with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and the largest volume of shipping and trade in the whole world Ranking next in importance to Malacca was Pegu, with three or four rich harbours on an inlet of the sea. The imports brought there every year in Muslim ships, evidently from India, included printed Cambay and Pulicat cloths in cotton and silk (called *patolās*), opium, copper, scarlet cloth, coral, vermilion, quicksilver, rose-water and Cambay drugs in large quantities, while the exports comprised Burma lac of very fine quality, mace, cloves, musk, and rubies The above account may be supplemented by Barbosa's notice of the east Asiatic trade of individual Indian ports Merchants from Rander (on the northern bank of the Tapti estuary above Surat), we are told, sailed in their own ships as far as Pegu, Martaban, Tenasserim and Sumatra, trading in spices and drugs, silks, musk, benzoin, porcelain, and other merchandise. Merchants from Quilon as well as 'the city of Bengala' likewise sailed in their own ships to Pegu Malacca, and Sumatra[9]

8 *Muslim control of India's overseas trade*

No account of India's overseas trade during this period will be complete without some reference to the nearly complete hold exercised over the same by the Arabs and the Persians, as well as the foreign and semi-foreign Muslims living on Indian soil, until this practical monopoly was destroyed by the systematic naval attacks of the Portuguese. In the great city of Cambay at the time of Ibn Batūtah's visit, foreign merchants formed the majority of the popu-

lation, and they vied with one another in building fine houses and wonderful mosques which made Cambay one of the most beautiful cities visited by the traveller. In the neighbouring sea-port of Gandhar a Muslim merchant was the owner of six ships, one of which, carrying an escort of fifty archers and fifty Abyssinian soldiers, was offered to Ibn Batūtah for the partial transport of his mission sent out from the court of Delhi to China. Mention is made likewise of Muslim ship-owner of Calicut owning many ships with which he traded with China on the one side, and Fārs and Yemen on the other. The Shiah community of Quilon was so rich that one of them could buy a ship with its whole cargo for loading the same with his own merchandise. By contrast, the Hindu traders like those of Daulatābād, mentioned above, appear to have been almost wholly confined to the inland trade.[10]

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, as we learn from the detailed account of Barbosa, India's overseas trade with western Asia and eastern Africa was almost completely controlled by the foreign and semi-foreign Muslim merchants living outside and within her shores. We hear, it is true, of wealthy Hindu merchants of the Baniya caste belonging to the kingdom of Gujarāt as well as of those living in the sea-ports of the Deccan and Malabar. But these appear to have been engaged mostly, if not wholly, in the distributing trade at the ports. The great Hindu merchants of Gujarāt are expressly mentioned as trafficking with their own folk More than half a century earlier, Ma Huan described the rich Chetty merchants of Cochin and Calicut as engaged in selling to the strangers arriving at these ports precious stones, pearls, aromatics, and coral beads at standard rates. Altogether exceptional is the instance of Cannanore, where Hindu as well as Muslim merchants are described by Barbosa as sailing in their own ships as far as Ormuz. On the other hand, not only are Arabs and Persians mentioned as visiting Indian ports like Dabhol and Goa in many ships for trade, but the foreign Muslims of Gujarāt are expressly stated to be trading in their own ships with the western lands The foreigners in Calicut, consisting of Arabs and Persians as well as immigrants from Gujarāt and the Deccan, made their great annual voyages to Aden and the Red Sea coast, the volume of their imports and exports being, as mentioned above, sufficiently impressive The Cambay merchants, engaged in the immensely profitable trade with East Africa, and the merchants from other Indian ports trading similarly with Ormuz and Aden, must have belonged almost wholly to the class of foreign Muslim settlers Indeed we are expressly told that foreign Muslim merchants lived in large numbers in Goa and other ports.[11]

Let us next turn to India's coastal trade. According to Barbosa the Mappillas (descendants of Arab colonists by their union with local women), living in Malabar, were owners of large ships, and they so completely controlled the trade and navigation of this land as to suggest to the observant traveller that but for the arrival of the Portuguese it would have come under Muslim rule. To this class doubtless belonged the enterprising Malabaris who mostly controlled, as we have seen, the trade along the western coast. Many Muslim ships, almost certainly belonging to the Mappillas, are described as visiting every year Pulicat, the great Indian market for Burmese rubies at that time. Coromandel was included among the lands visited in their own ships by the foreign Muslims belonging to the above mentioned 'city of Bengala'.[12]

In contrast with the practical monopoly enjoyed by the foreign and the semi-foreign Muslims over India's trade with western Asia and eastern Africa and along her coast, Hindu and Muslim merchants shared her trade with south-east Asia at the beginning of the sixteenth century. While the Muslims of the city of Bengala as well as other Muslims are mentioned by Barbosa as visiting Pegu and Sumatra in their own ships for trade, the Hindu Chetties of Coromandel, along with Muslims, are described as travelling to Ava for the purchase of the rubies and musks of upper Burma in exchange for the Indian products The Chetties as well as the Muslims formed the foreign colony of wholesale merchants at Malacca who were the owners of big estates and large ships [13]

While the predominance of the Muslim traders in lands under rulers of their own faith requires little or no explanation, their command of the trade in the independent Hindu kingdoms is proved by the contemporary evidence to have been actively promoted and fostered by the policy of the kings,—a policy which is in line with the age-old indigenous tradition. From the vivid narrative of Ibn Batūtah, we learn that the Hindu rulers of Malabar provided wooden houses with wells at every half mile, with special arrangements for the comfort of Muslim travellers, along the great coastal road of two months' journey from Sandapur (near Goa) to Quilon Because of the death penalty inflicted by these rulers, without any discrimination for rank, even for the slightest theft (of which concrete and harrowing instances are given by the traveller), no road, according to his very experienced judgement, was safer than this. The Hindu ruler of Calicut extended this security to the goods of ship-wrecked merchants, so that the town became, in the words of Ibn Batūtah, very flourishing, and drew a great influx of foreigners. The Hindu ruler of Quilon was especially noted for his high regard

for Muslims who were much honoured in his kingdom. The colonies of Muslims in every city of Malabar lived under the jurisdiction of their own *qāzīs* and worshipped freely in their big congregational mosques.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, according to the vivid account of Barbosa, the Muslims enjoyed the same patronage from the Hindu rulers of the south. We have seen how the Mappillas of Malabar had acquired by that time such complete control over the trade and navigation of the land as to bring it, according to the considered judgement of the writer, to the brink of subjection to Muslim rule Their numbers were being constantly swelled by voluntary conversion of the Hindu men and women and their own union with Hindu concubines of low caste. The foreign merchants of Calicut, who had their own governors for ruling and punishing them without interference from the king, were so numerous and powerful as completely to dominate the city until they were forced to abandon it under pressure of the Portuguese. It was their custom on their return voyages from the Red Sea ports every year to bring with them fresh foreign merchants, each of whom, on his arrival, was assigned by the king a Nayar body-guard, a Chetty accountant, and a broker for help in local purchases. In the preceding century Ma Huan found that all the affairs of the Calicut kingdom were conducted by two high Muslim officers who controlled the sale of all the merchandise brought into the city in Chinese junks In the neighbouring territory of Kayal at the time of Barbosa's visit, the Hindu ruler had farmed out for long the royal monopoly of the local pearl fisheries to a Muslim, who was so rich and powerful as to be honoured equally with the king. In Vijayanagara the complete freedom of travel and worship granted by the king to everybody "without enquiry whether he was a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen". as well as the great equity and justice shown to all by the ruler and his subjects, drew an enormous number of merchants to the city. Great Muslim as well as Hindu merchants lived at Pulicat, the frontier station of the Vijayanagara kingdom, which was likewise visited by Muslim ships in large numbers for trade.[14]

9. *General Economic Condition of the people*

Our knowledge of the economic condition of the mass of the people in North India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is surprisingly scanty. We have therefore to fall back upon the full and detailed description drawn from personal observation by Ibn Batūtah of the extraordinary splendour and magnificence of the court and capital of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq in the heyday

of the Delhi Sultanate. It may reasonably be concluded that this amazing affluence was built upon the immense booty obtained by Malik Kāfūr, the general of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, from his devastating campaigns against the independent Hindu kingdoms of South India between A.D. 1309 and 1311. Whatever that may be, we are told that Delhi, comprising the four contiguous cities of Old Delhi, Sīrī, Tughluqābād, and Jahānpanāh, was the largest of all the cities of Islām in the East. At the Sultān's public audiences, horses and elephants were displayed with silk and gold caparisons, and the high officials as well as provincial governors presented gold and silver utensils as well as solid pieces of gold and silver. The Sultān's 'Id *darbārs* were prefaced by a procession of elephants adorned with silk-covered and jewel-studded seats and jewel-studded silk parasols with golden handles. At the council-hall there were planted artificial trees of silk in three rows with gold chairs placed between them, and the Sultān sat on a high throne of pure gold with jewel-studded legs and a jewel-studded parasol raised over his head. At the great public dinner following the *darbār*, the scent-burners burnt fragrant wood from huge censers of pure gold, and the meals were served by waiters from gold and silver utensils. In the following reign, that of Fīrūz Tughluq, we hear of the extraordinary cheapness of commodities, ranging from wheat and barley up to white and coloured silks The economic prosperity of the Delhi Sultanate, however, was completely shattered by the catastrophe of Timūr's invasion at the end of the fourteenth century, when all the four cities of Delhi were thoroughly and mercilessly sacked by the invader's troops, and an immense booty consisting of male and female slaves, precious stones and pearls, as well as gold and silver, was taken away from the unfortunate inhabitants of the capital.[15]

The foreign accounts, relating to the different parts of India in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, tend to indicate that there was a wide diffusion of material prosperity in the country, and that the people in general lived a life of cultured ease and comfort. The exceptional prosperity of Gujarāt in the beginning of the sixteenth century, arising no doubt from its highly advanced industry and trade, is well attested by Barbosa. The inland cities of Chāmpāner and Ahmadābād, we are told, contained fine stone and mortar houses, with tiled roofs and large courtyards containing tanks and wells. Cambay was a great city with very lofty houses having windows and tiled roofs, well-laid-out streets and fine open places. The numerous wealthy merchants and skilled craftsmen living in the city led a luxurious life of pleasure and vice and were accustomed to good clothing and food. They always washed and anointed their bodies with sweet-smelling unguents, and decorated

their hair with jasmine and other flowers. The merchants of the Muslim city of Rander lived in well-furnished houses in which the reception-rooms were surrounded with shelves all filled with rich porcelains. Among the Hindu castes of Gujarāt, the Baniyas had orchards, fruit-gardens, and tanks in their houses, and they lived on a diet of milk, butter, sugar and rice. The men dressed themselves in cotton and silk garments, anointed themselves with white sandal-wood, and wore gold ear-rings set with precious stones, finger-rings and golden girdles. The women wore silken bodices and other long garments, thick gold and silver ear-rings and anklets, as well as plenty of rings on their fingers and toes. Among the Muslim inhabitants of Gujarāt, consisting mostly of foreigners, the men were dressed in rich cloth of gold, silk, cotton, and camlets, with very thick leather boots coming up to the knee They were attended by pages bearing swords, finely damascened with gold and silver. They indulged in great luxury, living freely and spending greatly.

Coming to the Deccan, we have in the brief account of Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian traveller of the fifteenth century, a grim picture of the contrast between the selfish pomp and luxury of the Sultān and his nobles, and the extreme misery of the common people On the other hand, Barbosa, in the beginning of the following century, describes the whole of the Deccan as a very fertile territory with large cities, towns, and villages, and a great trade The port of Goa is especially described by the same writer as a very great city with good houses, vegetable and fruit gardens, and tanks of sweet water. Because of its extensive inland as well as overseas trade, as described above, it yielded to the Portuguese Government an enormous annual revenue of forty thousand ducats

In South India, Malabar enjoyed a very high level of prosperity, no doubt because of its extensive industry for cutting and polishing precious stones, and especially on account of its flourishing coastal and other trade The whole territory, we are told, was so well populated that it might be called one town, from Mount d'Ely in the north (the promontory near Hili) to Quilon in the south Among the communities inhabiting this tract the Chetties (immigrants from Coromandel) are described as wearing ear-rings of gold set with precious stones, and many finger-rings and girdles of gold and jewellery, while the Mappillas are said to have lived well and the foreign merchants are mentioned as owners of very fine houses, who ate and drank luxuriously and were dressed in garments of silk, scarlet-in-grain, camlets, and cotton. The extraordinary prosperity of the Vijayanagara kingdom must have been largely due to its extensive trade, which was fostered by the enlightened and tolerant policy

of its rulers. In the fifteenth century the city, according to Nicolo Conti, was sixty miles in circuit and, in the opinion of 'Abd-ur Razzāq, was without any equal in the world. In the city of Bidrur (Belur), which he passed on his way from the sea-coast to Vijayanagara, 'Abd-ur Razzāq observed houses which were like palaces. Speaking of the city of Vijayanagara, the same traveller observes that its seventh and innermost fortress occupied a space ten times greater than the chief market of Herat. In the sixteenth century the New City (Nāgalapuram, modern Hospet, to the west of Vijayanagara city) contained, according to the description of Paes, very beautiful rows of buildings with artificial tanks and a large population consisting of many merchants, while it was connected with the old city by a wide street with rows of houses and shops on either side. The city of Vijayanagara is said by the same traveller to have been as large as Rome, and very beautiful, because of its groves of trees and its gardens with water-conduits and lakes. Within the inner city, all streets were bordered by very beautiful rows of well-decorated houses. Vijayanagara is described by the same observant traveller as the best-provided city in the world, and as being unlike other cities that often failed of supplies and provisions. The author was particularly struck with the extraordinary cheapness of the prices of domestic birds and game animals, poultry, hares and partridges, doves and pigeons sold alive, the number and quality of pigs and sheep killed for food everyday, the large quantity of butter, milk and oil sold daily and the unparalleled extent of the rearing of cows and buffaloes in this city. We have a hint of the luxurious habits of the people in the testimony of 'Abd-ur Razzāq that they considered sweet-smelling flowers as a necessity without which they could not exist. From the description of Barbosa we learn that while the king and the nobles lived in palaces, others lived in thatched, but very well-built, houses in streets, with many open places, and that the greater portion of the inhabitants was very wealthy. The men wore garments of cotton or silk or brocade, and they anointed their bodies after bathing with scented powder mixed with rose-water, while they adorned themselves with finger-rings set with precious stones and ear-rings set with fine pearls. They were attended by pages armed with swords and servants holding costly umbrellas The women wore garments of very thin cotton and bright-coloured silk, as well as embroidered leather shoes, and adorned themselves with ear-rings of gold and jewels, bracelets of gold and precious stones, and armlets of coral beads After the above references to the prosperity of the great body of the people in the Vijayanagara city and kingdom, it seems unnecessary to mention the foreign accounts of the gorgeousness of the royal court and palace, or of

the pomp and splendour of the religious festivals conducted under the king's superintendence every year.

Turning to Eastern India, we are told by Wang Ta-Yuan, a Chinese writer of the fourteenth century, that because of the cheapness of living in Orissa, nine out of ten persons going there for trade did not like to return home. Rice, which was evidently the staple food of the people, was sold at the unbelievably low price of 46 baskets for one *cowrie*. We have a fuller and more detailed account of the economic prosperity of Bengal from the foreign writers ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The prices of commodities in Bengal, Ibn Batūtah declared, were cheaper than in any other country visited by him in the whole world. The author justified his statement by quoting a long list of the current prices of commodities such as rice and paddy, milch cows, hens, pigeons, lambs, sugar, *ghee*, sesame oil, the finest cotton cloth, as well as male and female slaves. An old inhabitant of Bengal told the Moorish traveller that he maintained himself with his wife and servant for one whole year at a cost of 8 small silver coins (*dirhams*). In the following century Nicolo Conti, sailing up the Gangā from its mouth, found that its two banks were adorned with most charming villages and plantations as well as gardens of various fruit-trees From Fei Hsin, a Chinese writer of the first half of the same century, we learn that the men dressed themselves in cotton garments and sheep-skin shoes with gold thread, while the women wore garments of cotton, silk, or brocade, and adorned themselves with ear-rings of precious stones, gold necklaces, gold bracelets, and rings on fingers and toes In the early sixteenth century, the respectable Muslims of the city of Bengala are described by Barbosa as wearing white cotton smocks with silk scarves, and carrying daggers ornamented with silver and gold in their girdles. and having rings set with jewels on their fingers. They lived a life of luxurious ease eating well and spending freely. The women had a great store of gold and silver and were dressed in fine silk. We may conclude by quoting the account of Huang Sheng-tseng, a Chinese writer of the early sixteenth century, of the reception of an embassy from the Chinese imperial court by the ruler of Bengal at his capital, Pandua, in A.D. 1415 At the audience-hall which had pillars plated with brass figures of flowers and animals, over a thousand men were drawn up in shining armour and hundreds of soldiers were mounted on elephants. The king, who had hundreds of peacock-feather umbrellas around him, sat on a high throne inlaid with precious stones. The presentation of the envoys was followed by a great banquet and the king's gift of gold and silver basins, girdles, flagons, and bowls, as well as gowns of white hemp and silk, to the members of the mission.[16]

* In the present chapter Barbosa is quoted (except when otherwise stated) in the version of Mansel Longworth Dames. The geographical names which occur in many different forms in the Muslim, Chinese, and European works, are modernized throughout after the identifications by the translators (especially M. L. Dames) The lists in Yule and Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol IV, Note B ('On the places visited by Ibn Batūtah between Cambay and Malabar') and Note D ('The mediæval ports of Malabar') have likewise been consulted

1. For Ibn Batūtah's reference to Calicut and Quilon vide the French translation of Defremery and Sanguinetti, I, p 28. For other references vide Yule and Cordier, *Cathay* II, 136 (Odoric on Quilon), Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 90, 255-57 ('Abd-ur Razzāq and Paes on Vijayanagara), Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, 225 ff (temples at Vijayanagara) The very cogent argument of Moreland (*The Agrarian System of Muslim India*, 63-64) for proving the insignificance of the organized village in Muslim India during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries applies with equal force to the two following centuries. On the decay of the ancient south Indian village assemblies under the Vijayanagara Empire, vide Mahalingam, op. cit., 206-7.
2. IBH, 16-19 (general description of Indian agricultural products and trees); ibid 23, 159, 161, 167, 170, 172 (Sarsuti etc). Barbosa I, 154-55, 166, 168 (Gujarāt and the Deccan), ibid I, 185-97 (villages of the Tulu province) For references to Malabar vide Yule and Cordier, *Cathay* II, 133-37; III, 217, *IBH* 182, 184, 187-88, Rockhill in *T.P*, XVI, 446 ff, Barbosa II, 90 For references to Vijayanagara vide Sewell op cit, 90, 237-38, Barbosa I, 119, 188, 210 References to Orissa in *HIED* III, 313 (quoting the *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf). References to Bengal in Rockhill *T P*, XVI, 439, 445, Barbosa II, 145-47 The dates 1425-32 given with a query by Rockhill *T.P*, XVI, 61 for Ma Huan's original text and followed by Dr P C Bagchi (*Viśva-bhāratī Annals* I, p 96), should be corrected into 1451 at the earliest (J J. L Duyvendak, *Ma Huan re-examined, Verhandel, der Kon AK. van Wetensch Afd Letterkunde*, N R, d XXXII No 3) For discussion of the identity of 'the Blue River' and 'the city of Habanq,' vide Yule and Cordier, *Cathay* IV, App E. 151-55 with map at end The identification of 'the city of Bengala' is discussed exhaustively in Barbosa II, 135-45 n and much more briefly in *HBS*, 100 n
3. *IBH* I 127, 141-42 161 (Gujarāt textiles) Barbosa I, 159, 165 (Deccan textiles) *IBH* 196, Rockhill in *T P* XVI, 459 with correction by J J L. Duyvendak, *Ma Huan re-examined*, 54 (Malabar). Barbosa II, 106 (Maldives), ibid II, 132 (Pulicat) *IBH* 235, Rockhill in *T P* XVI, 439 40 with correction by J J L. Duyvendak op cit. 63-64, Barbosa, II, 145 (Bengal) For identification of 'K'anpai' vide Rockhill, op cit 455, and J J L Duyvendak, op. cit 51. For the situation of Chaul and Dabhol vide Barbosa I, 159 n . 164 n The above identification of the Bengal cotton stuffs described by Ma Huan is based upon Pelliot, *T P*, XXX, 424-30 For a similar, but less complete set of identifications, vide P C Bagchi, *Viśvabhārati Annals* I, 114-15.
4. Barbosa I, 142-44 (Cambay and Limodara); ibid, II, 106 (Maldives); ibid, II, 116, 123-24 (Kayal and Ceylon), ibid, I, 200, II, 217-26 (Pulicat, Vijayanagara and Malabar)
5. *IBH*, 28 (market at Delhi), ibid, 23, 159, 161, 167 (Sarsuti etc), ibid, 170 (Daulatābād) Barbosa I, 165 (Dabhol), ibid, I, 146, 178 (Rander and Goa). For references to Vijayanagara vide Sewell op cit 237 and Barbosa I, 202-3, 210
6. Barbosa I, 127-29, 137 (direct trade between Gujarāt and Malabar), ibid, I, 129, 160, 170 (trade of Deccan ports); ibid, II, 81, 93, 97, 130 (trade of Coromandel); ibid. II, 112-17 (trade of Ceylon), ibid, II, 146 (trade of Bengal)
7. Ibn Batūtah in translation of Defremery and Sanguinetti, II, 177, 196-99, 231 (Aden, Zhafar and Hormuz), *IBH*, 185 (Mangalore, Ely, Calicut and Quilon); Barbosa I, 92, 94 (Indian trade of Ormuz), ibid, 55-56 (of Aden), ibid, 64-65 (of Esh-Shihr), ibid, 129-30 (overseas trade of Diu), ibid, 178 (of Goa); ibid, 194 (of Barkur), ibid, II, 77 (of Calicut), ibid. I, 43 (Indian merchandise *via* Jiddah, Suez, Cairo and Alexandria)
8. Ibn Batūtah, translation in Defremery and Sanguinetti II, 180 ff and Rockhill in T.P, XVI, 614, 616-17 (Zeila etc) Barbosa I, 7-8, 20-22, 31, 33 (trade of Cambay ships with East African ports)

8a. For the establishment of Malacca as a Muslim State vide *Suvarnadvīpa*, Part I, by R C. Majumdar, pp. 383 ff.

9. Rockhill in *T P.*, XVI, 43 ff (Chinese accounts of Indian coast). Barbosa II, 169-75 (Malacca); ibid, 153-54 (Pegu); ibid, 159-60 (Ava); ibid, I, 146 (Rander), ibid, II, 97; 145 (Quilon and Bengal). The dates 1405 and 1430-33 for the first and the seventh voyages of Cheng-ho are after Pelliot (*T P.*, XXXI, 281-98).

10. *IBH*, 172 (Cambay); 175-76 (Gandhar); 170 (Daulatābād); 193 (Quilon)

11 Barbosa, I, 108 ff (merchants of Gujarāt); II, 81 (of Cannanore); II, 77 (of Calicut). J. J. L Duyvendak, op. cit, 50, 53 (Chetties of Cochin and Calicut).

12 Barbosa II, 74 (Mappillas), ibid, II, 130, 145 (Muslims at Calicut and in Bengal).

13. Barbosa II, 145, 153, 173 (Muslim traders of Bengal); ibid, II, 159 (Chetties and Muslim merchants at Ava); II, 172 (at Malacca)

14 *IBH*, 182 ff Barbosa II, 75-77 (Muslims in Malabar); II, 124 (in Kayal); I, 203, II, 130 (in Vijayanagara)

15 *IBH*, 58 ff. (Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq's public audiences and 'Id *darbārs*), *HIED*, III, 345 (cheapness of commodities in Fīrūz Tughluq's reign)

16 Barbosa I, 108 ff (Gujarāt). Nikitin in R H Major, *India in the fifteenth century*, 14. Barbosa I, 175, 178 (the Deccan and Goa); ibid, II, 70-76 (Malabar). For other references vide Sewell, op cit 82 ff, 104, 236 ff. (Vijayanagara); Rockhill in *T.P*, XVI, 445 (Orissa) *IBH*, 234-35, Nicolo Conti in R H Major, op. cit. 10; Rockhill in *T.P*, XVI, 441-43, Barbosa II, 147-48 (Bengal). For Vijayanagara, the translation in *HIED*, IV, 104 ff may likewise be consulted

CHAPTER XIX

ART

I. INTRODUCTION

With the establishment of Islām as the dominant political power in India, the country was confronted with a new religion and a new culture, alien in temperament as well as in spirit.

Islām entered India through Western Asia, and the two countries that played significant roles in the Islamic phase of Indian history were Persia and Afghānistān. From millenniums before Christ, India and these regions are known to have fruitful cultural contacts in which each made significant contributions to the development of the other. Arthur Upham Pope has ably demonstrated how Indian ideas in art and architecture migrated to Western Asia and reached concrete forms under the technical ingenuities of the Persian builders. Indeed, many of the fundamental forms in Persian architecture, such as the pointed and trefoil arches, the transverse vault, the octagonal form of the building, the dome, etc., originated in India, but mainly as ideas and suggestions which reached practical realizations through the technique of Persia. "In short", Pope observes, "India has proposed and Persia disposed, but what India gave, she received back in a new form that enabled her to pass to fresh architectural triumphs"[1] It is through such cultural contacts that art in the west acquired substance and individuality which the establishment of Islām could hardly change or alter. With the coming of Islām, India and the West were again brought nearer and the new impact, instead of extinguishing Indian architectural traditions, opened the way for the infusion of new energies and new architectural aspirations.

The early Muslim rulers, as noted above, were carried by their iconoclastic zeal to demolish the Indian temples in a ruthless manner. When, therefore, they proceeded to build mosques for their worship, they found in these broken Indian temples cheap materials for their new constructions. Further, as artists, builders or craftsmen, naturally enough, did not accompany the victorious Muslim armies to India, the early Muslim rulers had perforce to employ the builders and craftsmen, who or whose forefathers had built the old temples, for dismantling them and erecting with their materials the buildings of the new faith. The famous Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque, near Qutb Minar, for example, as an inscription

at its entrance testifies, was built out of the materials of twenty-seven demolished Hindu or Jain temples. The task was facilitated by the fact that certain features were common to both forms of architecture, whether Hindu or Muslim, in spite of the fundamental differences between the two. We may cite, for instance, the plan of the open court encompassed by colonnades, characteristic of many Hindu and Jain temples as well as of every Muslim mosque. Hindu and Jain temples, built on this plan, could thus be easily transformed into mosques for the faithful, with only slight and minor alterations. This is what the Muslim rulers did in the early days of their occupation, and that also with a remarkable skill The Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque, mentioned above, represents one of the most instructive examples of such a case. The Muslim rulers found the Indian builders and their traditions extremely useful and efficient, and interfered but little with them, except for supplying the necessary guidance and supervision to ensure the observance of the basic principles of the Islamic prayer-house

When the Muslim power was firmly established in the country, the rulers imported experienced builders and craftsmen from the West, mainly Persia The tradition that they brought was based on the accumulated experience of centuries in which, as already observed, India had also played not an insignificant part. The two traditions were thus again brought together and were destined to build up a new and individual style of Islamic architecture which was Islamic and at the same time Indian. Indo-Islamic (Indo-Muslim), or Indian in its Islamic manifestation, would be the correct description of this new architecture

Islām had everywhere showed a pliancy in adopting the styles of the various peoples among whom it had established itself In India also similar happenings may be recognized The Indians also showed a remarkable adaptability in mastering the superior technique and principles of construction which the Islamic architectural tradition brought in its train When the fury of an alien impact subsided, it is natural that a spirit of co-operation and collectivism prevailed leading to a happy fusion of the alien elements and the birth of a new style of architecture in which it would be futile to assess, separately and individually, the Indian and the Islamic contributions.

Yet, the broad features of such contributions may be briefly set forth, for a correct appraisal of the new style, on the basis of the work already done by Marshall[2] and Percy Brown[3] who have studied this problem with great interest and keen insight. The new architecture absorbed, or inherited, manifold ideas and concepts

from the ancient Indian, so many indeed, that there was hardly a form or motif which, in some guise or other, did not find its way into it. But more important than these visible borrowings of outward and concrete features is the debt which Indo-Islamic architecture owed to the Indian for two of its most vital qualities—the qualities of strength and grace. In no other country are strength and grace so perfectly and harmoniously united as in India. These are the two qualities which India may justly claim for her own, and they are the two which, in architecture, count for more than all the rest. Through centuries of experience the Indians wrought grandly and magnificently with their materials, and the lesson was not lost even under the new regime. It is not, therefore, surprising that Muslim India produced more notable buildings than all the other countries that came under the influence of Islām.

But much as the Muslim architecture of India owed to her older schools, it also owed as much, if not more, to the distinctive artistic traditions it had already built up outside India. For Islām brought with it not only infusion of new blood and vigour, but also architectural innovations gathered from other lands, notably Persia A few notable instances may be cited. Before the advent of Islām concrete had been little used in India, and mortar, scarcely ever Of the true arch assembled in the scientific manner, the Indians were not wholly ignorant, but they used it very seldom The Indians also knew the construction of a vault by radiating voussoirs; but in spite of such knowledge the trabeate system had been the prevailing order in India In the countries with which Islām came into contact in the early days of its phenomenal expansion, the arch and the dome, built on the true scientific principle, had been the key-notes of construction, and became, so to say, almost ritualistic necessities with the Islamic buildings. Concrete and mortar were also employed freely by the Islamic builders, and became two of the most important factors of their constructions. Due to the strength of their binding properties, it was possible for the new builders to span wide spaces with their arches, to roof immense areas with their domes and, in other ways, to achieve effects of grandeur and spaciousness such as the Indians had never dreamt of Though, in their newly adopted styles, the Muslims frequently perpetuated the trabeate system under pressure of the indigenous tradition, it was the arch and the dome that they always regarded as particularly their own, and as symbolic of their faith The Indians under the guidance of the new spirit were not slow to appreciate the merits and advantages of the new methods and principles, and adapted themselves accordingly

Under the impact of Islām new forms, features, and decorative ideals were also introduced, thus enriching Indian architecture as a whole. Among the characteristic features which Islām was responsible for introducing, mention should be made of the minar and the minaret, the pendentive and the squinch arches, stalactite and honey-combing, and the impressive half-domed portal. A few of these were already familiar to the Indians, though sometimes as mere ideas, and they became practical structural proportions under the guidance of the Islamic masters. In the decorative aspect of the buildings, also, there was a new and significant development. The decorative scheme of an Indian temple abounded, along with other floral and diaper designs, in figure sculptures, bold and fully plastic in effect. Such figure carvings were, however, repugnant to the ideas and tenets of Islām. But elaborate decoration and highly coloured ornament were at all times dear to the heart of the Muslim and in both these spheres he introduced striking innovations The rich floral decorations of the Indian artists he supplemented with flowing arabesques, or intricate geometric devices of his own, or sometimes interwove with them (as only a Muslim calligraphist could do) the graceful lettering of his sacred texts and historical inscriptions. Nor was it enough that his buildings should be beautified with a wealth of carving executed in stone, brick, or plaster; the Muslim required colour also, and this he supplied by painting or gilding, or by employing stones of various hues to accentuate the different architectural features Later on, by the more laborious process of tesselating and *pietra dura* he reproduced the designs themselves in coloured stones and marbles Still more brilliant were the effects he obtained by encaustic tiling, which he at first used sparingly and in few colours only, but later on, without restraint, to embellish the whole building with a glistening surface of enamel

The fusion of the Indian and the Islamic architectural traditions has justly been described as a kind of biological fertilisation leading to the birth of a new school of Indian architecture, rightly called Indo-Islamic or Indo-Muslim. This architecture may be divided broadly into two distinct phases, the first covering the period of the Delhi Sultanate, and the second that of the Mughuls The monuments of the first phase admit of a subdivision into two principal groups,—those erected under the aegis of the Delhi Sultāns themselves, and those under the patronage of the ruling dynasties of the succession States of the Delhi Sultanate Fergusson[4] described the first as representing the 'Pathān' style. But, as noted above, of the five dynasties of the Delhi Sultāns only the last one was of Pathan extraction. Fergusson's nomenclature is thus historically inaccurate,

and has to be discarded. "The architecture evolved under these dynasties", observes Percy Brown,[5] "was that associated with their rule at Delhi, the capital city and the centre of the imperial power." His designation of the monuments of the first group as forming the 'Delhi' or 'Imperial' style seems to be more appropriate. The style began with the establishment of Islamic rule at Delhi about the close of the twelfth century and continued for approximately three centuries and a half till the foundation of Mughul rule by Bābur in A D. 1526. With the gradual decline and disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate, the outlying provinces shook off the allegiance of Delhi and declared their independence. Many of these provinces, when they asserted autonomy, developed architectural modes of their own, each having a certain amount of individuality. These regional modes, exhibited by the buildings of the second group, collectively constituted the 'Provincial' styles, and covered a period which was contemporary, partly with the Delhi style, and partly with the Mughul.

II. DELHI OR IMPERIAL STYLE

A *Buildings of the Mamlūk and the Khaljī dynasties*

After the second battle of Tarain, Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, a general of Muhammad Ghūrī, occupied Delhi and established his government at the citadel known as Qil'a-i-Rāi Pithaura. This was the first of the 'Seven cities' of Delhi which the Islamic rulers successively built in this ancient metropolitan site Delhi, which continued to be the seat and symbol of imperial power till the last days of the Mughuls, contains a series of noble monuments, of which the earliest and one of the most remarkable is the Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque,[6] erected by Qutb-ud-dīn at Qil'a-i-Rāi Pithaura to commemorate the capture of Delhi and dedicated to the might of Islām. It now stands in an extremely dilapidated state. It consisted of an open quadrangular court encompassed by colonnades (Fig 1) of which the western formed the prayer chamber, i e the sanctuary proper. It had gateways set on the other three sides, the main entrance on the east being domed. The northern and the southern colonnades had each three rows of columns, the eastern, four, and the western, five The colonnades were correspondingly divided into two, three, and four aisles. At each extremity of the colonnades, at their junction with one another, there was a storeyed pavilion The columns, the architraves, the ceilings, etc , are all richly carved, and, when entire, the design was not an unimpressive one.

The mode of erection of this mosque may be said to have been characteristic of the beginnings of Islamic architecture in India. It

actually stands on the site of an older temple, and it has already been indicated how Indian temples with colonnaded courts lent themselves easily for conversion into Muslim mosques. All that was necessary was to remove the sanctuary from the centre of the court, and to erect on the west side a wall with *mihrābs* or prayer niches. A similar procedure was adopted in the building of the Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque Half of the plinth on which it stands represents in fact the basement of an earlier temple But as the mosque was designed on a much bigger scale, the existing basement had to be enlarged to nearly double its original size The enormous work, entailed by this enlargement, necessitated the desecration and dismantling of as many as twenty-seven other temples in the vicinity, and the materials, including those of the one on the site, were re-assembled to form this single mosque There is an inscription which states this fact plainly and blandly, and every part of the building, such as the walls, columns, capitals, architraves, ceilings, etc , fully bears this out "It is no wonder", says Percy Brown,[7] "that the interior structure of the Qutb mosque, though an assemblage of elegantly carved stonework, had more the character of an archaeological miscellany than a considered work of architecture" He calls it "mainly a patchwork of older materials, beautiful in detail, . but as a whole a confused and somewhat incongruous improvisation "

More incongruous still is the un-Islamic appearance of the re-assembled building, singly, as well as collectively Indeed, except for the *mihrābs* in the sanctuary wall (and this, too, is now nearly gone), there is hardly a feature in this oldest existing mosque of importance to demonstrate its Islamic character It presented, rather, an essentially Hindu appearance, whether from within or from without. It is doubtful whether a design, so alien to Islamic tradition, could be acceptable to the orthodox Muslim It was, in all likelihood, to obviate this drawback that within two years of its construction a huge screen of arches (*muqsura*), essentially an Islamic symbol, was thrown across the entire front of the western colonnade, i.e. the prayer chamber proper. It consists of a huge wall of stone masonry, over fifty feet in height in the middle, and pierced by five arched openings—a lofty central arch flanked on each side by two smaller ones, the latter once supporting a clerestory of lesser arches (Fig 2) As the mode of construction indicates, this huge arched façade was also evidently the work of Indian builders. Though added to give the mosque an Islamic appearance, the arches were built in oversailing courses, a specifically Indian mode, instead of by the process of radiating voussoirs, the correct principle

of building up an arch, with which the Islamic builders had been familiar long before the establishment of Muslim rule in India The ogee shape of the arches also illustrates an Indian design. It appears that the Indian builders, engaged in the construction of this façade, had no comprehension of the real needs of their Islamic masters and followed their own traditional system and design.

As an individual work this expansive façade is itself an impressive production The bold lineaments of this huge mass have been emphasized by exquisitely chiselled decorative bands framing the arches The ogee points of the arches impart to the façade a certain appearance of lightness, "necessary in such a massive volume." In the decorative patterns one may recognize an intermixture of Hindu as well as Islamic ideals. The rich floral devices with their curly and sinuous tendrils are definitely reproductions of Hindu motifs, while the Tughra inscriptions with their straight lines are emphatically Islamic in conception (Fig. 3) The execution, too, is superb and flawless. As Marshall[8] observes "No doubt it was a Muslim calligraphist who set out the scheme and penned in the texts, but it was only an Indian brain that could have devised such a wealth of ornament, and only Indian hands that could have carved it to such perfection."

In spite of the massive strength and elegant carvings the façade is obviously a failure architecturally It does not fit in with the scheme of the mosque To quote Marshall[9] again "It is too obviously an afterthought, not an integral, organic part of the structure. too vast and over-powering to harmonise with the relatively low colonnades of the courtyard, and still more out of keeping with the slight elegant pillars of the hall behind"

The Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque grew in size and dimensions with the gradual increase of the congregation of the faithful at Delhi Subsequent monarchs enlarged it from time to time The original mosque remained, however, the nucleus, and later enlargements and additions were made with the original mosque as the focal point In such additions and enlargements one may closely follow the course of the early phase of Indo-Islamic architecture and its development In A D 1230, Sultān Iltutmish enlarged the mosque quadrangle to more than double its size His project involved addition to the mosque enclosure on the north, south and east, together with the extension of the prayer chamber and the huge arched screen in front by throwing out wings on the north and south Fresh masonry was specially quarried for purposes of these extensions, and this fact may possibly signify the paucity of older materials. The colonnades in these extensions were but simpler replicas of

those of the previous scheme, and retained essentially their Hindu appearance. The extended wings of the screen reproduce also the scheme of the previous work, and the arches in the extensions were also put up in oversailing courses, as in the indigenous mode. Yet, taken collectively, there may be recognized a subtle difference in the effect produced by the later work. Marshall[10] recognizes in this a greater assertion of Muslim ideas in the building tradition at Delhi, and observes "that the new work was fundamentally Islamic in character and manifestly designed, if not executed, by Muslim craftsmen" "In Qutb-ud-dīn's screen", he continues, "the inscriptions were the only part of the surface ornament which were Muhammadan; all the rest was Indian and modelled with true Indian feeling for plastic form In Iltutmish's work, on the other hand, the reliefs are flat and lifeless, stencilled as it were on the surface of the stone, and their formal patterns are identical with those found on contemporary Muslim monuments in other countries." Marshall seems to be justified in holding that the reaction against Indian elements is clearly noticeable in these extensions

'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was the last of the Delhi Sultāns to enlarge the Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque. He projected a huge extension of the mosque enclosure on the east and the north The prayer chamber was also added to by throwing a wing towards the north He also intended to erect within the enlarged court on the north a minar which, if completed, would surely have surpassed the Qutb Minar in dimension and height. It is unfortunate that the death of the Sultān put an end to his grandiose schemes

Just outside the enclosure of the original Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque on the south, and within the enlarged court of Iltutmish's mosque, stands the Qutb Minar, which appears to have been intended as a *ma'zina* or tower from which the *Mu'azzin* could summon the faithful to prayer From the various inscriptions *in situ* it appears that Qutb-ud-dīn began the construction of the minar when he was the viceroy at Delhi He could finish only up to the first storey, and it was Iltutmish who finally completed it. As originally designed, it rose up to a height of 225 feet, tapering as it went up, and consisted of four storeys.

In the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq, the minar was struck by lightning, and the fourth storey, that was damaged thereby, was replaced by two smaller ones, its height being thus raised to 234 feet. In A D. 1503, during the reign of Sikandar Lodī, the minar is said to have been restored again and its upper storeys repaired; but the nature of the work, carried out on that occasion, cannot be easily determined.

As it now stands, the minar (Fig. 4) consists of five storeys, separated from one another by richly decorated balconies supported on highly ornate stalactite alcoves. The surface is further embellished by vertical flutings and horizontal bands of inscriptions richly interwoven with intricate foliated designs. The vertical flutings in the ground storey are alternately round and angular, those of the second only round, and those of the third angular only The two uppermost storeys are plainly circular in design. The stalactite alcoves, apart from their utilitarian purpose, furnish also a rich decorative scheme. Up to the third storey the tower was built of grey quartzite faced with rich red sandstone, the two upper storeys being of red sandstone faced with marble.

Because of the appearance in the minar of certain short Nāgari inscriptions, it is sometimes believed that the tower was essentially of Hindu origin. The Muslims, according to this view, were merely responsible for recarving the outer surfaces. Such a view, however, does not seem to be probable There are sufficient evidences to indicate that the stones bearing Nāgarī records might have come from some older structures. "As a fact", observes Marshall, "the whole conception of the minar and almost every detail of its construction and ornamentation is essentially Islamic. Towers of this kind were unknown to the Indians, but to the Muhammadans they had long been familiar, whether as *ma'zinas* attached to mosque or as free-standing towers like those at Ghaznī Equally distinctive also of Muslim art are the calligraphic inscriptions and the elaborate stalactite corbelling beneath the balconies, both of which can be traced back to kindred features in the antecedent architecture of Western Asia and Egypt "[11] It should be noted in this connection that the stellar shape of the Ghaznī tower closely resembles that of the third storey of the Qutb Minar, of which the bottom storey is slightly elaborated—stellar flutings alternating with rounded ones The effect produced by this massive structure is overwhelmingly impressive Fergusson regarded the Qutb Minar as the most perfect example of a tower known to exist anywhere in the world [12] Marshall's concluding observations are also worth quoting in this connection: "Nothing, certainly, could be more imposing or more fittingly symbolic of Muslim power than this stern and stupendous fabric; nor could anything be more exquisite than its rich but restrained carvings "[13]

The celebrated mosque at Ajmer (Figs. 5 and 7), known as Āḍhāi-din-kā-Jhomprā,[14] erected a little later than Qutb-ud-dīn's mosque at Delhi, resembles the Delhi prototype in style as well as in construction. Being more than double in size, the several consti-

tuent parts of the Ajmer mosque are correspondingly more spacious and dignified The planning of the prayer chamber in the Qutb mosque at Delhi was, more or less, on make-shift lines, and the colonnades therein too constricted, and the pillars too low and crowded The Ajmer mosque was a more organized composition; apparently the experiences gained in the construction of the earlier building had been put to use. Instead of a number of narrow aisles as at Delhi, a single broad aisle surrounds the Ajmer quadrangle, and the domes and pillars in the prayer chamber, as well as in the other three colonnades, are strictly uniform and symmetrical in arrangement. Each of the mosques represents, more or less, a re-assemblage of the spoils of the earlier buildings. At Ajmer, however, the architect evinced a better sense of composition, no doubt as the result of previous experience, and created, out of materials of strange and apparently unfamiliar forms, a prayer hall of solemn and impressive beauty The exquisite *mihrāb* in white marble, set in the back wall of the sanctuary, is a notable feature of this mosque, while the circular bastions, fluted and banded as in the Qutb Minar, at the two corners of the eastern façade, add to the beauty of the entire design Qutb-ud-dīn had built this mosque about A.D. 1200 Iltutmish subsequently beautified it with an arched façade in front of the prayer chamber It is essentially a copy of the earlier screen at Delhi, with, however, two minarets over the parapet of the central archway, one on each side The proportions between this façade and the prayer chamber behind are more pleasing, the engrailed arches flanking the central one represent a refreshing novelty, the decorative patterns are admirable of their kind, and their workmanship is faultless Yet, with all its merits the Ajmer screen lacked the delicate and subtle beauty of Qutb-ud-dīn's screen at Delhi. Magnificent as it was, it is a perfect example of mathematical precision and technical skill; but there are many features in it that sufficiently betray a certain limitation on the part of the designer in respect of imagination as well as of artistic vision, on no account can it be regarded as an artistic triumph.

At Malkapur, at a distance of about three miles from the Qutb, stands the Sultān Ghārī[15] (Fig 6) which Iltutmish built in A D. 1231-32 as the mausoleum of his eldest son, Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. Situated at an isolated position, it was built in the manner of a fortified square enclosure, with the cenotaph accommodated within a flat-roofed underground chamber in the centre of the walled court. There are, therefore, good reasons for considering it to be the earliest example of a monumental tomb in India. The central chamber is octagonal in shape and its top rises above the level of the court

The interior is approached by a narrow stairway communicating with a small door in one of the sides of the octagon. This scheme is contained within substantial cloisters, the whole being raised over a lofty plinth. On the east there is a massive portal projecting beyond the line of the enclosure wall, the latter having round tapering bastions at the four corners. Built of grey granite, the exterior has a stern and solid appearance, in spite of the relief lent by arched openings in the walls and the bastions. The interior, however, has a calm and charming effect, because of its sober design, as well as on account of the use of marble in the exterior facing of the tomb chamber and in the colonnades The massive portal leads to a pillared portico of pleasing design (Fig. 10), while along the western cloister is provided a small mosque sanctuary with a domed central nave containing a *mihrāb* of an elegantly shaped foliated arch, and with colonnades extending from side to side The description in the *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, that Fīrūz Shāh restored some fallen pillars and four towers in the mausoleum of Iltutmish, seems to apply to this monument, and not to the tomb of Iltutmish which will be discussed presently. Except for the *mihrāb* in the mosque sanctuary in the western cloister, every part of the building seems to be of Hindu extraction, and there is a view that the tomb chamber itself represented originally a Hindu edifice While doubts may be entertained on this point, it is clear that the pillars, brackets, architraves, the decorative motifs, the arches, and even the domed ceiling of the mosque are of Hindu design and workmanship. The building also seems to be an assemblage of earlier materials; in its finished state it reveals an exquisite sense of grouping and architectural composition.

Behind the northern range of Iltutmish's extension of the Qutb mosque stands a single compact chamber (Fig. 9), of less than 30 feet side, which has been said to be the mausoleum of the emperor [16] It is built of red sandstone within and grey quartzite without, the exterior surface being further relieved by red sandstone. On the north, south, and east, there are arched entrances, while on the west there is a *mihrāb*, flanked by two smaller ones. The chamber was covered by a low domical roof (now fallen down), supported on squinch arches thrown across the corners The arched entrances as well as the squinches were built up in oversailing courses Though simple and unpretentious, this mausoleum is one of the most ornate monuments of early Indo-Islamic art. The ornamentation on the outside is comparatively sparse and consists of bands of inscriptions flanking the arched passages The entire surface of the interior walls was elaborately carved with calligraphic inscriptions

in Naskh, Tughra and Kufic characters, or with floral arabesques and geometric patterns of a bewildering variety, and further relieved by insertions of white marble. The patterns were predominantly Islamic in character, and this fact may indicate a reaction against Indian tradition which seems to be gradually making itself manifest The craftsmen, employed in the execution of the ornamentation, however, seem to be Indian, and a certain degree of inaptness, which Fergusson[17] notices in the details, might have been due to the fact that they were working with designs with which they were not familiar. So far as the effect is concerned, there is a sense of overdoing, and the style that it represents, though ornate, and in a manner anticipating the subsequent Khaljī mode, may be said to be vacillating and lifeless.

To the period of Iltutmish may also be assigned certain other structures in the outlying districts, such as the Hauz-i-Shamsi, the Shamsi-Idgah and the *Jāmi' Masjid* at Badaun[18] (U.P.), and the Atarkin-ka-Darwāza at Nagaur[19] (Jodhpur) In subsequent periods they have undergone successive restorations which have obliterated, to a very large extent, the nature and character of the original monuments.[19]

After the death of Iltutmish, the Delhi Sultanate fell on evil days, as noted above, until Balban brought some order into the chaos that had set in. To this period belongs a monument which provides a notable landmark in the development of Indo-Islamic architectural style. This is the tomb of Balban[20] which stands in a ruined and dilapidated condition in the south-east quarter of the Qil'a-i-Rāi Pithaura. It consists of a square chamber of 38 feet side, covered by a dome, with an arched doorway on each of its four sides, and a smaller chamber on the east and west Composed of coarse masonry, whatever decoration there was has now vanished. But the importance of the building, as Percy Brown[21] recognizes, is not in what it is, but in what it signifies Every arch in this building is put together, not by horizontal oversailing courses in keeping with the indigenous mode, as has been done in the previous buildings, but by means of radiating voussoirs, a fact which is of more than ordinary significance. Such an innovation, apart from its intellectual import, represents a clear and definite advance in structural practice.

With the accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī to the throne of Delhi (A.D. 1296), the torpor into which the art of building had fallen seems to be broken. With his reign we reach a decisive phase in the history of Indo-Islamic architectural style. This forceful and relentless monarch had vast and ambitious architectural schemes. One of these, as noted above, was his scheme of erecting an immense con-

gregational mosque at the Qutb, including within its perimeter the two mosques previously built.[21a] The death of the monarch in A.D. 1316 put an end to his ambitious scheme at a relatively early stage of construction. The foundations and the main walls of this vast extension may still be seen, mostly up to the height of the plinth; while the huge inner core of the projected minar, carried up to a height of about 75 feet, gives some idea of the architectural aspirations of this despotic ruler.

Of this vast project one relatively small component had, however, been completed. This is known as the 'Alāī Darwāza[22] after the name of its royal builder, and represents the southern entrance hall to his enlarged court in the east (Fig. 8). As Marshall[23] says, the 'Alāī Darwāza "is one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture". According to an inscription on the building, it was built in A.D. 1310-11 and consists of a square hall covered by a dome. It has arched doorways, one on each of its four sides. It stands on a high plinth the sides of which are elegantly decorated by bands of ornament. It is built of red sandstone, but the surface is picked out by white marble defining the architectural lineaments, and further adorned by bands of calligraphic inscriptions and decorative patterns. On either side of the central arched passage the surface of each wall is divided into two stages, each stage being further sub-divided into vertical rectangular panels. Such panels in the lower stage are designed in the shape of arched openings with stone grilles. All ornamentations, including arabesques and decorative inscriptions, have been executed in a harmonious combination of red sandstone and marble, and they lend to the façades a polychrome effect of rich and superb design. Much of the beauty of the façades is, again, due to the central arched entrances, as much for their refined curves as for their symmetrical proportions and manner and mode of decoration. The arches on the south, east and west are each of the pointed variety, of the shape technically known as the 'horse-shoe' or the 'keel'. They are built of radiating voussoirs of dressed stone and signify a definite advance on the previous practices The decorative scheme of each arch enhances further the beauty of the façade. The bands of inscriptions in white marble around the outlines. the fringe of spear-heads on the intrados, and the rectangular framework, with ornamental patterns and inscriptions in white marble, skilfully balance the structural as well as the plastic scheme of the whole. The northern façade, however, shows a deviation from the above architectural composition that characterizes the other three. The portico, originally fronting the entrance on this side, has now gone. The arch in this opening is not pointed

like the other three, but semi-circular with a trefoil in its outline. This façade is also elaborately patterned, and some scholars recognize in its scheme of embellishment a tone different from that of the other three.

No less magnificent is the interior arrangement of the hall which is decorated with a diaper pattern of unrivalled excellence in low relief. The mode, by which the square of the hall is transformed into an octagon to support the circular base of the dome, is appropriate and at the same time elegant. A series of squinches of pointed shape, one recessed within another, in the upper section of each angle of the hall, changes the square into an octagon, and next the octagon into the circle of the dome with an intervening sixteen-sided shaft formed by a bracket at each end of the octagon. Thus the load of the dome has been gracefully and competently conveyed to the ground,—from the circle to the sixteen-sided shaft, from the latter to the octagon, and finally from the octagon to the walls forming the square. The shape of the squinches accords perfectly with the pointed openings in the façades, and being put up in the principle of radiating voussoirs, they are in every respect singularly practical

In the composition of the 'Alāī Darwāza it is easy to discern the marks of mature architectural style with distinct evidence of an expert direction and intelligent supervision. It is not unlikely that some extraneous influence, connected with a developed architectural style in Western Asia (Percy Brown[24] would ascribe it to that of the Seljuk Turks), has something to do with this marked progress in Indo-Muslim building art. But the chief characteristic of this notable monument, as Percy Brown recognizes, "and one on which much of its beauty depends, is that . . . it embodies many purely indigenous features, as throughout its fabric there runs the Indian manner, sometimes in the form of a mere border, at others comprising considerable parts of the pattern. It is the skilful fusion of the best of the two modes that has produced in this building such an outstanding work of art." The early phase of Indo-Muslim architectural style reaches its perfection when the indigenous workmen had learnt to fit their exquisite style of embellishment to the forms dictated by their alien masters, and this is clearly manifested in this moderate-sized building, in its every feature, whether structural or decorative. Eminent critics have bestowed unstinted praise on this small but exquisite monument. "Nothing so complete", says Fergusson,[25] "had been done before, nothing so ornate was attempted by them (the Delhi Sultāns) afterwards." Marshall's observations are also worth quoting in this connection: "Seen at a distance its well-proportioned lineaments are accentuated by the alternating red

and white colour of its walls; and an added dignity is given by the high plinth on which it stands. At closer range, the harmony of form and colour is enhanced by the wealth of lace-like decorations graven on every square foot of its exterior walls. Then, as one passes into the hall, this effect of warm sumptuous beauty gives place to one of quiet solemnity, to which every feature of the interior seems to contribute: the subdued red of the sandstone, the stateliness of the portals, the plain expanse of dome, the shapely horse-shoe arches that support it, and the bold geometric patterning of walls and window screens. The key-notes of this building are its perfect symmetry and the structural propriety of all its parts."[26] There is no doubt that the 'Alāī Darwāza represents the flowering of the style in unprecedented splendour and magnificence. It is only a part of 'Alā-ud-dīn's grand architectural project at the Qutb which, if completed, would surely have been one of the greatest artistic achievements produced under Islamic rule in India

'Alā-ud-dīn's architectural projects included also the foundation of the new city of Sirī,[27] the second of the 'seven cities' of Delhi. It lay to the north of the Qutb and was begun about A.D. 1303 to protect, it is said, the evergrowing population of the capital from the Mongol menace Within the new city he also erected a palace of thousand pillars, but this has completely fallen into ruins. The only vestiges of the new city that now remain are some fragments of the encircling walls. "But even these few remnants, with their round and tapering bastions, their lines of loopholes, their flame-shaped battlements inscribed with the *Kalima*, and their inner berm supported on an arched gallery",[28] supply interesting information regarding the military architecture of the period. At the western extremity of the new city, 'Alā-ud-dīn built also a magnificent tank covering an area of nearly 70 acres. It was known as Hauz-i-'Alāī or Hauz-i-Khās tank. It was on its banks that Tīmūr encamped after his victory over the Delhi troops. It will be referred to again in connection with the buildings of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq who carried on extensive repairs to the tank.

The fine Jamā'at Khāna mosque[29] in the squalid environment of the Dargāh of Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā betrays obvious affinities with the Khaljī tradition, and was very probably built towards the close of 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign. Marshall[30] described it as the earliest example of a mosque in India built wholly in conformity with Islamic ideas and with materials specially quarried for the purpose. Built of red sandstone, it has three compartments adjoining one another,—the middle one being square and the side ones oblong in shape,—each approached through a broad arched entrance in the

façade. The arches are of the pointed variety and fundamentally resemble those of the 'Alāī Darwāza. All the arches are framed by wide bands of inscriptions above, and embellished by fringes of spear-heads on the intrados, again, generally in the manner that we find in the 'Alāī Darwāza. The central compartment, approximately of the same dimensions as those of the gateway hall, is roofed by a single dome. The manner of transition from the square to the octagon is also the same, but a certain advance may be recognized in the provision of an intervening triforium between the octagon and the circle of the dome. Around the base the dome has eight arched recesses, alternately closed and pierced through the thickness of the wall. The adjoining compartments are each divided in their middle by a double-arched screen. Each of these compartments is covered by two small domes, the transition from the square to the octagon being made, not by squinches, but by triangular pendentives at the corners. The walls of these compartments are made of plastered rubble, and on this account it has been suggested that they were built later than the central component. But the homogeneous treatment of the entire façade renders such a view rather improbable. The 'Alāī Darwāza and the Jamā'at Khāna mosque are fundamentally of an identical style Percy Brown,[31] however, recognizes a different note in the latter which he explains by stating that, due to the disorders that clouded the closing years of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, the style, as expressed in the 'Alāī Darwāza was losing its forcefulness. The Ukha masjid at Bayāna[32] (Bharatpur), built by Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak, the last of the Khaljī rulers, represents a provincial version of the imperial style. Situated at a distance from the capital, it betrays obvious signs of weakness, and illustrates in a striking manner the rapid disintegration of the high-water mark of the style attained during the time of 'Ala-ud-dīn Khaljī.

B. *Buildings of the Tughluqs*

In the next regime, that of the Tughluqs, a distinct change is perceptible in the spirit and tone of architecture. In marked contrast to the rich and elaborate ornamental style of the Khaljī buildings, those of the Tughluqs are characterized by a stark simplicity of design bordering almost on puritanical severity. Instead of the lavish wealth of ornamental detail that distinguished the first phase of the Indo-Islamic art, the Tughluq builders seem to rely, to a far greater degree, on the effects of lineaments and masses, rather than on surface treatment. The result is the appearance of a distinctive building style, chaste and sober, no doubt, but at the same time betraying a certain poverty of imagination and lack of plastic sense.

The founder of the dynasty, the stern old warrior Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, built to the east of the Qutb area the city of Tughluqābād,[33] the third of the 'seven cities' of Delhi. Irregular in outline, in accordance with the shape of the rocky eminence on which it stood, it consisted roughly of a quadrangle of 2,200 yards each side. Only the remnants of the immense circuit walls are now discernible. These were built of Cyclopean masonry of ponderous dimensions, and had heavily battered sides and battlemented parapets. At regular intervals there were massive splayed-out bastions, sometimes rising in more than one storey, wide gateways flanked by lofty portals, and tiers upon tiers of loop-holes or ovlets for the discharge of missiles. Within was a citadel, which was a fortress and a palace combined, having its double or triple lines of defence. Everything, however, is now a complex mass of shapeless ruin, and nothing remains of the great palace of Ghiyās-ud-dīn, built, as Ibn Batūtah says, "of golden bricks which, when the Sun rose, shone so dazzlingly that no one could gaze at it steadily." Nevertheless, the ruins are immensely impressive The colossal bulks of broken masonry, devoid of any adornment, towering high with emphatic batter, lend to the entire mass the stern dignity of a practical stronghold. The appearance of impregnability is, however, a false one, as the massive fortifications are in reality built of a loose core of rubble faced with ashlar. The poor construction was, no doubt, responsible for the heavy damage that the city had sustained in course of the centuries.

Joined to the city of Tughluqābād by an elevated causeway lies the mausoleum of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq.[34] It is in the form of a miniature fortress of an irregular pentagonal shape, with a battlemented sloping wall having an immense spreading bastion at each corner (Fig 12) The mausoleum building is placed diagonally at the widest part of the pentangular court, and is built of red sandstone with inlays of bands and panels of marble above the arch-springs. The dome surmounting the mausoleum chamber is made entirely of marble. The marble inlays consist of a broad band running all around the building in a line with the arch-springs, and similar bands outlining the arches, each again within a rectangular framing together with a second band at the top. On either side appear further rectangular marble panels while at the top runs a narrow marble band all around. The marble inlays, together with spear-head fringes of the arches, recall the decorative scheme of the 'Alāī Darwāza. But, at the same time, the Tughluq building has certain strongly marked individualities. On the exterior the walls rise upward with a pronounced batter, and this is in keeping with the new tradition first noticed in the walls of the city of Tughluqābād.

The middle of each side is slightly set forward, and accommodates a pointed arch, there being four such on the four sides. Three of these are entrance archways, while the fourth, i.e. the one on the west, is closed to contain a *mihrāb*. In the composition of the archways a notable feature is introduced by the imposition of a lintel across the base of each arch. Such a combination of the two principles of support—the arcuate and the trabeate—in the composition of an opening is rather an unusual feature, and has, perhaps, to be explained as "the compounding of the structural conventions" of the two communities, the Islamic and the Hindu. The process may be regarded as irrational and redundant. In a way, it marks a stage in the fusion of the two architectural traditions, and in the subsequent periods the Indian builders achieved through this process, and with the addition of a bracket under the lintel, a notable artistic effect. The sloping walls terminate in low battlements, rather an ineffective feature on account of their being unduly small The dome rests on an octagonal drum, supported on squinches in the interior, and is crowned by an *āmalaka* and *kalasa*, reproducing the usual pinnacle of a Hindu temple.

The fortress-like composition of the tomb reflects the stern and indomitable character of the ruler whose remains lie buried here The harsh square shape and the sturdy proportions, together with the battering walls, lend to the building an appearance of strength and solidity with which has been combined an effect of solemn and sober grandeur because of the inlays of marble, and especially by the glistening white of the dome. The sloping pilasters in the archways, the rather weak projection of the central bays, the small merlons, etc., constitute certain shortcomings in the design and could easily have been improved upon. In spite of these, however, the building appears to have been a felicitous production of the age, having a certain robust dignity of its own.

Muhammad bin Tughluq, Ghiyās-ud-dīn's son and successor, is known to have also inaugurated a number of building projects. The foundation of the small fortress of Ādilābād is attributed to him. It adjoins the city of Tughluqābād and is but a reproduction of the larger city on a smaller scale. Muhammad also built the fourth city of Delhi which he called by the ambitious name of Jahānpanāh[35] (the World Refuge). It was made by linking up the first and the second cities of Delhi by walls of huge thickness (about 12 yards), but rather poorly built of rough rubble set in lime. Few vestiges of the fortifications now remain. The buildings within are also nearly all gone. Among the present remains mention should be made of Sathpalah-bund and the Bijai-Maṇḍal. The former is a

double-storeyed bridge of seven spans, with supplementary arches and a tower at each end, which was meant for regulating the supply of water drawn from a lake within the city. The Bijai-Maṇḍal was a lofty tower-like structure of terraced elevation, possibly a part of the palace complex. It was built of sloping walls, in conformity with the prevailing fashion introduced in the previous reign, and the few arches that remain are of the pointed horse-shoe shape, rather indifferent reproductions of the Khaljī prototypes. A certain advance in the structural procedure is recognized in the use of intersecting vaults. Another building, a nameless tomb in the vicinity of the Bijai-Maṇḍal, is also a noteworthy production of the age for its fine proportions and elegant form.

Fīrūz Shāh, the third of the Tughluq line, was a passionate lover and an indefatigable patron of building art.[36] Reference has been made above[37] to his innumerable public works, which included cities, forts, palaces, mosques, tombs and other edifices. His most important scheme was the foundation of the fifth city of Delhi, called after him Fīrūzābād.[38] Within the city he built the palace-fort, known as Koṭla Fīrūz Shāh, which now stands in a derelict condition

It is, however, noteworthy, that only very cheap material were used in the constructions, due, perhaps, to the unsettled condition of the time caused by the vagaries and rebellions of the late régime. The buildings of Fīrūz Tughluq, though strong and virile in appearance like those of the first Tughluq, therefore generally fail to create any impression because of a certain dullness and monotony.

Marshall's observations regarding the character of the Fīrūzian style deserves to be quoted for a general idea of the state of architecture of the period "The virtues of this architecture reside in its vigour and straightforwardness; in its simple broad effects; and in the purposefulness with which it evolved new structural features or adapted old ones to its needs—the multi-domed roofing, for example, or the tapering minaret-like buttresses at the quoins. Its faults are seen in the monotonous reiteration of these self-same features, in the prosaic nakedness of its ideas, and in the dearth of everything that might make for picturesque charm or elegance."[39]

According to the description of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, the city of Fīrūzābād lay between the ridge on the north and Hauz-i-Khās on the south, and had nine mosques, of which eight were public, three palaces, and a number of hunting boxes. This description, however, seems to be exaggerated. Of the monuments that remain, the most imposing is the Koṭla Fīrūz Shāh[40] or the palace-fortress situated on an extensive plain bordering the river Yamunā (Jamu-

na). It occupies a quadrangle, approximately half a mile in length and a quarter in width, enclosed by tall battlemented walls with massive splayed-out bastions at regular intervals. The main entrance was through a substantial gateway, projecting from the line of the wall and further protected by a curtain with a guard room. The palace was situated within a rectangular enclosure opposite the main gateway of the Koṭla. The rest of the area was divided into a number of square and rectangular courts accommodating the various structures necessary in a self-contained palace stronghold. The two that deserve notice are the *Jāmi' Masjid* and a terraced pyramidal structure surmounted by a pillar of Aśoka. The former was a large and imposing structure of the usual plan. It rose in two storeys with arcaded chambers on three sides of the ground floor, and cloisters, three aisles deep, around the open court of the mosque above. The other features of the building, as far as can be gathered, such as masonry of rubble and plaster, bare walls, multiple domes, squinch arches for their support, and battlemented parapets, are typical of the style of the period.

At the Hauz-i-Khās, Fīrūz Shāh built on the remains of an older structure of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī a college, much of which is now in ruins. It occupies the southern and eastern sides of the great lake, being two-storeyed on the lake front and one-storeyed behind. It consists of an extensive group of buildings, mostly arcades and colonnades with square domed halls in between. A charming view of the group may be obtained from the lake front. In contrast to the prevailing severe mode, it has an exceptionally elegant appearance, particularly because of the happy and effective grouping of the different components.

The mausoleum of Fīrūz Shāh,[41] situated among the crumbling ruins of the college complex, is in a fairly good state of preservation. It is a square building with slightly battering walls, each side having a shallow projecting bay in the centre (Fig. 11). Two of these bays accommodate arched entrances, each framed within a rectangular recess. Across the base of the arch there is a lintel supported on heavy brackets, the beginnings of such a combination of two structural conventions being already noticed in the tomb of the first Tughluq. The walls terminate in parapets of small ornamental merlons. The low and slightly pointed dome rises on an octagonal drum with identical merlons around the base of the dome. The latter is supported in the interior on squinches at the four corners. The narrow marble cornices in the exterior, as well as certain arabesque ornamentations, both inside and out, were added in course of some repairs during the time of Sikandar Lodī. Even without these, the building has a

certain appearance of distinction because of its fine proportions and sober treatment and is characterized by a simple dignity and quiet unpretentiousness.

The reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq is also important for the introduction of new architectural trends. Among these, one in respect of the tomb buildings remained the dominant style for nearly two centuries. The mausoleum of Khān-i-Jahān Tilangānī,[42] situated a little to the south of the Dargāh of Nizām-ud-dīn, is an unostentatious building in itself; but it is of exceptional interest as illustrating a new design of tomb-structure. It is placed within a quadrangular court enclosed by strong walls with bastions at the corners,—a composition that is usual with fortress tombs But the tomb building itself is of an unusual shape and design. Hitherto all mortuary buildings had been of square shape. The Tilangānī tomb is, however, octagonal in form and represents a distinct departure from that prevailing at the imperial capital. It consists of an octagonal chamber covered by a dome and enclosed by a low arched corridor, also of octagonal shape. Each side of the octagon has three archways, i.e. twenty-four all round, and the roof is composed of twenty-four small domes which surround the large dome surmounting the mortuary chamber. Above the encompassing arches there runs a wide eave or *chajja,* which adds a new and at the same time useful element in the composition. Some sch lars have stressed the resemblance in form between the Tilangānī tomb and the celebrated Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem But the former has some distinctive individualities, not only in the use of different materials but also in architectural treatment, and these impart to it an essentially Indian character. It is likely that the design of this tomb, instead of being derived from a far-distant prototype, was independently evolved in India, and that it was due to its being an initial experiment of this kind that it suffers from certain serious drawbacks. For instance, the domes, the central as well as the surrounding ones, are too low and squat, and the encompassing arches are too stunted to have any effect Moreover, there may also be recognized a lack of proportions and harmonious integration of the different parts. Such drawbacks are inherent in experimental efforts with a new form and were removed in course of time What is important is that the Tilangānī tomb, in spite of its drawbacks, constitutes a definite landmark as initiating a pattern in tomb building which set the fashion for the subsequent centuries

The tomb of Tilangānī was built by his son Khān-i-Jahān Jauna Shāh, a noble man in the Court of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. Jauna Shāh is also credited with the erection of a number of mosques, two

of which stand out among those of the period as exhibiting an arrangement that is not usually met with. Besides being an eminent patron of the building art, Jauna Shāh thus seems to have entertained certain new and original ideas about it. Several mosques were built in and around Delhi during the latter part of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh and the majority of them belong to one uniform style. They are of the usual plan and built mostly of rubble and plaster with pillars, architraves and brackets of granite. The boldly projecting entrance gateways remind one of the Sultān Ghārī, while multi-domed roofs, tapering turrets, and the combination of arches with beams and brackets are characteristic of the architecture of the period. The *Kālī Masjid*[43] near the Tilanganī tomb and the *Khirkī Masjid*[44] at Jahānpanāh, both attributed to Jauna Shāh, though belonging to the prevailing style, present each an exceptional feature in the fact that the quadrangle of the mosque enclosure, instead of being one open whole, is divided into four smaller courts by arcaded aisles crossing it at right angles, one joining the eastern entrance with the middle bay of the prayer chamber and the other linking up the northern and southern entrances (cf. Fig 14). Such an arrangement is not quite in keeping with orthodox usage, and though it afforded protection to the congregation of worshippers and, to a certain extent, relieved the monotony of the interior, it was not followed in other mosques. The Kalān Masjid[45] (Fig 13) at Shāhjahānābād, attributed also to Jauna Shāh, is much of the same style, but without the division of the quadrangle into four smaller courts. The Kalān and the Khirkī are each raised over a basement (*tah-khānā*), much in the same manner that we find in the *Jāmi' Masjid* in the Kotla

Another building belonging to the closing years of the Tughluq régime is of certain interest as illustrating a movement for a revival of the more colourful style of the earlier epochs. This is the tomb of Kabīr-ud-dīn Auliyā,[46] a square building of red sandstone and marble with sloping sides, and is apparently a copy of the tomb of the first Tughluq. It appears that after the passing away of the puritanical Fīrūz, the builders exhibited again a sympathy for the more ornamental treatment of the earlier monuments. But the severe mode prevailing in the Fīrūzian period had, more or less, a deadening effect which the architects or the designers could hardly shake off Further, in the general state of disintegration, the means and resources were also too limited to allow a recapture of the older spirit, much less an emulation of, or improvement upon, the earlier models. Hence, the experiment, instead of heralding any approaching resurgence, pointedly testifies to the utter decadence that had set in.

C. *Buildings of the Sayyids and Lodīs*

The invasion of Tīmūr dealt the death blow to whatever was left of the imperial power of the Delhi Sultāns. Their shrunken resources naturally precluded any ambitious architectural project, though the first two Sayyids permitted themselves the luxury of founding two cities, Khizrābād and Mubārakābād, named after them. These have been practically swept away, apparently because of their poor construction due to weak and limited financial conditions.

The surviving monuments of the period are mostly funerary in character. The rulers as well as the people seem to have been interested in this form of monument only, and it is only these which they tried to build with a certain amount of care. At no other time, perhaps, says Percy Brown,[47] "has the tomb been more manifest in the consciousness of the people than during the rule of the Sayyids and Lodīs." On the desolate ruins of the imperial cities still stand scores of tombs—mute testimonies of how the people excelled in raising memorials to the dead. Delhi at this period seems to have been converted into a vast necropolis

The notable tombs of the period may be divided into two groups, according as they adopted the octagonal design of the Tilangānī tomb, or the orthodox square type. Of the octagonal design we have, more or less, a continuous sequence of monuments that enable us to trace the development of the type from its inception in the Tilangānī tomb to its final culmination in the grand mausoleum of Sher Shāh at Sasaram The type remained popular also in the early Mughul phase, and two notable monuments of this design are known to have been erected during the reign of Akbar The type thus remained in vogue for approximately two centuries, and the pattern reached a mature expression, stage by stage, every successive building representing an advance on the preceding one. Three of the identifiable royal tombs, belonging to this period, were of this pattern They are the tombs of Mubārak Shāh Sayyid Muhammad Shāh Sayyid, and Sikandar Lodī. The earliest of the series in the present phase, the tomb of Mubārak,[48] signifies a notable improvement on its prototype, the Tilangānī tomb An appearance of greater elevation is imparted by raising the central dome substantially higher, by increasing the height of the surrounding corridor, and by adding sloping piers at its quoins Further, the monotony of the upper part of the composition is relieved by the addition of pinnacles (*gul-dastas*) at the angles of the drum and of eight pillared kiosks, one on each side of the octagon around the central dome, roofed by a cupola. In spite of these improvements the composition seems to have been a matter of experiment still.

The chief defect consists in the failure of the builders to visualize the upper part of structure as being raised far above the eye level, leading thereby to a slightly stunted elevation and a foreshortening of the upper elements.

In the tomb of Muhammad Shāh Sayyid[49] (Fig. 15) may be recognized a further improvement of the design. The defects in elevation that were noticed in the two previous buildings were removed by increasing the heights of the drum, the central dome, as well as of the pillared kiosks. Along with an increase of the heights of the *gul-dastas* at the angles of the drum, a second range of such crestings were added to the corners of the arched corridor. Again, an increased batter of the piers at the quoins added greatly to the effect of elevation Considered as a whole, the tomb of Muhammad Shāh Sayyid represents a conception "satisfying in all its parts, well-proportioned, pleasingly set out, and fulfilling all its needs."[50]

The next tomb of the series, that of Sikandar Lodī,[51] built in A.D. 1517, reproduces fundamentally the design of the tomb of Muhammad Shāh Sayyid, with a notable variation, however, in the absence of the pillared kiosks surrounding the central dome. It is situated within an immense court, enclosed by a battlemented wall, with bastioned towers at the four corners, and an entrance gateway in the middle of the south side This conception, according to Marshall,[52] anticipates, in a way, the more ornamental garden tombs of the Mughuls. In the tombs of the two Sayyids may be noticed the beginnings of the use of enamelled tiles for emphasizing the decorative features. The tomb of Sikandar Lodī is more lavish in the use of such tiles in a variety of colours, and the walls, both inside and out, were richly adorned by elaborate patterns in choice colours. Apart from this ornamental treatment, his tomb introduces a new structural expedient of great significance which exercised a profound influence on the building art of the subsequent times. Up to this time it was the practice to erect the dome of one thickness of masonry, the elevation in the interior being nearly as high as in the exterior. When, with an increasing elevation of the building, it became necessary to place the dome on a higher level, the interior came to be stilted and disproportionately tall in relation to its width. In order to obviate this defect and to maintain the symmetry between the exterior and interior dimensions, was devised the structural expedient, known as the 'double dome'. It consisted of two separate shells of masonry, inner and outer, with a vacant space in between. The inner shell was placed at a level proportionate to the internal dimensions of the building, and the outer

corresponding to the external. The interior as well as the exterior dimensions thus came to be pleasingly balanced and integrated both horizontally and vertically, and the design, as a whole, was much improved thereby. This device had long been in use in different countries of Western Asia, and something like this had already been attempted in the tomb of Shihāb-ud-din Tāj Khān of a slightly earlier date (A.D. 1501). In the tomb of Sikandar Lodī the device of the 'double dome' took a definite and concrete shape, and the first conscious application of this invests the building with a special interest and significance in view of the surprising results obtained by an effective use of this method in the Mughul buildings.

The second group of tombs of the period, following the usual square design, exhibits, nevertheless, certain distinctive features in architectural treatment. The type consists of a square solid-looking building covered by a dome. In the treatment of the façade, however, notable features were introduced. In the middle of each side may be seen a lofty arched bay projecting slightly from the body of the building, with a doorway, sometimes of the lintel and bracket order, surmounted by an arched window opening accommodated within the huge arched recess. The remaining parts of each façade are disposed in the exterior into a number of horizontal zones by cornice mouldings, and further variegated by arched recesses and window openings in each zone. The treatment of the upper part of the structure resembles, in a way, that of the octagonal tombs. The walls terminate in battlemented parapets with pinnacles (*gul-dastas*) at the corners of the square as well as at the angles formed by the projecting bays. The dome, which usually shows a band of lotus petal ornament at the base, is raised on an octagonal drum and is flanked at each corner of the roof by a pillared kiosk. The most eminent productions of this class of tombs are Bara Khān kā Gumbad,[53] Chhote Khān kā Gumbad,[54] Barā Gumbad[55] (Fig 16), Shīs Gumbad,[56] tomb of Shihāb-ud-dīn Tāj Khān,[57] Dādī kā Gumbad,[58] and Polī kā Gumbad.[59] The majority belong to the fifteenth century A D Tombs of this class are usually higher than those of the octagonal kind, though horizontally their dimensions are lesser Yet, in spite of their added elevation and diversified treatment of the façade, they lack the solemn dignity of the octagonal tombs.

Though no large mosques of the public or congregational kind are known to have been erected during this phase, a few mosque buildings of the private kind, belonging to the period, are notable as anticipating a new trend that was to reach its fulfilment in the period immediately following that covered by the present volume.

Among the monuments of this series the earliest is a small mosque[60] attached to the Barā Gumbad, built towards the close of the fifteenth century A.D. Of its notable features mention should be made of the *tah-khāna* basement and tapering turrets at the rear corners, features that are clearly derived from the Fīrūzian buildings. Striking innovations are, however, introduced in the composition of the façade which consists of five open arches of a peculiar shape, being inordinately wide and flattened at the top. Though practically of the same height, the outlines of the arches are diversified by a variable number of receding planes, and elegant ornament in plaster covers the entire exterior Similar ornament is also used in the interior of the prayer chamber. The domes are increased in size as well as elevation. All these indicate a fresh inspiration striving for a new and effective form in mosque design. But the different elements being, to a certain extent, loosely knit, the production, as a whole, lacks organic unity and fails to be pleasing There is no doubt that the builders felt the urge for a new direction, but they seem to have had only a vague and faltering idea of it.

The next mosque of the series, Moth ki Masjid[61] (Fig. 17), was built by the Prime Minister of Sikandar Lodī in the early years of the sixteenth century A.D. It is a fairly large building, being 124 feet 6 inches from end to end, and follows fundamentally the design of the Barā Gumbad mosque with some notable improvements indicating that the builders had a clear idea of what was expected of them and had the necessary experience to achieve the desired result. Particularly noteworthy is its façade with its five arched openings, all much better spaced and proportioned, of which the central one is emphasized by having it boldly projected forward The interior also is, to a great extent, spacious and dignified, and the domes above more pleasingly disposed The tapering turrets on the back wall have each a refined contour. Added to these, the two-storeyed towers at the rear corners, each flanked by a projecting balcony, lend a rare charm to the design of the building as a whole. Further, by a free intermixture of white marble, red sandstone and enamelled tiles, a colourful effect is imparted to the exterior. According to Marshall, the mosque "epitomises in itself all that is best in the architecture of the Lodīs," and displays a "freedom of imagination, a bold diversity of design, an appreciation of contrasting light and shade and a sense of harmony in line and colour, which combine to make it one of the most spirited and picturesque buildings of its kind in the whole range of Islamic art."[62]

The remaining two buildings of the series, the Jamālī Mosque (A.D. 1536)[63] and the Qil'a-i-Kuhna mosque[64] of Sher Shāh in the

Purānā Qil'a, fall outside the scope of the present volume. It has to be noted here that the latter represents the new mosque design in its most elegant and mature form, and anticipates, in a way, the Mughul buildings of this order.

III. PROVINCIAL STYLES

A. *Bengal*

Architectural activities of the Islamic rulers of Bengal seem to have begun with the establishment of the Islamic rule in the province by Ikhtyār-ud-dīn Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī about the close of the twelfth century A D. Minhāj-ud-dīn, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*,[65] mentions that Ikhtyār-ud-dīn himself established at Lakhnāwatī mosques, colleges, rest-houses and other buildings The same authority[66] further speaks of Hisām-ud-dīn 'Iwāz, one of the successors of Ikhtyār-ud-dīn, who assumed the title of Sultān under the name of Ghiyās-ud-dīn, that he built mosques, *madrassahs*, rest-houses, etc, in his capital and constructed roads across the low and marshy country Epigraphic records testify to the erection of mosques in Bengal during the thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth; one at Pinchhli,[67] eight miles to the north-west of Mālda, by Sultān Iltutmish (1211-1236), another (with a mausoleum—Fig 23) at Tribeni (Hooghly District) by Zafar Khān Ghāzī (c. A D. 1298); and a third at Gaumalti, near Gaur (Mālda District) in A D. 1311 [68] But none of these or other early Muslim monuments in Bengal have survived

No existing Muslim monument in Bengal can be dated earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century A.D and the extant remains all belong to the period of a little over two centuries (A.D 1338-1576). Mosques and tombs, representing the religious side of architecture, naturally followed the characteristic forms of Muslim architecture in India and elsewhere. But in details of construction and design there was evolved a local individuality, due to contact with, and assimilation of, the earlier practices in this region.

These religious buildings may be divided stylistically into the following groups: 1. Oblong type with a vaulted central nave and multi-domed side-wings, 2. Single-domed square type; 3. Multi-domed oblong type; and 4 Single-domed type with corridors running on three sides. This stylistic grouping may also be found to have an approximate chronological bearing. The third type appears to have been adapted from the first by omitting the central nave, and the fourth from the second by the addition of corridors on three sides.

The earliest of the extant types of Muslim buildings in Bengal is characterized by an oblong structure, divided into a central nave and two side-wings. The central nave is covered by an elongated vault, which is a continuation of the main front arch that spans the entire width and height of the nave. The wings which are several aisles deep, are roofed by low hemispherical domes, their number depending on the number of interspaces formed by the division of the wings into bays and aisles. The oblong shape with the central nave higher than the two side-wings, as we see in the present type, are met with elsewhere in India, especially in the region of Gujarāt; but the tall and elongated barrel-shaped vault covering the nave and the other details and particulars of the type are, on the whole, peculiar to Bengal and seldom found outside its limits. Of this type we have only a few extant examples, namely the Ādina mosque at Hazarat Pāndua (Mālda District), and the Gunamant mosque and the Darasbāri mosque, both at Gaur.

The famous *Jāmi'* mosque, known as the Ādīna,[69] was built by Sultān Sikandar Shāh in 770 or 776 A H. (A D. 1369 or 1374), and, as Marshall says, by a strange coincidence, the first monument extant in Bengal "was also the most ambitious structure of its kind ever essayed in Eastern India"[70] Almost as big as the great mosque at Damascus, it covers an area of 507 feet 6 inches by 285 feet 6 inches externally, and consists, on the inside, of four great cloisters surrounding a central courtyard, 397 feet by 159 feet.[71] The western range of cloister, (Fig. 18), forming the prayer chamber, is five aisles deep, while the remaining ones have only three. The former is divided into a central nave (Fig. 19), 64 feet 4 inches by 33 feet 8 inches, and two side-wings (*cf.* Fig. 20), five archways on either side of the nave opening into the five aisles of the side-wings. The nave was covered by an elongated vault spanning the whole width, and though fallen down, the vaulted roof may be found marked in out-line against the top of the back wall which also shows a window-opening almost at the apex. The back wall shows the prayer niche (*mihrāb*) flanked on the south by a similar niche and on the north by the pulpit (*mimbar*), the latter consisting of a canopied platform approached by a flight of steps. Each of the two side-wings has eighteen bays corresponding to eighteen niches in the back wall and as many arched openings in front. Five bays in the three rear aisles of the northern wing are occupied by an upper gallery, known as *Bādshāh kā takht*,[72] supported on short but ponderous pillars about 8 feet in height. The cloisters on the north, south and east are continuous and are each three aisles in depth. On account of the division of the design into so many bays and aisles, the total space occupied by

the four lines of cloisters is subdivided into 378 small squares, each of which was once covered by a small dome.[73] The regular sequence of bays and aisles, of arched screens, of numerous domes and pillars, each a replica of the other, is, to a certain extent, tiresome; yet a view of the western cloister with the gigantic central archway, 33 feet in width and more than 60 feet in height,[74] flanked on either side, by a screen of smaller arches, each of 8 feet span, has certainly an imposing effect. The *mihrāb* niches in the back wall of the western cloister are formed by exquisitely carved pillars supporting usually trefoil arches, apparently collected from older Hindu buildings, while the wall space above exhibits minute carved brick decorations, so shallow in relief as to appear encrusted on the surface.

This great composition, it is curious to note, had not been provided with any imposing entrance gateway. An arched opening in the middle of the east side and three archways at the eastern end of the southern cloister were probably meant for public use, while two small doorways in the rear wall of the western cloister were probably intended for the *Mullās* and other dignitaries. Attached to the northern half of the back wall of the prayer chamber is a square chamber, in which Sikandar Shāh, the builder of the mosque, is said to have been buried. There are three entrances from this chamber to the *Bādshāh kā takht* in the north-western wing of the western cloister, possibly for the use of the royal family.

The Gunamant[75] (Fig. 21) and the Darasbāri[76] mosques at Gaur, each in an extremely fragmentary state, also belong to a conception identical to that of the Ādina mosque, though their dimensions are much smaller The vaulted roof of the central nave in the Gunamant still exists and shows the use of vertical ribs in association with a row of arched recesses at the bottom running along the entire length on either side. It is not known whether this feature was also present in the Ādina and the Darasbāri, as vaulted roofs of both have collapsed. The Gunamant and the Darasbāri mosques have been dated respectively in A.D 1484 and 1479 on the strength of two inscriptions found near them There is, however, no certainty that the two inscriptions belonged originally to these two mosques An earlier date seems more reasonable as both these mosques agree in all essential respects with the great Ādina mosque, more than a century earlier than the dates proposed.

The second type is characterized by a single-domed square building and absence of pillars inside the hall, which are common in the first and third types. Externally there are four corner turrets, usually octagonal in shape, rising just above the cornices which,

again, are slightly curved, a peculiarity that has been rightly traced to imitation of bamboo constructions popular in Bengal. The tombs usually have four doors in the four walls; the mosques have one or three in front with corresponding number of *mihrāb* niches in the back wall. Entrances through the side walls may occasionally be found also in case of mosques. Sometimes the single-domed square mosque exhibits a corridor running along the whole front, both the corridor and the hall having as many entrances as there are *mihrāb* niches in the back wall of the sanctuary. Apart from the massive dome spanning the hall proper there are three more small domes roofing the corridor.

The earliest example of the single-domed square type is the Eklākhī mausoleum[77] at Hazarat Pāndua, traditionally reputed to be the tomb of Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh (A.D 1415-31). The fabric is of brick, occasionally interspersed with horn-blende slabs collected from older Hindu buildings. Externally the dimensions are nearly square, being 78 feet 6 inches by 74 feet 6 inches. The interior, however, is an octagon of 48 feet 6 inches diameter. There are four arched doorways (fitted with door-frames from Hindu monuments), one on each face, and four cells in the thickness of the walls inside, each one at each of the four corners The semicircular dome rises directly from the octagon of the interior There is no cylindrical or octagonal drum as support for the dome which, on this account, looks low and stunted This loss of height on account of the absence of any seat for the dome is a common weakness of Muslim buildings in Bengal, and no monument, whether single-domed or multi-domed, attains that grandeur which is characteristic of Islamic buildings elsewhere. The dome of the Lotan *Masjid* at Gaur (to be described later), however, has a flat vault as its support and thereby gains considerably in height. The ceiling of the Eklākhī tomb is neatly plastered, while there appear to have been painted decorations on the inside The exterior, again, is diversified by vertical offsets and recesses, fine horizontal bands, and mouldings and decorations in carved brick, in an infinite variety of floral designs. The curved cornices project considerably from the walls, and together with the octagonal corner turrets with their horizontal bands are bold and rich in effect. But in spite of its pleasing lineaments and the beauty and variety of terracotta ornamentations, the Eklākhī suffers in comparison with tomb constructions in the west, as lacking in height and dignity, and the semicircular dome, however massive, over a square structure, leaves the corners bare,—a void that emphasizes the loss of balance and organic unity in the whole structure.

What is known as the Chika *Masjid*[78] or the 'Bats mosque' at Gaur is an exact copy of the Eklākhī, except for its dimensions which are slightly smaller. Though described as a *masjid* locally, there is no prayer niche in the western hall. Creighton described it as a gate on the basis of an inscription, discovered by Francklin, recording the erection of a gateway in 909 A.H. (A.D. 1504) by 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh. But the building, so closely following the Eklākhī in plan, form and dimensions, appears to be much earlier, and Cunningham is inclined to regard it as a tomb, perhaps of Mahmūd I (A.D. 1437-59). But no trace of any grave has been found inside the building, and local tradition, it may be pointed out, connects the building with the state prison where Husain Shāh confined his minister Sanātan.

To the same type belong the smaller mosque at Chhota Pāndua[79] (Hooghly district) (A.D. 1577), the old mosque at Goāldihi,[80] Sonārgāon (A.D. 1519), and the old mosque at Molla Simla[81] (Hooghly district). There is, however, a necessary modification of the design in the provision of *mihrāb* niches in the western wall. In a few mosques of this order the design is found slightly elaborated by the provision of a corridor in front of the prayer hall. The prayer hall is covered by a single dome, and the corridor, by three smaller domes, in conformity with the three bays formed by three entrance archways in front Among the monuments of this order mention should be made of the mosque at Gopalganj[82] (Dinājpur district), erected in A D. 1460, the Chāmkātti[83] and the Lotan[84] mosque at Gaur, both assigned to the reign of Yūsuf Shāh, the mosque at Kheraul[85] (Murshidābād district), and the Rukn Khān mosque at Debikot[86] (Dinājpur district), erected respectively in A.D 1494 and A D. 1512. Among these, the Lotan mosque (Fig. 22), traditionally connected with a beautiful dancer of the royal court, is of more than ordinary interest. A pleasing variety has been obtained in this mosque by grading the dimensions of the different archways. Another variation may be noticed in the provision of six corner turrets, instead of the usual four at the four corners of the hall, there being an additional one at either end of the corridor. Still more commendable is the construction of the massive dome which is supported on a drum, cylindrical outside and of the shape of a flattened vault inside. This support adds to the height and dignity of the building, and also to the organic beauty which is unfortunately lacking in the majority of the buildings of this kind in Bengal. Glazed bricks of various colours and patterns faced the building both inside and out. This inordinate desire for surface ornamentation has lent the building a rather gaudy appear-

ance which has, to a certain extent, marred the structural beauty to which it aspired.

The third type is characterized by an oblong structure, divided into several aisles by rows of pillars, supporting the arches of the domes, and cut into a number of bays, corresponding to the number of prayer niches in the back wall and arched openings in front. The roof consists of successive rows of low and small domes, their number depending on the number of interspaces formed by the division of the interior into bays and aisles. As usual in Bengal, curved cornices and polygonal corner turrets are also characteristic elements of such a structure. Manmohan Chakravarti[87] describes the type as "many-domed parallelopiped." The oldest extant building of this group cannot be dated earlier than the latter half of the fifteenth century A.D. As has been already mentioned, the type appears to be a simplified adaptation of the type of oblong structure with a central nave and two side-wings (Ādīna, Gunamant) that had been typical of the fourteenth century A.D. In the fifteenth century the central nave was eliminated and the type of multi-domed oblong structure was evolved. The type was in vogue in the latter part of the fifteenth and the earlier part of the sixteenth century A.D., and quite a good number of examples have been found in different parts of Bengal.

This group has several sub-varieties, distinguished by the number of bays in the interior, such as (a) three-bayed, (b) five-bayed, (c) eleven-bayed, and (d) twenty-one-bayed. The three-bayed buildings are nearly square, the proportion between length and breadth being approximately 3 : 2. The bays correspond to the three *mihrāb* niches in the back wall and the three archways in front. Usually they are divided into two or three aisles by one or two rows of pillars. The domes are either six or nine, corresponding to the number of smaller squares formed by the arrangement of bays and aisles Buildings of this order are usually small and unpretentious, and among the examples may be mentioned the Salik mosque at Basirhāt[88] (Twenty-four Parganas), Bābā Ādam's mosque at Vikrampur,[89] Jālāl-ud-dīn's mosque at Sātgāon,[90] the mosque at Kusumba[91] (Rājshāhi district), the Kasbā mosque at Bākarganj and the Jahaniyan mosque at Gaur.[92] All these seem to have been erected between the latter half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century A.D.

The five-bayed buildings are long and rectangular structures with five *mihrābs* in the back wall and five frontal archways. They are divided into two or three aisles, and the number of domes is either ten or fifteen accordingly. Among the extant monuments of

this group should be mentioned the Majlis Sāhib's mosque at Kālna[93] (Burdwan district), the Tāntīpārā[94] and the Chhoti Sonā *masjid*[95] at Gaur, the old mosque at Hemtābād[96] (Dinājpur district), the Zafar Khān mosque (Fig. 24) at Tribeni[97] (Hooghly district), and the mosque at Bāghā[98] (Rājshāhi district). The group includes a few of the finest Muslim buildings in Bengal, and of these, the Tāntīpārā and the Chhoti Sonā *masjid* at Gaur merit special attention. The former (Figs. 25, 27), probably erected about A.D. 1480, has been described by Cunningham as "the finest of all the buildings now remaining at Gaur."[99] The long rectangular hall, 78 feet by 31 feet on the inside is divided into two aisles. Besides the five front arched openings, corresponding to the number of *mihrābs* in the back wall, there are four more, two each in the two side walls. There was also probably an upper platform at the northern end. The ten domes in two rows of five each, which spanned the building, have all fallen down, as also a part of the arched façade. Yet, even in its ruined state it is one of the finest of all the Muslim buildings in Bengal on account of its rich and effective ornamentation in terracotta and the large decorated panels that stands out in relief against the plain walls. The rich colour of red bricks also adds to the beauty of the building in contrast to the gaudy glazed bricks facing the Lotan *masjid*. The Chhoti Sonā *masjid* (Figs. 26, 29) was built by Wali Muhammad in the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh (A.D. 1493-1519). It is a rectangular building, 70 feet 4 inches by 40 feet 9 inches on the inside, and the comparative increase in the width leads to the division of the interior into three aisles by two rows of four pillars each. The north-western corner of the hall is occupied by an upper platform. Besides the five front archways there are six more, three each in the side walls opening into the three aisles of the building. The central bay is spanned by three superstructures, each consisting of four flat segments meeting at the top in the shape of a curved thatched roof of Bengali huts. The four other bays are spanned by twelve hemispherical domes, slightly diminishing in size towards the outer ends and thus furnishing a slightly curved ensemble in conformity with the curved cornices of the building. The building is faced with stone, entirely on the outside and partially on the inside. There are carved decorations on the outer façade in very low relief, but they are more or less mechanical, and lack the spontaneity of the exquisite ornamentations in the Tāntīpārā mosque. Traces of gilding are to be found on the inside of some of the domes of the Chhoti Sonā *masjid*, and this may probably account for the name by which it is known now.

The eleven-bayed mosques are rather rare, only two being known so far. They are the Bari Sonā *masjid* at Gaur[100] and the

Sāth Gumbad mosque at Bāgerhāt[101] (Khulna district). The increase in the number of bays leads to an inordinate length of the composition, which is sometimes sought to be compensated by increasing the width by adding to the number of aisles. The number of domes spanning the building corresponds to the number of subdivisions of the interior space by the arrangement of bays, aisles and corridors. The Bari Sonā *masjid* at Gaur (Fig. 28), erected by Sultān Nasrat Shāh in A.D. 1526, is a massive rectangular building, 168 feet by 76 feet, with six corner turrets, four at the four corners of the hall and one at either end of the corridor in front. The hall is divided into three aisles by two rows of ten pillars each, and is preceded by a corridor running along the whole front and separated from the hall by another row of ten ponderous pillars. There are eleven arched entrances to the hall as well as to the corridor, corresponding to the eleven *mihrābs* in the back wall. Three side-openings at either end lead to the three aisles of the hall and one each to the corridor. Three bays in the north-west corner of the hall were occupied by an upper platform. Forty-four domes, in four rows of eleven each (three over the aisles of the hall and one over the corridor), originally roofed the building; but of these only the eleven over the corridor now remain. The mosque was built of bricks, entirely faced with stone on the outside and up to the arch-springs on the inside. Like the Chhoti Sonā *masjid*, it also appears to have been originally gilded, but being sparingly adorned it attains a greater simplicity and impressive dignity, and Fergusson was inclined to regard it as "perhaps the finest memorial now left at Gaur."[102] The arcaded corridor offers, no doubt, an impressive view, as also the massive stolidity of the buiding. In front of the building is an immense quadrangle, about 200 feet square, with three arched gateways on the east, north and south. The Sāth Gumbad at Bāgerhāt is another example of the eleven-bayed mosque in Bengal. It is associated with the name of Khān-i-Jahān 'Alī, and consists of a long rectangular building, internally 134 feet by 96 feet, divided into seven aisles by means of slender pillars, each aisle communicating with an arched opening in each of the two side walls. In front there are eleven archways corresponding to the eleven *mihrābs* in the back wall, the central one being larger than the side-ones flanking it. The immense building is spanned by seventy domes in seven rows of ten each, separated by seven hut-shaped vaults covering the central bay. The façade introduces some unusual features. The cornice, instead of being curved in the usual Bengali fashion, exhibits a straight edged slope from a triangular pediment over the central bay. The corner turrets are

round, instead of being polygonal, and each of them has an upper story pierced by two arched openings and covered by a dome.

The mosque with twenty-one bays may be said to represent an extreme exaggeration of the tendency of imparting grandeur and effect to a building by multiplying its parts and thereby increasing its size. It is this tendency which, stage by stage, led to the multiplication of bays and aisles. But this multiplication should apply to both the bays and aisles, as such a procedure in one direction only is likely to lead to a loss of proportions and to an inordinate increase of size in one direction only. This is exactly what happened in case of the single example of the twenty-one-bayed building, extant now, namely the Bāradwāri mosque at Chhota Pāndua[103] (Hoogly district), now in a ruined condition This mosque, along with the minar adjacent to it, is supposed to have been erected by Shāh Saif-ud-dīn, a nephew of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, in the fourteenth century A D. But such a date appears to be rather too early for the mosque, as the style evidently indicates a much later age, and it is not unreasonable to infer that it belonged to the period of the multi-domed type of mosques under discussion. Its plan and arrangement, too, place it as one of the late manifestations of the type It is a long rectangular block, externally 231 feet by 42 feet, and was divided on the inside into three long aisles by two rows of twenty pillars each. The pillars are of varying shapes and designs, and were apparently collected from a number of older edifices. Corresponding to the twenty-one *mihrābs* in the back wall there were as many frontal archways, and three more in each of the two side walls opening into the long aisles. The *mihrāb* niches were well carved, and the pulpit, a miniature stone platform with a dome-shaped canopy carved out of a single block, is graceful and well designed The entire building was spanned by sixty-three low domes (many of which have fallen down) in three long rows of twenty-one each It is unfortunate that the inordinate length of the building has not been compensated by a corresponding increase of its width. The elevation, again, falls far too short to compare favourably with the horizontal dimensions With its low elevation and a length nearly six times its breadth, and with its regular and monotonous features, the building looks more like a military barack than a place of worship.

The fourth, the single-doomed type with corridors running along the three sides, is represented by a single specimen, the Qadam Rasul at Gaur[104] built by Nusrat Shāh in A.D. 1531. It consists of a rectangular hall, 19 feet square, with corridors running along the front and two sides. The hall itself has three doors, one in

front and one each on either side. The corridor has three frontal archways, supported on short and ponderous stone pillars, and two more on the two sides. The hall itself is covered by a single dome with a lotus-like pinnacle at the top, and the corridors by flat vaulted roofs. At each corner there is an octagonal turret surmounted by a stone pillar. Except for the stone pillars supporting the archways in front, it is built of bricks and the façade is highly ornamented by horizontal bands and panels of carved brick.

The first type represented by the great Ādīna mosque at Hazarat Pāndua, may be said to be characteristic of the fourteenth century A.D., and the second seems to have been in vogue till approximately the third quarter of the fifteenth century, though in the outlying districts stray examples of the type may be found still later. The third type was common since the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Sultāns Husain Shāh and Nusrat Shāh being two of its eminent patrons. The fourth cannot be dated earlier than the second quarter of the sixteenth century

Only a few buildings of the secular order have survived in Bengal. The massive Bāisgazi wall at Gaur[105] is supposed to have been a part of the palace precincts, but nothing now remains of the royal palace itself. In the capital city of Gaur several gateway buildings are still extant, and of these the one, known as the Dākhil Darwāza,[106] represents a conception of more than ordinary interest. According to an inscription, it was built during the reign of Bārbak Shāh (A D. 1459-1474), very possibly as the principal gateway to the citadel of Gaur (Fig. 30). It is 75 feet in length across the front, 60 feet in height, and nearly 113 feet in depth from front to back with a long arched passage, 24 feet high and with guard-rooms on either side, carried through its centre Immense though its dimensions, the huge bulk has been broken up and diversified by alternating effects of light and shade imparted through projections and recesses. At each corner stands a tall and substantial circular bastion, tapering as it goes up and surmounted by a cupola at the top. The arched passage is set within a prominent arched bay that boldly projects forward. The surfaces, so diversified, are further enriched by a judicious distribution of ornamental work in terracotta. Entirely built of bricks, the Dākhil Darwāza at Gaur may rank as one of the most remarkable monuments of Muslim architecture in Bengal.

Another notable conception may be found in the Fīrūz Minar (Fig. 31) at Gaur[107] which towers high above the crumbling ruins of the ancient city. It rises to a height of about 84 feet in five storeys, the three lowest being do-decagonal, and the upper two circular. The top of the tower has collapsed; it is possible that it was terminated

by a dome. Being of brick fabric, the decorative work has been carried out in terracotta in minute and intricate patterns. Colour is also applied to the surface by the use of glazed tiles in blue and white. In Bengal glazed tile ornamentation had been the characteristic mode of lending colour to the brick surface as well as relief to the terracotta ornamental work It adds, no doubt, a contrast to the rich red texture of brick, but the combination of the two cannot be said to have been always happy. Another minar, named also after Fīrūz, may be seen at Chhota Pāndua [108] It is about 120 feet high and also divided into a number of storeys It is a much simpler structure and lacks the elegant appearance of its counterpart at Gaur. The girth at the bottom is much too large in relation to the height of the structure.

"Islamic architecture of Bengal is not a style of building of a very impressive kind."[109] The difficulty of obtaining stone in the flat plain of Bengal, and the consequent wholesale dependence on brick for constructions of a more permanent kind, resulted in the evolution of distinct forms and idioms, some of which might have existed in the earlier period The style that was developed as a consequence may be designated as the 'brick style' of Bengal. It was the weak and fragile nature of the material that was responsible for the low elevation of the buildings, the comparative insignificance of the arches, and the smallness of the domes. The narrow pointed arches were, no doubt, resorted to avoid wide open spaces and thus to ensure greater stability to brick constructions The dome was assembled in concentric courses of flat bricks, gradually diminishing in circumference, one above the other, until at the top it was spanned by a single brick or stone slab. This primitive method, followed probably in imitation of the earlier practice of the trabeated dome, limited the size and height of the domes Brick was also responsible perhaps for the projected pendentives at the corners used for the support of the circular dome over a quadrangular space The heaviness of the building has also been due to a desire for ensuring permanence to the brick structure, and this, together with its low elevation, lends an effect of squatness to the structure as a whole. The brick construction was also responsible for the heavy and short pillars that support the arches and vaults, the solidity of these supports being necessary for redeeming the inherent weakness of brick as a building material. Their design and division into the characteristic sections recall those of the tall stone pillars with which we are familiar in the pre-Muslim days. The short and stunted pillar is one of the chief features of Muslim architecture in Bengal, and provides a striking contrast to slender arcades of Muslim monuments elsewhere

On account of the above limitations of the building material the architects in Bengal tried to create effect by reiterating the parts and thereby enlarging the dimensions of the building. But mere dimension without any corresponding increase of height fails to achieve the desired end and, not infrequently, leads to a loss of balance and organic unity. Again, the reiteration of the same elements,—bays, aisles and domes,—leads to an effect of monotony, and there is no other relieving feature to redeem it. It is reasonable to infer also that the relative meagreness of bricks stimulated the artists to devise, as compensation, the rich ornament in terracotta that seems to be the glory of Muslim architecture of Bengal. The designs were pleasing so long as there were variety and boldness of conception in them; but later they merged into mere mechanical patterns endlessly repeated. Abstractly conceived, the earlier antecedents of many of these designs were inspired by a desire for giving decorative effect to constructions in brick, which by its flatness has very little scope for variegation of light and shade. Curved cornice is one of the distinctive characteristics of the Muslim buildings in Bengal, and this form may originally be traced to constructions in bamboo or timber, a popular building medium in Bengal from the earliest days. The hut-shaped superstructure, over the roof and in juxtaposition with the semi-circular dome, is also characteristically Bengali Percy Brown thus sums up the achievements of the architects of Muslim Bengal· "What they achieved may not have been a great art, but its constructive principles were sound, its appearances were inventive and original, and it was peculiarly suitable to the climate and to the purpose for which it was intended."[110]

B. *Jaunpur*

The city of Jaunpur was founded in A D. 1359-60 by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq as a strategic military outpost and remained for a time the chief city of an important dependency of the Delhi empire. In A.D. 1394 the governor of the province shook off the allegiance to Delhi and established an independent kingdom with Jaunpur as its capital. This independent kingdom lasted for nearly a century till it was re-absorbed into the Delhi empire by Sultān Sikandar Lodī During this period, under the able and intelligent patronage of the Sharqī kings, Jaunpur became a leading centre of artistic and cultural activities, and saw the erection of many imposing monuments including palaces, mosques, tombs, etc. Unfortunately, very few vestiges of this architectural splendour can now be seen. Of the few surviving remains of the fourteenth century, when Jaunpur was a province of the Delhi Sultanate, mention may be made of the

mosque and fort of Ibrāhīm Nāib Bārbak,[111] built respectively in A.D. 1376 and 1377. Of the fort, only the eastern gate can be seen now, and this, as well as the mosque, were, more or less, simple and ordinary productions. Neither of the two can be said to have a distinctive feature worthy of note. The foundation of one of the earliest mosques at Jaunpur, afterwards called the Atala *Masjid*,[112] was laid in A.D. 1377, but it was not till A.D. 1408 that Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī erected the mosque on this foundation As its name indicates, the mosque occupies the site of an earlier temple dedicated to the worship of Atala Devī, and it is largely the materials of the earlier temple that were utilized in its construction. Built on the orthodox plan, it consists of an open square court, measuring 177 feet each side, with colonnaded cloisters on the north, south and east and the sanctuary or prayer chamber on the west The cloisters are pierced in the middle of each side by a handsome gateway building, the northern and the southern ones being each covered by a dome. The spacious cloisters are each five aisles in depth and rise up in two storeys, the upper covered by a flat roof Of the lower storey two aisles, forming a range of cells with a pillared verandah, open on the outside. This outer arrangement of a part of each cloister is, no doubt, a novel feature in the mosque design. But the most arresting feature in the entire composition is the façade of the sanctuary where three huge propylon screens confront the spectator with their massive and overpowering dimensions Each of these has battering sides, not unlike the pylons of the Egyptian temples, and the huge bulk is relieved by tier upon tier of arched niches within rectangular frames. Each pylon, again, contains a large arched recess leading to the entrances of the nave and of the transepts at the sides, the screen in the inner end in each case having in the upper section trellised windows in a number of rows for admission of light into the interior. The central pylon with the entrance to the nave is the largest and is flanked by two smaller ones accommodating entrances to the two transepts. It is the arrangement of these massive propylons which gives the façade a bold and individual appearance and constitutes the most distinctive element of the style.

The interior of the prayer chamber (Fig 32) is divided into a central nave and two transepts, one on either side. The rectangular hall of the nave shows an arrangement of arches and arcades in three vertical stages, square in the lowest, octagonal in the second, and sixteen-sided in the third, the last in the shape of an arcaded triforium supporting the great ribbed dome spanning the hall. The side arches in the lowest stage open into the transepts, while in the upper stages the screened arches provide for the admission of light

into the nave. The transept on either side of the nave is a long lateral hall which, by an arrangement of pillars, resolves into an octagonal bay in the centre covered by a smaller dome. At the extreme end this hall is disposed in two storeys, the upper, with stone grilles around, constituting the ladies' gallery.

In spite of its original character, many of the features of the Atala mosque seem to have been borrowed from the Tughluq architectural tradition The shape of the recessed arch, its fringes of spear-heads, now almost an ornamental motif, and the battering sides of the pylon enclosing the arch recall the typical characteristics of the Tughluq buildings at Delhi. The combination of the trabeate and arcuate systems of construction in this mosque is also evidently derived from the same source The treatment of the rear wall of the sanctuary (Fig. 33) with its three boldly projecting surfaces, corresponding to the three compartments in the interior, each with its projecting bay in the propylon in front, and to the three domes of the roof, adds, no doubt, an individual note to the Atala mosque The tapering turrets at the corners of the projections and at main angles of the building are, again, evidently imitated from similar elements of Fīrūzian architecture

In the composition of the Atala mosque we have a new and bold conception of mosque which became characteristic of the Jaunpur style of Indo-Muslim architecture The few subsequent monuments that remain now were built essentially on the model of the Atala, which came to be regarded as the touchstone of the style The substantial portals in the middle of the three cloisters are caught up by the vast and massive pylons in the façade of the sanctuary, and together they produce an effective ensemble As a whole, however, the mosque cannot be regarded architecturally as a success The incongruity of the different elements of the composition and a lack of harmony in their inter-relation are too glaring, and the building fails to denote that structural propriety which is prerequisite of all good architecture.

Another mosque, the Jhanjhirī *Masjid*,[113] built also by Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī about A D. 1430, although now in a dilapidated condition, deserves more than a passing notice. Only the massive pylon in the centre of sanctuary façade now remains; but it seems to have been a copy, on a smaller scale, of the Atala *Masjid*. The entire surface, however, is covered by an exuberance of carvings, and the rich plastic effect, produced thereby, endows the monument with more than ordinary interest. The Khālis-Mukhlis *Masjid*,[114] built also about the same period, is a rather plain and simple structure of hardly any architectural interest.

About the middle of the fifteenth century was built the small mosque, known as the *Lāl Darwāza Masjid*[115] (Fig. 34) on account of its vermilion-painted gate. Marshall[116] describes it as "a small but pale edition of the Atala" of which it is only two-thirds in size There are, however, certain divergences, the most important being its single propylon, much lower in height in comparison to its width at the base. The ladies' galleries in the *Lāl Darwāza* are, again, situated in the parts of the transepts adjoining the nave, instead of at the far ends as in the Atala. The sanctuary, moreover, has a single dome over its nave, the roofs of the transepts being differently disposed. Further, each of the cloisters is two aisles in depth and rises in only one storey. These are important differences, no doubt, but not sufficient enough to mark the *Lāl Darwāza* as an individual and original conception, apart from the Atala

The *Jāmi' Masjid*[117] (Fig. 35), built by Husain Shāh Sharqī about A.D. 1470, is the largest and most ambitious of the Jaunpur mosques. It is essentially of the design of the Atala which it reproduces on a larger scale. There are differences, of course, between the two in matters of detail, and in certain aspects a few of these betoken a certain inventiveness and originality on the part of the builder of this grand mosque. The entire structure is raised over a lofty basement terrace, not unlike the *tahkhāna* basements of the Fīrūzian mosques at Delhi, and the lofty domed portals in the middle of the cloisters are approached by imposing flights of steps The cloisters are two-storeyed in elevation, like the Atala, but are only two aisles in depth. There is only one propylon (Fig 36) in the middle of the sanctuary façade, but much more imposing in dimensions than the central propylon of the Atala mosque In the interior the prayer chamber has five compartments, the central nave being disposed in very much the same fashion as in the Atala Adjoining it on either side there is a pillared transept in two storeys, the upper with screens around forming the ladies' gallery. At the far end on each side is a vaulted wing, certainly a unique feature in compositions of this kind Each wing measures 50 feet in length, 40 feet in width and 45 feet in height, and the spacious interior, unencumbered by supports of any kind, might, by itself, be regarded as an imposing conception The construction of the wide pointed vault which spans the wing at each end is also ingenious and effective.

The story of the Jaunpur architectural style closes with the *Jāmi' Masjid* which was the last to be erected in this doomed capital city. In spite of its apparent grandeur, the Jaunpur style has some inherent defects. The domes of the sanctuaries are invariably masked from view by the towering heights of the massive propylons.

To a certain extent the execution, again, is coarse, and this feature adds to the rugged strength of the monuments. The style begins with a fresh spirit and high aspirations. But the builders themselves seem to have been incapable of achieving what they attempted to do. Their greatest drawback is a lack of sense of structural propriety, and this is clearly evident in every one of their buildings which, though to a certain extent beautiful and impressive so far as certain single parts are concerned, fails to reach the level of a balanced and integrated architectural composition

C. *Mālwa*

The existing Muslim monuments at Mālwa bear evident traces of the impact of the Delhi Imperial style in many of their forms, decorative motifs, and structural practices, such as "the battering walls and pointed arch with spear-head 'fringe' of the early Tughluqs, the arch-lintel-bracket combination of Fīrūz, the 'boat-keel' dome and pyramidal roof of the Lodīs,"[118] etc.

It would be wrong, however, to describe the Muslim monuments of Mālwa as slavish imitations of Delhi. The elements and features borrowed from the different phases of the Imperial style were skilfully integrated into balanced and unified compositions, noble and distinctive in their appearance. Marshall[119] describes the buildings of the Mālwa Sultāns, particularly those at Māndū, as "truly living and full of purpose, as instinct with creative genius as the models themselves from which they took their inspiration" "Part of their distinctiveness", he continues, "they owe no doubt to their impressive size and part to the remarkable beauty of their stone work which under the transforming effects of time and weather takes on exquisitely beautiful tints of pink and orange and amethyst; but in a large measure their distinctive character is due to peculiarities of construction and ornament, to the happy proportions of their component parts or to other more subtle refinements that do not readily admit of analysis."

The monuments of Muslim architecture in Mālwa are almost all concentrated in the city of Māndū Although Dhār or Dhārā was the ancient capital of the Paramāras, where the Muslim Governors of Mālwa established themselves in the fourteenth century A.D.[120] Māndū became the capital of the independent State of Mālwa, early in the fifteenth century. As elsewhere, the early buildings, specially the mosques, in Mālwa were assembled out of the materials of desecrated Hindu temples, according to the Islamic plan and convention; but nothing seems to have been done in the initial stage either to conceal or alter their essentially Hindu appearance. The extant re-

mains of this phase of improvised building activity belong to a period not earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. They are the Kamal Maula *Masjid*[121] (c. 1400), the Lāṭ *Masjid* (A.D 1405),[122] Dilwār Khān's *Masjid*[123] (c. 1405), and the mosque of Malik Mughīs[124] (A.D. 1452) at Māndū. In a few of these an attempt was made to hide the original appearance and improve the improvised design by re-dressing the earlier materials to suit the requirements of the new buildings, and introducing pointed arches in between the pillars. The effect is not altogether displeasing. Because of their lightness these arch-shapes seem "to spring from pillar with an aerial grace"[125] and lend to the hall a subtle and refined appearance.

Reference has been made above[126] to the fortress of Māndū, the most magnificent of all the fortress cities of India. It stands on an outlying spur of the Vindhyas, separated from the main plateau of Mālwa by a deep ravine, and had been named as Shadiābād or 'the City of joy'. The original fortification goes back to the Hindu period, and Hūshang Shāh must have laid the foundation of his fort on the old ruins. With him began the second classical phase of Mālwa Muslim architecture He made Māndū not only one of the most impregnable fortresses in India, but also a city of splendid magnificence by erecting a large number of stately edifices which rank among the finest monuments of Muslim architecture in India on account of their boldness of design and graceful finish

Along the edges of the plateau on which the city stands run the battlemented walls of grey basalt extending over a length of more than 25 miles "and pierced at ten points by arched and vaulted gateways, or rather series of gateways, which guard the steep approaches."[127] All these gateways, however, do not seem to have been built in the same period. Those that were erected during the régime of the Mālwa Sultāns were, more or less, of uniform design. One of the earliest to be erected is the northern gateway, known as the Delhi Darwāza,[128] and this, though now in a mutilated state, enables one to have an idea of the general arrangement and forceful character of such buildings. This grand portal consists of a long and wide passage with massive archways at the front and back, and with guard rooms on either side. The passage was covered by an elongated vault supported on a series of smaller arches providing the interior with an appearance of no mean interest and effect. The main archways in their shapes and spear-head fringes recall those in the tomb of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq at Tughluqābād (Delhi), but here they are more virile and massive in construction to suit the purpose of the building for which they were meant. The Tārāpur

gateway[129] on the south-western fringe of the city was also built at the same time, but later additions and renovations have almost obliterated its original appearance.

Once the whole plateau within the walls was covered with splendid buildings, but only forty structures now survive in different stages of preservation. The largest and the most impressive of them is the great *Jāmi' Masjid*[130] which, according to an inscription, was begun by Hūshang and completed by Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī in 858 A.H. (A.D. 1454). A spacious example of its class, it occupies a quadrangle, 288 feet by 271 feet, and has an imposing domed entrance hall with a wide flight of steps projecting from the middle of the eastern side. It is, by itself, a noble conception and appears to have been exquisitely decorated by borders and panels in glazed tiles. Its fairly substantial dome, harmoniously picked up by the three domes of the sanctuary at the back, adds to the coherence of the design Two other subsidiary entrances of smaller dimensions are also provided in the north

Like many of the mosques at Delhi, the *Jāmi' Masjid* (Fig. 37) at Māndū is raised over a lofty plinth with a series of arcaded chambers in front. The courtyard in the interior, a square of 162 feet, is surrounded on all the four sides by arched cloisters These cloisters (Fig. 38) are all of the same design, with the only difference, that while the eastern cloister has only two aisles, the northern and southern have three each, and the prayer chamber on the west, five. The last is further distinguished externally by three large domes—one over the central compartment containing the principal *mihrāb* and one over each of the royal galleries at the rear corners. Besides these three large domes, a number of small cylindrical cupolas, corresponding to the interspaces formed by the division of the cloisters into bays and aisles, compose the entire formation of the roof. On each side of the courtyard, the arcaded frontage of eleven bays constitutes a pleasing composition characterized by breadth and spaciousness, while the interiors of the cloisters (Fig. 39) present an impressive effect of solemn dignity on account of the repeating rows of arcades, one within the other There is very little ornament or relief in the building. Its chief qualities are balance and measured movement. But still the effect is not one of barren vacuity. The courtyard presents a fine panorama of arcaded bays, and the façade with its arcades and harmoniously proportioned porticos is aglow with judicious treatment of the constituent elements of graceful lines, curves and planes.

The remarkable Durbār hall, known as the Hindolā Mahall[131] (Fig. 40), is usually attributed to Hūshang, and its general style and

appearance lends support to this attribution. "Few buildings in India", says, Percy Brown, "present a more striking appearance, or are more solidly constructed than this amazing pile."[132] In spite of its massiveness, few, again, create such an illusion of swaying lightness. In plan it is shaped like the letter 'T', the stem of the 'T' forming the main hall and the cross constituting a group of apartments in two storeys. Externally the building is 156 feet in length and 56 feet in width, the transverse bar of 'T' being 112 feet. The inordinately thick walls batter in a pronounced manner, and the illusion of swaying, thus created, has given the structure its curious name, the Hindolā Mahall or the 'swinging palace'. There are six deeply sunk arched openings on each of the longer sides of the hall, and three similar ones in the front wall Each of these openings contains a doorway below and a window above; the arch-heads of the doorways and the windows seem to have been originally screened by delicate traceries. The interior (Fig. 41) is one large hall with an uninterrupted space, measuring 95 feet by 25 feet and 32 feet high, with five boldly fashioned wide ogee arches seemingly supporting the flat roof. The transverse section, forming the cross bar of 'T', differs from the main hall in being two-storeyed The interior arrangement of each storey is also a little more intricate. The ground storey has a cruciform gallery ending in an archway opening on to the main hall, while the upper, which overlooks the main hall, consists of two compartments, the one rectangular and the other placed transversely on its side The transverse section is further relieved by oriel windows on its free sides. The neatly chiselled masonry gives to the building a very graceful appearance on the outside, which is further enhanced by its plain battering walls of smooth texture, wide archways of noble proportions, continuous eave supported on brackets, and oriel windows forming elegant balconies. A decidedly dignified effect may also be recognized in the fine sweep of the interior with its bold ogee-shaped arches The Hindolā Mahall, although a curious structure, is not without a parallel in India, and an almost exact copy may be found in the fort at Warangal, built about fifty years later

Opposite the *Jāmi' Masjid,* the large structural complex, known as the Ashrafi Mahall,[133] comprises a group of buildings successively built in course of a rather long period The original nucleus seems to have been a *madrasa* building, erected as an adjunct to the Great Mosque, possibly during Hūshang's reign. It was a structure of one storey, designed in the form of ranges of halls and apartments round a spacious open court. Subsequent building operations at the site enveloped a large portion of this structure, and only a part consisting of an arched corridor with ranges of chambers

at the back can now be seen. During the reign of Mahmūd Khaljī the *madrasa* building was converted into an elaborate terrace to support the mausoleum of that sovereign. By filling up the *madrasa* court was obtained an immense plinth, in the centre of which was erected the royal mortuary chamber. A grand flight of steps in the west, projecting from the front of the *madrasa,* led to a pillared portico, and the entire conception of such an approach with arched loggias on either side is at once imposing and impressive. Only fragments of the tomb chamber now remain. The *madrasa* quadrangle had a bastion at each corner. The north-eastern bastion was subsequently developed into a lofty tower by Mahmūd Khaljī to commemorate his victory over Rāṇā Kumbha of Chitor. Built of a greenish marble-like stone it rose up to seven storeys (*Haft Manzil*), each being distinguished by a projected balcony, as Jahāngīr refers to in his *Memoirs.* An ambitious project, as it was, it must have presented a spectacular appearance, when entire. It is not unlikely that the conception was inspired by the celebrated victory tower of Rāṇā Kumbhā at Chitor, built slightly earlier to commemorate the defeat of the Mālwa Sultān by the Rāṇā. The Sultān, in his turn, erected his own triumphal column as a reply to that of his rival. But while Kumbha's tower still stands after a lapse of five centuries, the greater portion of the Māndū tower has collapsed, apparently because of its poorer construction

According to Firishta the tomb of Hūshang[134] was built by Mahmūd Khaljī, "but considerations of style", Marshall observes, "are in favour of Hūshang himself having been the author".[135] It is probable, however, that it was begun by Hūshang and completed by Mahmūd. The tomb (Fig. 42) stands behind the *Jāmi' Masjid* in the centre of a square enclosure, which is approached through a domed portico on the northern side. The west end of the court is occupied by a colonnade divided into three aisles, with a narrow rectangular hall at the back and a smaller hall at each end. In the centre of the extensive courtyard stands the mausoleum building—a square structure supported on a broad plinth and surmounted by a large central dome with an engaged cupola at each corner The plinth is 100 feet each side and the building itself 86 feet each way. There is an arched doorway flanked by two smaller screened windows on the south, while on the north there are three similar trellised windows. The walls, diversified by a stylobate, horizontal bands of masonry over the arched passage and screens, and projecting eaves on brackets and battlemented crestings, rise to a height of over 31 feet. The height of the dome, which has a circumference of about 170 feet, is 40 feet above its base Although built with a white marble facing, the surface of which is relieved with fine trellised

archways and occasional passages of colour, the tomb has the appearance of "a stolid and sombre pile".[136] To a certain extent, again, it lacks elevation and poise because of the shortness of the drum which supports the dome. The later mausoleum buildings such as the tomb of Daryā Khān,[137] the Dai kā Mahall,[138] the Chhappan Mahall,[139] etc., built on the same design, profit by this initial example, and although of smaller dimensions, they exhibit a far greater sense of balance and harmony.

A long structural complex, situated between two lakes, known as the Kapur Talāo and the Muñja Talāo, has certainly a romantic setting. Because of its situation it seems to float in water like a ship and it is probably this that has suggested the curious name, the Jahāz Mahall[140] (Fig. 43) or the Ship-Palace, for the complex. It is a long and massive structure, some 360 feet in length along the water front, the width, including the thickness of the walls, being less than 50 feet. The lower section of the building has a fine arched façade beautifully aligned along the water front on each side. The central archway in the eastern façade, which forms the principal entrance to the interior, is set forward a little and is distinguished by a marble pilaster on each side This is surmounted by an overhanging pavilion topped by a vaulted pyramidal roof. Over the archways of this façade there runs a broad eave supported on brackets, and over the eave there are battlemented crestings picked up in glazed tiles. The interior has a complement of three longitudinal halls separated by transverse compartments. The halls are covered by flat vaults supported on massive arches, while the compartments have each a barrel-vaulted roof. At the back of the central hall and over the Muñja Talāo projects a square pavilion in two storeys, the upper being covered by a dome At the northern end there is a large reservoir of pleasing design with colonnades all around. From the western colonnade a flight of stairs[141] leads up to the roof which is an immense terrace, 205 feet by 48 feet, commanding an excellent view of the surrounding plateau. At either end of the terrace there is a rectangular pavilion roofed by a domical vault in the centre and a pyramidal one on each side. In design as well as in construction, the building thoroughly expresses an excellent taste and high technical skill. The fine arched halls of the complex, the airy kiosks and pavilions of various shapes and groupings on the roof, all illustrate a joyous and hilarious mode, in keeping with the pleasant surroundings of this beautiful structure. It has an effect which presents a strong contrast to the solid dignity of the buildings already mentioned. Though the date of its construction is not definitely known, its general style is in accord with the pleasure-loving character of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Khaljī, the builder of Turkish

baths and other structures designed to increase the luxurious amenities of the royal palaces.

The other buildings that merit attention in this vast conglomeration of ruins are associated with the names of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī whose romantic tales of love still echo through every vale and dale of Māndū. A lonely building on the slope of a hill by the side of the Riwa Kund in the southern part of the plateau is known to the local people as Bāz Bahādur's Palace,[142] though, according to an inscription, it was built by Sultān Nasīr-ud-din, son of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Khaljī, in 914 A.H (A. D. 1508-09). Apparently because of its picturesque situation, Bāz Bahādur had taken a fancy to it and used it as his own favourite residence From the Riwa Kund a long flight of forty steps with several landings leads up to the palace which is a pleasingly designed structure of two quadrangular compositions of arcaded cloisters, preceded in front by an outer court with a gateway portal The bigger quadrangle consists of a spacious court with ranges of apartments (Fig. 44) in the cloisters around and, in the centre, a beautiful square reservoir with flagged steps in the middle of each side The southern cloister, which is in a comparatively fair state of preservation, consists of a long rectangular hall divided into three bays by squat arches supporting the vaulted ceiling. At either end of this hall are a couple of rooms, while at its back is a long flat-roofed apartment from which a flight of steps descends down to the second quadrangle. This is of smaller dimensions and is surrounded by similar arcaded cloisters, that to the south being double-aisled. A flight of steps in the thickness of the wall of the northern section of this quadrangle leads up to the spacious terrace having two beautiful open pavilions at the north-east and north-west angles. Apart from its picturesque situation, the building has very little architectural grandeur, and belongs evidently to the period of decline when the Māndū style had lost much of its forcefulness and energy which characterized its earlier phase

The building associated with the name of Rūpamatī[143] stands on the southern edge of the plateau and, as its situation and form indicate, was, in all probability, designed for military purposes. The nucleus of the building seems to have been a low but massive hall with a room at either end. The arcaded walls batter considerably and terminate in battlemented crestings. The batter of the walls reminds one of the Tughluq buildings at Delhi, and the characteristic Tughluq fashion is already expressed at Māndū in the Hindolā Mahall. This part of the complex, it is possible, goes back to the days of Hūshang or to a period slightly later. At a subsequent date, along the slope of the hill, supporting the original block, was added a base-

ment, with arms projecting from its northern and southern ends, respectively, towards the east and the west. The walls of the basement also batter like those of the original block. This later complex is also composed of arcaded halls, that in the western arm containing a large reservoir in the interior. It was probably at this period that an open pavilion covered by fluted dome (Fig. 45) was built over the terraced roof of the original block at either end. It is these pavilions overlooking the plains of the Narmadā that are particularly associated with the fair name of Rūpamatī.

Many other monuments, in various stages of preservation, still stand at Māndū, but it is not possible to take account of all these in the compass of a short chapter. The above representative examples will give an idea of the architectural grandeur of the place, and will no doubt indicate that the monuments were fully in accord with the marvellous natural surroundings amidst which they were placed The lofty plinth and the stately flights of ascending steps give a notable dignity and substance to these buildings, while the arcaded façades show a judicious distribution of solids and voids. In the use of sandstone of a lovely red shade, freely picked up by marble and other kinds of tinted stones, and the embellishment by encaustic tiles to enliven the whole, the Māndū builders evinced a rare sense of colour, which takes a prominent part in the architectural scheme and forms an inseparable constituent in agreement with the pageantry of colour that meets the eye all around.

D. Gujarāt

Among the different provincial forms of Indo-Muslim architecture that of Gujarāt is admittedly the most remarkable, as no other architectural style tells the tale of the fusion of Hindu and Muslim building traditions with such unmistakable distinctness. As noted above, Gujarāt was first conquered by the Muslims during the rule of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī It was certainly a fortunate coincidence that Gujarāt came in contact with the Muslim building tradition when it had attained its brilliant expression at Delhi under that Sultān. Equally fortunate is the fact that in this territory the tradtions of a pre-existing indigenous school were still strong and vigorous.[14]
Characterized by a breadth and spaciousness, so unusual in pre-Muslim days, and with its chaste and graceful elegance, this style had all the necessary elements to satisfy Muslim taste. Further, the innate skill of the Gujarāti artists and craftsmen in the manipulation of the purely decorative elements brought their style very close to Muslim ideals of good architecture. In no other country or territory could the circumstances be more favourable for a happy

blending of two alien architectural traditions. These fortunate conditions led to the growth and development of a distinct and individual style under the fostering care and zeal of the Muslim Sultāns who ruled over Gujarāt as independent potentates for nearly two centuries.[144a]

The foundations of the new style may be said to have been laid already in the fourteenth century when Gujarāt had not yet broken away from its allegiance to Delhi. In the earliest period of occupation, the Muslim governors, as elsewhere, used native materials along with native builders and craftsmen, and some form of structural conversion may actually be noticed in the Tomb of Shaikh Farīd and the Ādīna or *Jāmi' Masjid*,[145] both at Patan (Anahilapattana). These two represent, more or less, improvised compositions with materials from earlier Hindu and Jain temples. The *Jāmi' Masjid* at Broach,[146] though improvised in a similar manner, was assembled according to the typical mosque plan with a quadrangular court having three entrances on the three sides and the sanctuary at the western end Moreover, an improvement of the design is recognized in the care with which older materials have been adjusted for fitting them in the conventional mosque design There is, however, very little attempt to impose any Muslim idea on the new building, except the minimum necessitated by Islamic conventions. This is particularly noticeable in the open-pillared façade of the sanctuary The arched façade, which is almost a ritualistic convention with Islamic religious buildings, is found to be absent, not only in this early improvization but in many of the later mosques belonging to the phase of original construction.

The *Jāmi' Masjid* at Cambay,[147] erected in A D 1325, may be regarded as a typical building of the early phase of Gujarāt Muslim architecture (Fig. 46) It has all the appurtenances that Islām demands—cloisters, open courtyard, the entrance porches, the covered place for prayer in the western cloister with the *mihrāb* and the *mimbar*—, but only the west end is in any sense Islamic The pillars of the cloisters are, no doubt, relics from sacked Hindu and Jain shrines. In the entrance porches, which also seem to have come principally from older temples, there are many things that may fairly be described as literal copies of Hindu work as distinctive units in the established plan of a Muslim mosque. The exact parallels of these porches may be seen in the *maṇḍapas* of Hindu and Jain shrines, still standing, for instance, at Modhera and Mount Ābū. The Cambay mosque is further important, as here, along with evidence of spoliation of earlier buildings, a stage of synthesis between the two building traditions is clear and manifest The sanctuary at the

western end, instead of being open-pillared, like the *masjid* at Broach, has an arched façade in the manner of conventional mosques. Moreover, the alternately narrow and broad courses of masonry proclaim a familiarity with the Islamic building tradition at Delhi, and the prominent central arch has a distant Persian affiliation. The arches, however, are constructed on the Hindu trabeate principle, and the engrailed arch between the two front pillars of the central bay is distinctly of temple extraction This last element, it should be emphasized, is to figure prominently in the shape of a graceful flying arch within the central openings of the façades of the mosques of the subsequent phases. With its elegant proportions and dignified form, the Cambay *masjid* is the first example of an intelligible mosque design in Gujarāt, and may be said to have set the standard for the subsequent monuments to follow. It eloquently announces the beginning of a fruitful contact between two potent architectural traditions that ultimately led to the growth and development of a new and distinctive style.

The Mosque of Hilāl (or Buhlūl) Khān Kāzī[148] at Dholka, (Fig. 47), erected slightly later (A D 1333), is of the same character as the Cambay mosque It is of smaller dimensions, but two ornamental turrets, one on either side of the central archway of the sanctuary facade, add a notable innovation and complete the typical mosque design of Gujarāt. Indigenous in design as well as in workmanship, these turrets anticipate, in a way, the tall slender minarets of later Gujarāt mosques It is to be observed however that the Gujarāt architects, possibly because of their unfamiliarity with the ideas and intentions of the minarets, have never been successful in the manipulation of this important element of the mosque design The Tanka Musjid,[149] also at Dholka and built about A D 1361, is generally of the same order as the preceding, but being of the open-pillared variety bears a predominantly Hindu appearance

With Ahmad Shāh I began the great period of Gujarāt Muslim architecture. This forceful personality ascended the throne in A.D. 1411, and commemorated this event by founding a new capital city, called Ahmadābād after him He began beautifying his new city with magnificent and stately edifices Inspired by his zeal, his successors, as well as nobles and officers of the court, erected mosques, tombs and other structures. Ahmadābād, to quote Firishta, was turned into "the handsomest city in Hindustān and perhaps in the whole world"

A few mosques at Ahmadābād, undertaken during the early part of Ahmad Shāh's reign, may be said to have prepared the way

for the grand *Jāmi' Masjid,* described by Fergusson as "one of the most beautiful mosques in the East".[150] Ahmad Shāh's mosque[151] within the citadel (Figs. 48, 50) seems to have been the earliest in this series. It was modelled on the *Jāmi' Masjid* of Cambay, but with indications of a slight advance in the treatment of the buttresses on two sides of the central archway. The mosque of Haibat Khān[152] (Fig. 49) belongs to the same type, but the prominent bastions on the exterior of the back wall of the sanctuary reproduce a distinctive feature of the Fīrūzian style at Delhi. The mosque of Sayyid 'Ālam,[153] said to have been built in A.D. 1412, contains several instructive elements, including the provision of an intermediate storey in the shape of a triforium, all of which anticipate distinctive features of the style that is to reach its full expression in the grand *Jāmi' Masjid.*

The far-famed *Jāmi'* mosque at Ahmadābād[154] (Fig. 51), erected in A.D. 1423, is justly regarded as the touchstone of the Gujarāt Muslim style. It occupies a quadrangle, 382 feet by 258 feet externally, and has four cloisters on four sides of the open courtyard, 255 feet by 220 feet. It is in the western cloister (Figs. 52, 53), i.e. the sanctuary proper, that the most instructive and distinctive features are found. This consists of an immense hypostyle hall, 210 feet by 95 feet internally, with 260 tall pillars closely and carefully spaced to form a series of square bays. The number of such bays is fifteen, each being covered by a dome The central portion of the nave rises in the form of a tall shaft—a rotunda except for its square and octagonal shape in the lower and upper stages—literally in three storeys as the area around the shaft in the upper section is disposed in two balustraded galleries, one above the other, with richly carved traceries around. The aisle on either side of the nave is similarly disposed, except that, being planned with a lesser height, it has only one upper gallery. The extreme wings are each one-storeyed, except for the hanging gallery for the *zanāna* in the northern end. Apart from the richly carved pillars and galleries. the latter in the form of clerestoreys deflecting and reflecting light in the interior, much of the elegant effect of the interior has been obtained by the differing heights of the successive compartments

This scheme of division and diversification is likewise repeated in the façade which not only has a pyramidal effect leading step by step from the two ends to the central nave, but exhibits also a variegated articulation in the arched and colonnaded schemes harmoniously combined. The former, occupying the middle, has a large central archway forming the entrance to the nave, flanked on two sides by two smaller ones leading to the two aisles. The central archway springs from two richly moulded buttresses which once

supported minarets that have now collapsed. The arches of this middle division are elegantly spaced and balanced and have the most graceful outlines; and contrasted to this scheme is that of the two wings at the extreme ends formed of pillars with arch-shaped brackets and shaded at the top by sloping eaves Percy Brown rightly notices in the entire scheme "a subtle contrast between the volume and strength of the wall surface and airy lightness of the colonnade" and declares the façade to be superb as a composition of solids and voids.[155]

The *Jāmi' Masjid* at Ahmadābād, according to Percy Brown,[156] ranks as "the high watermark of the mosque design in Western India, if not in the entire country" In this monument the Gujarāt Muslim architecture reaches a rational development by assimilating intellectually the lessons derived from the buildings of the earlier phase of experiments The phenomenal advance achieved in this superb creation owes, no doubt, a good deal to the appreciative patron who seems to have been a genius gifted with a fine and elegant taste and a lofty vision as well The most eminent features of the monument would bear recapitulation. The interior with its diversified sections and its array of graceful pillars is splendid, and, further, with its richly carved galleries, its rich and intricate traceries and arabesques the effect is chaste and at the same time elegant The admirable composition of the façade, broken up an' diversified with all its well-proportioned parts, its shapely and expansive arches, its engaged buttresses richly moulded, its carved mouldings, string-courses and battlements, all combine to make it one of the noblest architectural compositions in the whole world

Much of the composition of this magnificent structure was certainly the handiwork of indigenous craftsmen and derived from the Western Indian temple style. Some scholars find in the stepped pyramidal composition an echo of the pyramidal lines of the Indian temple. While there may be divergences of opinion on this point, there can be no doubt that the form of the pillars, of the buttresses flanking the central archway, and the decorative detail as a whole are Indian. The domes, too, are built up in the indigenous trabeate system The extreme wings, too, reproduce the indigenous principle. These features exerted a permanent influence on the Gujarāt Muslim style, and all are repeated in the subsequent buildings, "though seldom with better effect than here".

It is interesting in this connection to refer to Fergusson's comparison between the *Jāmi' Masjid* at Ahmadābād and the great temple at Ranpur, some 160 miles away, which was being built at about the same time by Rāṇā Kumbha of Mewār Fergusson's

observation that both the monuments belong to the same school of architectural design is clear and unequivocal He feels, however, that there is more poetry in the temple, but concludes that "there is a sobriety about the plan of the mosque which, after all, may be in better taste".[157]

The *Tin Darwāza*[158] or 'Triple Gateway' (Fig. 54), forming the main entrance to the outer enclosure of the royal citadel, belongs apparently to Ahmad Shāh's reign, and is a production of rare architectural dignity It consists of three archways of equal height, the central one, however, being of wider dimensions than the other two. The arches are bold in conception and graceful in outline and are delicately set off against richly carved buttresses projecting from the front of each pier. Another notable feature may be recognized in the relief given to the parapet on each side by three elegant oriel windows supported on brackets.

Muslim architecture in Gujarāt may be said to have reached its characteristic expression in the reign of Ahmad Shāh; during the next two reigns the quality of the style was maintained unimpaired His successor, Muhammad Shāh, is also known to have been a builder of note He completed the tomb of Ahmad Shāh[159] in an enclosure to the east of the *Jāmi' Masjid* specially marked out by that greater ruler Further east, the *Rānī-kā-Hujrā*[160] or the tomb enclosure for the royal ladies was also apparently completed during his reign The tomb of Ahmad Shāh is a square building with a portico projecting from the middle of each side, the southern one forming the entrance Within each corner between the projections is a small square chamber covered by a dome Between the chambers are pillared aisles enclosing the tomb chamber which is covered by a large single dome The aisles are closed from without by perforated stone screens Though not of very great architectural merit, particularly in its present environments, the tomb is nevertheless important as it introduced a funerary type which came to be popular in this part of the country The *Rānī-kā-Hujrā* consists of a square open court enclosed by an arched screen with columned cloisters both inside and out On a platform within the court are arranged richly carved and lavishly inlaid cenotaphs which in their refined grace and elegance may be said to have been fitting memorials to the pretty damsels of the royal harem.

At Sarkhej, about six miles to the south-west of Ahmadābād. Muhammad Shāh built the tomb (Fig. 55) and mosque of Shaikh Ahmad Khattri. a famous Muslim saint who died in A D 1446. Thus was initiated a building activity at this place which was later to levelop into an architectural complex of no mean artistic significance

The tomb of the Shaikh consists of a square chamber in the centre with a concentric series of four aisles separated one from the other by slender pillars. The central chamber is covered by a large single dome and the aisles by smaller domes over the bays formed by the arrangement of the pillars in the aisles. On the outside the aisles are closed by stone lattices, while panels of brass "fretted and chased and tooled into an infinite variety of patterns"[161] separate the tomb chamber from the aisles The entire composition occupies a square of 104 feet side and is the largest of its kind in Gujarāt. The mosque, as a whole, partakes of the usual design, but the sanctuary is of the open-pillared variety and is of the same height throughout The absence of the formal arched façade and of the minars probably detracts, to a certain extent, from its character as a sanctuary. As an architectural composition, however, it is of considerable interest on account of its chaste simplicity and classic restraint.

The brief reign of Qutb-ud-dīn, the next ruler, is not also a blank in respect of building activities He is the author of the Hauz-i-Qutb Tank at Kankariyā[162] in the vicinity of Ahmadābād, and the builder of a mosque at Ahmadābād, called Qutb-ud-dīn mosque[163] after him Though neither is of great architectural merit, the first at least is an expression of the pleasure-loving tendency of the ruler He is also reputed to have built a mosque and a tomb at Rājāpur in memory of Sayyid Buddhā bin Yāqūt[164] These two, combined to form a *rauza*, were designed on a considerable scale, but failed to be a convincing production In the mosque certain innovations are noticed in the arched formation of the wings in place of the customary open pillars. But the central bay with its heavy minarets seems to be too overpowering, and out of all proportion to the rest of the façade. But if the buildings associated with the name of the ruler failed to be inspiring, two monuments, one at Ahmadābād and the other at Dholka, erected during his reign by his officials, seem to suggest new trends The tomb of Daryā Khān[165] at Ahmadābad. (Fig 56), bearing the date A D 1453, and the mosque of Alif Khān[166] at Dholka (Fig 57) seem to have many things in common and are permeated by the same spirit, Percy Brown[167] is inclined to believe that they were works of the same hand. Both these monuments were built of bricks, instead of stone, and naturally arches constitute the principal feature of the composition in each case The Dholka mosque is damaged to a very great extent, but the tomb of Daryā Khān is in a fair state of preservation It consists of a square tomb chamber surrounded by an arcaded corridor, the central chamber being covered by a large dome and the corridor by smaller ones, the domes in each case being supported on arched squinches For

this reason some scholars presume in the structural procedure an impact of the Persian architectural tradition There can be no doubt that due to the limitations of the material used in these buildings, the arch was used more as a structural expedient than as a conscious adoption of an Islamic principle. It is true also that after this the arch is found to be increasingly employed in Gujarāt. It cannot be denied, however, that the Gujarāti builders were more at home with their own traditional trabeate system and more used to think in terms of pillar and lintel. It appears, therefore, that whenever they had to use the arch they accepted it rather grudgingly.

The famous ruler, Mahmūd Begarha (A.D. 1458-1511), was a passionate builder, and it was during his reign that the Gujarāt Muslim style reached its most sumptuous expression. His architectural undertakings were many and varied, and distributed throughout his dominions. He founded three new cities and adorned each with many splendid edifices. Of these, Chāmpāner, about seventy-eight miles to the south-east of Ahmadābād, was designed to be the capital city, and was planned and completed on a grand and lavish scale befitting its exalted position. Ahmadābād, the old capital and already a city of great architectural magnificence, was not ignored, and received further embellishments in the shape of new and stately buildings Again, at Sarkhej was raised a vast palace complex with gardens, pavilions, artificial lakes, etc., besides other monuments on the same lavish scale. Of these the secular monuments have suffered a good deal, but mosques and tombs that now remain furnish an ample idea of the sumptuous character of Begarha architecture The mosques, with very few exceptions, follow the pattern already established. In the tomb designs different modes may be noticed. A sumptuous wealth of decorative detail distinguishes every monument of this phase. whether a mosque or a tomb

Among the surviving monuments of this phase many take the shape of what is usually known as a *rauza*, i.e. a tomb and mosque combined to form one conception. The mosque in such a scheme has usually no arched facade, but is of the open-pillared variety The tomb usually takes the form of a square mortuary chamber encircled by a number of aisles, sometimes with a projecting portico in front. The pattern is already known in the earlier phase. The tomb of Sayyid Usmān (A.D. 1460)[168] at Usmānpur, a suburb of Ahmadābād on the opposite side of the river Sabarmati, is one of the earlier monuments of this kind belonging to the Begarha period. It is a well-balanced production consisting of a square mortuary chamber inside a double aisle of pillars. This chamber is covered by a substantial dome resting on a dodecagonal base over twelve

pillars skilfully arranged in the centre of the hall. This dome is surrounded by smaller domes over the outer aisle. The concentric arrangement of a number of aisles, one within the other, already noticed in a hesitating form in earlier tomb compositions, has reached here a logical and rational expression In its harmonious proportions, in the skilful disposition of its parts, and in its breadth and spaciousness, it ranks as one of the most successful sepulchral designs carried out in the pillared style at Ahmadābād. Two other eminent productions of this mode may be seen in the tombs of Bībī Achūt Kūkī[169] (A D. 1472) (Fig 58) at Ahmadābād and of Mahmūd Begarha[170] at Sarkhej.

Fundamentally the above tomb design undergoes very little modification, except that the arch comes to be increasingly used in the composition, as seen in a number of mausoleums in Gujarāt The tomb of Shāh 'Ālam[171] (c. A D. 1475) near Ahmadābād (Fig 60), built on the same scheme as above, has an outer arcade filled in with perforated screens, and within this there is a colonnade encircling a square compartment, which was enclosed by traceries This innermost traceried compartment forms the mortuary chamber which is covered by a dome. This concentric arrangement of a number of compartments, one within the other, and particularly the skilful and minute execution of the traceries lend the monument an almost casket-like appearance In the Begarha period the arches are found to be increasingly applied in the composition of sepulchral monuments in a manner that leads to production of a new mode of tomb design Among a number of tombs of arched composition, two merit special attention One is the tomb of Qutb-ul'Ālam[172] (c A.D 1480) at Batwā, some six miles to the south of Ahmadābād, and the other is that of Mubārak Sayyid[173] (c A D. 1484) at Mahmūdābād (Fig 59), about seventeen miles to the south-east of that famous city The former is a large square building with a portico projecting from its southern end. Of the usual concentric arrangement, the exterior shows a double arcade encircling two inside aisles, again of arcaded formation. The inner aisle encloses the cenotaph chamber which rises in two storeys, the upper being surmounted by a fair-sized dome In the conscious and consistent acceptance of the arcuate composition, and in its convincing application, this tomb represents no small advance on the earlier design. Still, there are indications of a certain vacillation, usual in the initial stage of every new mode.

In the tomb of Mubārak Sayyid (Fig 59), however, all signs of hesitancy disappear, leading to the creation of one of the most convincing monuments of this class Though of slightly smaller dimensions, it is very much of the same design as the Qutb-ul 'Ālam tomb,

and Fergusson[174] suspects that both were designed by the same architect. Certain differences may, however, be noticed in the tomb of Mubārak Sayyid. Instead of being double-storeyed, like the Qutb-ul 'Ālam tomb, it is single-storeyed, though the elevation of the central compartment beyond the height of the surrounding aisles results, in effect, in a simulated upper storey which is surmounted by a substantial dome. The contour and poise of this central dome have parallels in the Lodī monuments in far-off Delhi, while the kiosks at its base, again representing a pleasing innovation, seem to have been derived from the same source. In view of the simplicity of its plan, the organic unity of its total design, the solidity and balance of its parts, and, above all, its constructional proprieties, Fergusson describes it as one of the most beautiful of its class in India

A brief refernece may be made to a few more mosques The mosque in the *rauza* of Sayyid Usmān,[175] of the open-pillared scheme, is perhaps the earliest of the mosques to be erected during the Begarha period Another specimen of the open-pillared scheme is the small, but exquisite, Rāṇī Sīparī mosque[176] at Ahmadābād, built in A.D. 1514. It stands by the side of the tomb of the same queen (Fig. 61) Except the minarets at the two ends of the pillared frontage the mosque has hardly anything Islamic about it, the design of all other important details being in the indigenous Indian tradition. In a way such a monument proves Fergusson's[177] dictum regarding the Gujarāt Muslim style that "as the style progressed it became more and more Indian" The Rānī Sīparī mosque has been described by Fergusson as 'the most exquisite gem at Ahmadābād" Marshall also supports this estimate of Fergusson "East or west", says Marshall, 'it would be difficult to single out a building in which the parts are more harmoniously blended or in which balance, symmetry and decorative rhythm combine to produce a more perfect effect. The mosque is a small one—only 48 feet by 19½ feet —but this very smallness is an asset in its favour, since the delicate traceries and jewel-like carvings of Gujarāt, suggestive as they are of an almost feminine grace, show to less advantage in bigger and more virile structures."[178] One other mosque of this type, but not so ornate in expression, is that of Shāh Khūb Sayyid[179] (A.D 1538) at Ahmadābād. It is perhaps the latest example of this series.

The type of mosque with an arched screen in front of the sanctuary is evidently modelled on the grand *Jāmi' Masjid* at Ahmadābād, but the combined arched and pillared frontage, as seen in the archetype, soon disappears and gives place to a continuous arched façade along the entire front. The mosque of Miyān Khān Chishtī[180] at Ahmadābād, built about A.D. 1465, is in design and

dimensions, an exact analogue of the mosque of Bībī Achut Kūkī[181] (Fig. 62), also at Ahmadābād and built in A.D. 1472. The two together may be regarded as representing the style of the early Begarha period. The sanctuary in each has a three-arched screen with a richly sculptured minaret shooting high up on either side of the central archway. The interior, as usual, is a hypostyle divided into three compartments, each of which is surmounted by a dome. The compartment forming the nave is raised higher to form a clerestory over which is placed the central dome. In the entire design there is a clarity which, in each instance, enhances greatly the effect of the building. The tendency to increased richness, a characteristic of Begarhan architecture, is seen not only in the finer and more varied carvings on the buttresses of the minarets, but also in the attractive motif of the oriel windows projected from the exterior walls, each filled in with a tracery of exquisite design and fineness. This motif of the oriel window supported on brackets and shaded by a wide eave, and taking the shape, more or less, of a shallow balcony, is distinctly an adaptation of the earlier indigenous pattern, probably of secular origin. This motif, though occasionally used in the monuments of the earlier phase, now comes to be applied as a regular ornamental feature and with increased effect, and adds to the modulation and relief of the walls.

The type seems to have set the pattern for the age and is found to be repeated, with hardly any variation in the design, till the absorption of the kingdom of Gujarāt in the empire of Akbar. With the progress of the building activity there is recognized an increased enrichment by superb and the most delicate carvings. The mosque of Muhafiz Khān[182] (A.D. 1492) (Figs. 63, 64), Bāī Harīr's mosque[183] (c. A.D. 1500) and the Queen's mosque[184] (Fig. 65), also known as Rānī Rūpavatī's mosque (c. A.D. 1515), all at Ahmadābād, represent some of the ornate expressions of the prevailing style. Among these, the first is considered by competent critics to be a pre-eminent production on account of its exquisitely refined details executed in the most elegant and flawless taste. The Gujarāti builders seem to have been perfect masters in the art of minute carving, and this art is found to be in its apogee in the magnificent tracery work of the Sīdī Sayyid mosque[185] at Ahmadābād belonging to the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. The mosque is rather a simple and unassuming building, and illustrates a distinct departure from the usual mosque design of Gujarāt. A definite innovation, and an unusual one in the context of Gujarāt, is furnished by an entirely arcaded interior of the sanctuary hall. But the fame and reputation of the mosque rest not so much on the originality or unconventionality of

its design, as on its superb window screens (*cf*. Fig. 66) which fill in the tympanums of the arches. There are ten such screens—three in each of the two side walls and four in the rear wall of the sanctuary. Of these, the screens at the sides and the two in the extreme bays of the back wall are each cut up into small square panels which are filled in with foliate and geometric forms of varying designs. Gujarāt has long been familiar with such a pattern of the tracery, and the skill in handling such a tracery and executing it on hard stone has been admirable enough, but the two screens on either side of the central *mihrāb* of the Sidi Sayyid mosque, surpass everything of the kind executed before. The pattern in each consists of 'tree, plant and foliage designs', intertwining with one another and evenly spread over the entire surface. "What makes these windows so supremely beautiful", writes Marshall, "is the unerring sense for rhythm with which the artist has filled his spaces and the skill with which he has brought the natural forms of the trees into harmony with their architectural setting."[186] It is only an Indian genius with an extraordinary fertility of imagination that could revel in such a bewildering wealth of patterns, and only an Indian artist, gifted with an infinite technical skill arising out of a long heritage and tradition, who could carve it to such perfection These traceries unmistakably prove that the tradition of the artists of the Dilwārā temples was not yet extinct.

In A.D 1484 Mahmūd Begarha captured Chāmpāner from a Hindu chief and built a new capital city there. Among the surviving monuments of this once splendid city, the most imposing is the *Jāmi' Masjid*[187] (Fig. 67) which was completed in A.D. 1508. Modelled on its earlier namesake at Ahmadābād it is designed on much the same plan, though some variations in certain details may be recognized, for example, in the disposition of the façade and that of the roof The façade (Fig. 68) consists of five archways, each of a pointed shape, the central one inside the bases of the minarets being larger in dimensions. The roof of the naye rises much higher than those of the compartments on either side, which are of equal height throughout The arrangement of the domes is also different. In the exterior (Fig. 71), as well as in the interior, the Chāmpāner mosque exhibits a much richer effect. The stately entrance gateways (Fig. 70), leading to the mosque enclosure, with their varied and sumptuous carvings, add to the dignity and beauty of the scheme. The richer treatment of the enclosing walls, and particularly of those of the sanctuary, with richly moulded buttresses and oriel windows effectively relieves the monotony of the walls and betokens the affluent state of Begarha architecture. The tall nave of the sanctuary rising up in three successive tiers, with the sumptuous treatment of the clerestory galleries

and of the soffit of the central dome, poised high, provides the interior with an impressive dignity.

Fergusson[188] has described the *Jāmi' Masjid* at Chāmpāner as "architecturally the finest in Gujarāt", but this estimate is not unanimously accepted. However rich and accomplished its single parts and details might be, it falls short of the *Jāmi' Masjid* of Ahmadābād in respect of organic unity. As Marshall observes: "Its parts are neither so well proportioned nor so successfully co-ordinated. The elevation of the prayer chamber is too cramped; the minarets flanking the main archway overpoweringly heavy; and the transition from the side wings to the central hall altogether abrupt."[189] What is this lack of organic design due to? Marshall attributed it to an exhaustion about this period of the faculty for composition on a grand scale which distinguished the architecture of Ahmad Shāh. There may be some truth in such an explanation. But other forces might also have been at work The increasing use of the arch and the dome is found to be a characteristic feature of Begarha architecture, indicating, perhaps, an increasing imposition of Islamic conventions. The Gujarāti artists, who were no doubt responsible for the production of the monument, do not seem to have been as much at home with these structural methods as with their own traditional pillar and lintel system It is just possible that the imposition of these not too familiar ideas might have something to do with such drawbacks as a rather incoherent design and want of co-ordination in the otherwise splendid *Jāmi' Masjid* at Chāmpāner.

The difficulty felt by the Gujarāti architects to adapt themselves to new techniques and new ideas is also illustrated in the minarets which never came to be fused into the mosque scheme as a happy and harmonious element The Gujarāti builders tried to manipulate them in different ways, but with very little success. In the arched type of mosque they were placed on either side of the central archway, while in the open-pillared type they were relegated to the extreme corners of the façade But whatever their position, they looked much too overpowering and heavy, particularly because of the prominent emphasis in the façade on the horizontal effect, thereby impairing the symmetry of the entire design. Even in the *Jāmi' Masjid* at Chāmpāner which, in spite of the defects of composition mentioned above, is regarded as one of the splendid monuments of the Begarha period, the minarets look much too incongruous with the rest of the design. The disappearance of these features from the *Jāmi' Masjid* or Rāṇī Rūpavatī's mosque at Ahmadābād may thus be regarded as architectural gains leading to superbly balanced and

organic effect of the façade design. Some improvement was sought to be effected by reducing the height of the minarets and increasing that of the prayer chamber, as we find in the mosque of Muhāfiz Khān at Ahmadābād, or by transforming them into mere ornamental and symbolic appendages of much reduced girth, as we find in the Rāṇī Sīparī mosque and in that of Shāh Khub Sayyid, both at Ahmadābād. No doubt, certain improvements resulted from such manipulations; yet the minarets failed to be successfully integrated into the scheme. It is not without reason that in a few of the later mosques the minarets were altogether eliminated from the design.

A close examination of the bases supporting the minarets is also instructive inasmuch as they are found to be derived from the earlier indigenous tradition. They project as prominent buttresses from the façade and correspond to the lower sections of the Hindu temple with all their characteristic mouldings along with vertical facets and rich decorative designs. They introduce an intricate play of light and shade in the otherwise flat façade Every form and every detail may be found at Siddhapur or Patan, Moḍhera or Mount Ābū, Chandrāvatī or Somanātha. The variation is noticed only in one particular. Whereas in the corresponding sections of the temple appear niches with figure sculptures, in the mosque they are filled in with tracery. And not a few of the tracery motifs are clearly of Hindu extraction.

Another characteristic form of the Gujarāt Muslim style may be seen in the step-wells, known as the *wāv*. The practice of making these wells prevailed in the pre-Muslim period and the existing tradition and mode of construction were taken over and considerably developed by the Muslim rulers These wells consist of a circular or octagonal well-shaft and an inclined stairway which descends down to the level of the water by means of flights of steps with regular landings at intervals. The landings are constituted as pillared galleries which, superbly designed and provided with such ornamental features as hanging balconies, etc , served as cool and quiet retreats in the heat of the summer. Two of the most eminent examples of such step-wells are Bāī Harīr's *wāv* (Fig. 72) at Asarwa,[190] near Ahmadābād, and the one at Adālaj,[191] some twelve miles north of that city, both being built about the same time.

The circumstances under which the Muslim style of Gujarāt developed have been broadly stated above. In their building aspirations the Sultāns of Gujarāt were fortunate in coming in contact with a band of very highly accomplished Indian artisans with centuries of artistic tradition behind them. The Muslim rulers were not slow to recognize the merits of these artisans and take advan-

tage of their skill. What is more, with a rare catholicity they abstained from imposing their own ideas, beyond the barest minimum demanded by the new conditions, and were content to adhere to the established traditions of the country. The genius of the West-Indian temple-builders was thus easily directed to the creation of structures of an entirely disparate order in the form of mosques and tombs. And this they did with the same remarkable aesthetic and constructive sense as in the case of the temples The fact that the inventive genius of the Indian craftsman had a comparatively free scope accounts for much of the imaginative richness of Gujarāt Muslim architecture. Balance and harmony, elegance of design, richness of decoration, and almost flawless execution are the key-notes of this new style in which Indo-Muslim architecture may be seen at its best. It has been often stressed that of all the styles that emerged under Islamic rule in India, that of Gujarāt remains the most indigenously Indian This unique character may best be explained as the product as much of a highly specialized local style as of a different kind of Islamic patronage

E *The Punjāb and the Deccan*

Besides the four provincial styles, noticed above, two other regional expressions of Indo-Islamic architecture may also be recognized, one in the Punjāb and the other in the Deccan. The former seems to have taken shape rather early, but the extant monuments are known to have undergone such large-scale renovations in successive ages that the forms in which they are now seen cannot be dated earlier than the Mughul period. The Deccanese style is known to have asserted its individual character under the Bahmanīs, but the trends and forms illustrating this individuality reach their complete expressions only during the succeeding phase which was largely contemporaneous with the Mughul rule A discussion of these styles is, therefore, reserved for the next volume.

F. *Rājputāna*

The establishment of Islām marked the close of a momentous epoch of Hindu architecture, the achievements of which have been recorded in the preceding volume. By A.D. 1350 Islām had established its authority over the greater part of India, as far south as the Kṛishṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā basin Under the shock of an alien rule and an alien faith the forceful Hindu styles felt stunned and ultimately disintegrated in the regions that lay prostrate Certain exceptions may, no doubt, be noted; but the general picture of Hindu architecture in the period under discussion may be described as one

of decline. In Western India the traditional skill of the Hindu builders found a new expression in the Gujarāt Muslim style. Rājputāna, which resisted for a long time the intrusion of Islām, seems to have maintained its former skill and tradition unimpaired to a large extent. The *Kīrttistambha*[192] of Rāṇā Kumbha (c. A.D. 1440) in Chitor fort is an eminent example of Rājput architecture of the fifteenth century A.D. It is a lofty and exquisitely ornamented tower rising up to a height of 122 feet in nine storeys, each storey being distinctly marked on the exterior. The successive tiers of projected balconies mingle judiciously with the elegant horizontal mouldings and build up a pattern which is further enriched by a profusion of architectural ornaments and figure sculptures The mass of decoration, Fergusson rightly notes, "is kept so subdued, that it in no way interferes either with the outline or the general effect of the pillar."[193] The pattern, as a whole, was certainly derived from an earlier tradition, and a prototype of this 'tower of fame' may be seen in a smaller tower,[194] also at Chitor, which appears to have been built in the twelfth century. Rāṇā Kumbha was a great patron of arts, and among his other architectural projects mention should be made of the great Chaumukha temple at Ranpur[195] (Jodhpur), which is extremely picturesque on account of its situation as well as of the varied composition of its superstructure, consisting of graceful domes and lofty spires commingling with one another and producing an effect of rich and romantic beauty. An ambitious conception, it consists of an immense number of parts of diverse shapes and designs, all pleasingly unified so as to produce a complete and organic whole. The variety and beauty of detail and the ever-changing play of light and shade in the interior create an impression seldom achieveed in buildings of this class. Such buildings as the above illustrate unmistakably the same efficiency and sense of balance and ornament that characterized the old Rājput art.

In palace architecture, also, the Rājputs are known to have made notable contributions The palaces, now surviving in Rājputāna, were either built during the Mughul period, or were so remodelled that their earlier patterns have been mostly obliterated. Mān Singh's palace in the fort at Gwalior[196] (Fig. 69) has been considered to be one of the finest of the Hindu palaces belonging to the pre-Mughul times. Built at a date slightly prior to the advent of the Mughuls, it illustrates, more or less, an indigenous style in palace architecture, and it is from this style that Akbar is known to have derived many useful ideas when designing his own palaces at Āgra, Fathpur Sikri and other places; as such it deserves more than a passing notice.

This remarkable and interesting example of an early Hindu palace is situated on the eastern scarp of the rock on which the fort stands. Externally, the dimensions are 300 feet by 150 feet, with a height of more than 80 feet on the eastern side. The flat surface is relieved on each face by tall rounded bastions of a singularly pleasing design, crowned by cupolas with domes of gilt copper, as Bābur once saw them flashing in the bright sunlight. Between the bastions there appear elegantly designed projected balconies. The façades are gracefully embellished with bold patterns, plastic as well as glazed. A singularly effective plastic design occupying the central division of the façade consists of a range of arcades with foliated struts. The glazed ornament in blue, yellow, and green, takes the shape of elegant bands of patterns with figures of men, elephants, tigers, birds, *makaras*, plantain trees, etc , and lends a charming and picturesque effect to the massive construction of the façades Much of this ornament has decayed and peeled off Yet, it represents a grand and ornate conception and we may quote an Englishman, Sir Lepel Griffin, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India; who saw it more than seventy years ago "The palace," he writes, "was once a mass of architectural and coloured ornament from base to summit Even in its ruined state its fine projecting towers, open-pillared central balconies and arrow-headed crestings make up a most unique pile. Situated at a height of 300 feet from the ground below, on the rugged rock, its pinnacles standing out against the sky, every artistic detail throwing others into relief, the entire frontage one mass of colour, and the domes crowned with golden spires, the general effect must have been very fine "[197]

The Hāthiyā Pol or the 'Elephant Gate', attached to the southern end of the eastern frontage, is in itself a product of high artistic merit and is in keeping with the striking design of the palace building It consists of a handsome domed structure with a massive bracket arch with rich corbels, the bracket shape being, to a certain extent, masked by two semi-circular bands of floral patterns The sides are effectively diversified by projecting balconies, perforated screens, and particularly by two boldly projecting rounded bastions, each roofed by a dome supported on pillars.

The interior of the palace consists of two highly artistic open courts, each with a suite of rooms on its four sides The courts are rather small in size, but in their rich treatment they are perhaps unsurpassed. Their smallness of scale and wealth of decorative detail, covering every available space, stand in significant contrast to the bold and massive conception of the exterior walls. It appears that these interior courts lacked the able guidance and supervision

of a master architect who might have planned and executed them in conformity with the noble and dignified conception of the outside. They are more the work of a decorator than of a builder. Yet, it contains many interesting features that are of a distinctly novel and ingenious character. The main body of the palace is divided into two storeys with additional underground floors along the eastern retaining wall for providing cool resorts in the hot weather. The open-pillared balconies in the uppermost floors overlook the open courts and add relief to the harsh four-square shape of the interior. The ingenuity of the builders is also shown in the different structural expedients employed for the support of the roofs, and the vault over a room in the south-east angle with ribs at the groins lends a charming effect to the interior. The different shapes and designs of the corbelled struts and brackets and their execution, the variegated shapes and rich mouldings of the piers and pillars, the perforated screens of various patterns, the round and foliated arches and the variously designed projecting eaves, including one of corrugated shape, are each a marvel of stone-carving, and the entire surfaces are covered with minute ornamentation in low relief and coloured glaze, lending a most picturesque effect to the view of the interior. In spite of the smallness of scale, Mān Singh's palace in the Gwalior fort furnishes us with a singularly pleasing conception, noble and dignified, and, at the same time, romantic and picturesque.

G. *Vijayanagara*

Reference has been made above to the establishment of the kingdom of Vijayanagara south of the Krishnā.[198] Founded with the avowed object of checking Muslim aggression, this kingdom remained as a strong and effective bulwark of Hinduism against Muslim advance in the south for a little over two centuries The capital city, Vijayanagara or the 'city of victory', situated on the south bank of the river Tungabhadrā, is now represented by the extensive ruins of Hampi.[199] In its palmy days it was one of the foremost cities in Asia, and glowing accounts of the power and prosperity of the kingdom and of the magnificence of the city have been left to us by a number of foreigners. Nicolo Conti, an Italian, and 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, an ambassador from Shāh Rukh, the son of Tīmūr, visited Vijayanagara in the first half of the fifteenth century, while two Portuguese chroniclers, Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz, came and stayed in the city during the reign of Krishṇadevarāya (A.D. 1509-29) when the kingdom was at the height of its prosperity. According to the testimony of 'Abd-ur-Razzāq the city of Vijayanagara occupied an area of about sixty-four square miles and had

seven concentric enclosures, each surrounded by strong fortifications. The three outer enclosures contained cultivable lands, while the four inner constituted the city proper, the royal palace and its precincts occupying the innermost quadrangle, the citadel proper.[200] The account of Paes[201] is particularly valuable for obtaining an idea of the magnificence of this great city. To Paes the city seemed to be "as large as Rome and very beautiful to look at". The palace of the king, he further states, enclosed "a greater space than all the castles of Lisbon." Paes also refers to the strong and massive fortifications of the city, its imposing gateways, its wide streets lined by beautiful houses, its elaborate and effective works of irrigation, its orchards, groves and pleasaunces, its many temples, market places and other amenities suitable to a royal city. After the disastrous battle, known as the battle of Talikota (A D. 1565), this splendid city fell a prey to the fury of the Muslims who wrought untold havoc and destruction. Yet, the remains that are still seen are significant as illustrating one of the most sumptuous phases of South Indian architecture

In this vast waste of ruins few secular buildings can now be seen intact. Nothing remains of the palace except the disfigured basements of a few of its buildings Two masonry platforms, apparently of large and imposing structures, deserve special mention as they are likely to help one to have an idea of the chaste and elegant character of the buildings of this order Of these, the one known as the King's Audience Hall[202] seems to have been part of a building of considerable dimensions The other is called the Throne Platform,[203] though Paes describes it as the 'House of Victory' erected by Kṛishṇadevarāya in A D. 1513 to commemorate his conquest of Orissa As the name of the first suggests, each was designed, very probably, as an audience hall, and Percy Brown is further inclined to describe them respectively as Halls of Public and Private Audiences in the manner of the palace designs in Persia and of the Mughuls. The original building in each instance seems to have been a pillared pavilion rising up in a number of storeys and ending in a pyramidal roof. 'Abd-ur-Razzāq described the King's Audience Hall as being "elevated above all the rest of the lofty buildings in the citadel." The considerable dimensions of the basement lend support to such a description. The basement of this immense hall rises up in three spacious stages, diminishing as they go up, embellished by bold and chaste mouldings and string-courses, completely in agreement with the substantial nature of the building. Over the platform, which is reached by elaborate flights of steps, there may still be seen sockets of six rows[204] of pillars, ten in each,

which supported the superstructure, now entirely gone. The Throne Platform is smaller in dimensions, but is decidedly the more ornate. Like the former, it also ascends in three diminishing terraced stages and is approached by balustrated stairways. The stages are separated one from the other by bold mouldings, the intervening wall surfaces being faced with elaborate carvings, depicting the various Puranic myths and legends

Because of the extremely fragmentary nature of the majority of the remains of the secular order it is difficult to understand clearly their designs and other arrangements. So far as can be judged, substance as well as ornament seem to have been the key-notes of such buildings. A few buildings of this order, each more or less in a fair state of preservation, may be seen in the Lotus Mahal,[205] the Elephant Stables,[206] and the two tower-like structures called, perhaps wrongly, watch-towers of the *Zanāna* enclosure.[207] The first is a square pavilion with doubly recessed corners and in two storeys; the different compartments, in which the upper storey is disposed, are surmounted by pyramidal roofs. Except for the arches and their piers, every other feature from the base to the summit is modelled on the prevailing indigenous tradition, and Longhurst seems to be wrong in classing it as Indo-Islamic. Incidentally, the superstructure of this small pavilion may serve as a clue to the lost superstructures of the two audience halls mentioned above. The building, now called, perhaps wrongly, the Elephant Stables, is, however, more emphatically Islamic in appearance and character. It is an extremely elegant and dignified structure having the best of proportions. Its fine ranges of arches in the façade, representing an entirely Islamic convention, are suitably balanced by the projected balconies on brackets[208] of the strict indigenous pattern. The graceful domes over the roof are again similarly counterbalanced by the square turret-like superstructure in the centre, apparently ascending in diminishing storeys. Here, in this striking building the Islamic and the indigenous conventions may be seen to have been blended in a harmonious and organic manner The two traditions are found to have adapted themselves successfully to each other. The two so-called watch-towers consist each of a tall and plain base supporting an upper storey with projected balconies on each side.

The sumptuous character of the Vijayanagara style is, however, most evident in its temples. A new resurgence of Hindu mind appears to have taken place, and the temples erected during this period constitute certainly the most eloquent testimonies to this upheaval. The static spell which seems to have spread over South Indian temple architecture is lifted, and a fresh inspiration is noticed

not only in additions of new complements to the temple scheme, but also in a far greater enrichment of every element and feature. The temple enclosure is now provided with a larger number of structures, apart from the main complex, such as pillared halls, pavilions and other shrines and adjuncts, and the increase in the number of such accessory buildings was no doubt necessitated by an elaboration of the rituals of worship. During this period two such accessory structures came to be regarded as indispensable elements in the temple scheme. One is known as the Amman shrine, which represents a subsidiary temple for the enshrinement of the consort of the divinity to whom the principal temple in the centre of the scheme is consecrated. This subsidiary temple, a smaller replica of the principal one, is placed a little behind it in the north-west. The other is known as the *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa,* an open pillared pavilion with an elevated platform in the centre for the exhibition of the images of the deity and his consort on ceremonial occasions. It is situated a little to the front of the central scheme slightly to its right Of the above two, the second is regarded as the more important, and is usually the most sumptuous structure in the entire scheme Besides these two, another structure, designed in the shape of a ceremonial chariot, forms, not infrequently, an important annexe of the scheme as a whole. The tendency towards emphasizing the external and accessory features during the preceding period has already been noted.[209] In the Vijayanagara phase such a tendency is also emphatically felt.

A temple of the Vijayanagara style is certainly sumptuous, and the intricacy, beauty, and exuberant wealth of its rich decorative details appear to be rather bewildering But a keen observer cannot fail to detect that howsoever elaborate and intricate the decorative treatment might be, there is always maintained a judicious balance between the structure and its ornament A structural feature, not unoften, may lend itself to an absurd and fantastic form, but the design of such a form is always determined by the shape and function of that feature This is particularly noticeable in the varied and ingenious designs of the pillars The pillars constitute a major architectural scheme in the temple complex as a whole The most frequent design is one in which the shaft becomes either a central core or a background for a group of statuary, of substantial proportions and carved practically in the round. Such statuary attached to the pillars takes the form of caryatids of such shapes as *yālis* or rampant hippogryphs with fighting riders and groups of soldiers; and in the treatment of such caryatids is often noticed the most ingenious and imaginative fantasy. Less complicated, but equally effective, is the pattern of the monolithic pillar consisting of a cen-

tral column with slender columnettes attached all around. Still more simple is a pattern in which the shaft is divided into zones, each zone being occupied by a miniature motif of the shrine itself, and the whole showing a succession of such motifs one above the other. To this simpler variety belongs also the pattern in which the shaft is divided into a number of cubical motifs separated by wide bands chamfered into eight or sixteen sides. Whatever the pattern, whether simple or the most complicated—the two often appearing alternately in the same composition—, the pillar, in spite of even the most ingenious treatment, does never lose its structural character and import. Similar is also the case with brackets, very often most elaborately treated, forming the capitals of the pillars. They are as ornate as the pillars themselves. The usual pattern is that of a pendant bracket elaborated into a volute which terminates in an inverted lotus bud. Continuous panels of sculptures, illustrative of various myths and legends, appear on the exterior surfaces of the walls and lend a rich plastic effect to the entire composition. The wide roll cornice with double flexture serves also as an important decorative motif, the undersides being invariably richly treated.

The sumptuous character of the Vijayanagara style of temple will be clear and manifest from the above general description. Many notable temples were produced in different parts of the kingdom, but it will be possible to refer only to the finest and the most representative examples which are generally centered in the capital From the foreign accounts Vijayanagara appears to have been as much a capital city as a city of temples, and a number of interesting temples may still be found extant in this deserted site. The temple of Pampāpati[210] is the most sacred; but the finest in the city are those of Viṭṭhalasvāmī[211] and Hāzāra Rāma,[212] erected during the reign of Kṛishṇadevarāya which represents the most flourishing epoch of the Vijayanagara kingdom Exquisitely ornamented in the manner described above, these two have been classed by some scholars as among the most perfect specimens of the Vijayanagara style. Both are fundamentally identical in design and decorative treatment The Hāzāra Rāma temple is, however, a much smaller composition, and as such consists of a smaller number of attendant structures. In fact, the group consists simply of the main complex, i.e. the sanctum and its *maṇḍapa* axially joined together, and the Amman shrine, the two being placed in a quadrangle enclosed by walls and entered through a *gopuram* in the east. In spite of its small size, its highly ornate character and its close proximity to the royal enclosure seem to distinguish it as the private chapel of the Vijayanagara kings. The *maṇḍapa* has three porticoes

projecting from its three sides. The roof is supported on a group of richly carved and highly polished squat stone pillars. The brackets, beams, as well as the undersides of the ceilings and the roll cornices are also elaborately ornamented. The sanctum, standing at the back of the *maṇḍapa*, is topped by a pyramidal tower of the usual *Drāviḍa* mode, built in brick and plaster. Indeed, during this period brick and stucco come to be increasingly used in the fashioning of such superstructures, the detailed ornament being usually done in the latter material. The friezes of sculptures on the exterior walls of the temple and its enclosure illustrate the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

The Viṭṭhalasvāmī temple is a larger and much more ambitious conception which, though begun as early as A D 1513, could not be completed, and the project had apparently to be abandoned after Talikota. The temple and its various appurtenances are situated within a rectangular court, 538 feet by 315 feet, i e nearly three times the size of the Hāzāra Rāma, enclosed by pillared cloisters all around and entered through three *gopurams*, now grievously damaged, on its three sides. The eastern *gopuram* formed the principal entrance to the temple enclosure The main complex is a long rectangular structure, aligned from east to west and consisting of three sections The entire scheme is raised over an exquisitely ornamented stylobate, and is terminated by deep roll cornices topped by parapets and small pyramidal rooflets in brick and plaster. The *maṇḍapa* is an open pillared pavilion with a projecting portico on each side, and this frontal adjunct, with its ranges of richly carved pillars of varied designs, constitutes one of the chief attractions of this central group Every feature in the interior, including the undersides of the beams, ceilings, cornices, etc., is elaborately ornamented, and if the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and the tower over the sanctum had been completed, it would have ranked as one of the most successful productions of South Indian temple architecture Various other appurtenances, such as the Amman shrine, the ornamental chariot of masonry, the *Kalyāna-maṇḍapa* and other pavilions, are disposed around this central scheme, each in its position specified by rituals Among these, the *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, in its bold and elegant design and exuberant richness, seems to have excelled even the principal scheme Fergusson is entirely justified when he says that the Viṭṭhalasvāmī temple "shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced."

Temples of similar magnificence may also be seen in other parts of the Vijayanagara kingdom and Fergusson refers particularly to a deserted temple at Tādpatri,[213] about 100 miles to the south-east

of the capital city, built by a governor of Kṛishṇadevarāya. As the treatment of the two *gopurams* of this temple indicates, this composition surpassed perhaps even the Viṭṭhalasvāmī temple. The perpendicular, i e. the lower, part of *gopurams* is usually comparatively plain, the figure sculptures being, as a rule, confined to the pyramidal, i.e. the upper, part. But in the two *gopurams* of the deserted temple at Tādpatri (one of them unfinished), the whole of the perpendicular part, to quote Fergusson, "is covered with the most elaborate sculpture, cut with exquisite sharpness and precision,......and produces an effect richer, and on the whole perhaps in better taste, than anything else in this style" It is temples like these, more than any other, that vividly recall the rich and lavish magnificence of the Vijayanagara style

The nucleus of a famous temple establishment in South India was usually a small village temple which gradually grew rich, and, with increasing wealth, was added to in successive ages. It is in this manner that the establishment took the shape of a vast complex of structures of many periods. Obviously no regular design or layout could be expected in the grouping of such fortuitous aggregates carried out in different ages, except that they were ranged in successive walled courts gradually extending outwards It is in the outer courts and their various aggregates that one may find a lavish display of magnificence, and though ineffective as a whole, the sumptuous beauty of individual buildings seems to arrest the admiration of every spectator.

The Vijayanagara sovereigns, in days of their greatness, were evidently responsible for large-scale additions to important religious establishments scattered throughout their dominions. To a certain extent such additions are recognizable by the presence of what has been described above as the distinctive characteristics of the Vijayanagara temple style The place that the *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* occupies in the temple scheme of this period has already been indicated It is interesting to find that in not a few of the famous South Indian shrines, these large and spacious halls appear, from their style, to owe their origin to the patronage of the Vijayanagara rulers. These open halls have flat roofs supported on richly carved pillars, regularly spaced, their number in each case depending on the dimensions of the hall. Whatever the number, they are usually known as thousand-pillared *maṇḍapas* and constitute an important appanage of every religious establishment of some note. Like the pillars, the ceilings are also decorated with a variety of elegant motifs, all in good taste, while the wide cornice, with double flexure extending all around, lends a distinctive note to the building as

a whole. When integrated with the general scheme they add to the beauty and dignity of the entire complex. Unfortunately, such an integration is of a very rare occurrence.

Among the *maṇḍapas* that may be assigned to the Vijayanagara epoch, mention may be made of those in the Pārvatī temple at Chidambaram (South Arcot district), in the fort at Vellore (North Arcot district), in the temples of Varadarājasvāmī and Ekāmbaranātha at Kāñchīpuram (Chingleput district), in the Jambukeśvara temple near Trichinopoly, and in the Mārgaśākheśvara temple at Virinjipuram (North Arcot district). Of these, the *maṇḍapa* in the Pārvatī temple at Chidambaram[214] appears to belong to an early phase in the epoch before the Vijayanagara temple style had reached its most affluent expression. It is a small porch hall of singular appearance, forming the entrance to the shrine, and is situated in the centre of a court surrounded by double-storeyed galleries. The situation itself gives it an individual character. The interior arrangement of the hall in aisles of varying depths separated by rows of richly carved pillars is also singularly pleasing The central aisle has pillars with engaged pilasters branching out at the top in a succession of elegant brackets to form a kind of vaulting for support of the roof. As a structural expedient the procedure is sound as well as effective, and the skilful but restrained manner of delicate carvings lends the hall a sober dignity which is hard to find in similar erections elsewhere.

The other *maṇḍapas*, referred to above, are more substantial in design and, at the same time, more ornate in conception. The *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* at Vellore[215] has been described by Percy Brown to be "the richest and most beautiful structure of its kind." The carvings of its piers with attached pilasters, its bracket shafts, etc, are exuberant as well as intricate, but in a manner that is neither extravagant nor overburdening. In the treatment of the piers occurs a motif of great vigour and forcefulness that was to become characteristic of Drāviḍa architecture of this and the later phases. This is the *vyālis* with rearing horsemen, which adorn the piers in front, and whose beginnings may be traced to the archaic motif of the sedant or rampant animals appearing for the first time in the seventh century A D. in the rock-cut architecture of the Pallavas at Mahāvalipuram. After a lapse of several centuries the motif reappears, in an oriented and more sumptuous form, to suit the luxuriant style of this period.

The *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapas* in the temples of Varadarājasvāmī and Ekāmbaranātha at Kāñchīpuram[216] display similar exuberance in conception and treatment, but the tendency to overcrowding mars,

to a certain extent, the view of the interior as a whole. The *maṇḍapa* in the Jambukeśvara temple[217] near Trichinopoly is, however, a more elegant and graceful architectural design. Extending from *gopuram* to *gopuram* and with one side opening on a tank fed by a perpetual spring, it has its pillars more widely spaced and its aisles disposed in varying depths and heights. The effect of the interior is, as a result, much more sober and dignified, in spite of the sumptuous character of the pillars and brackets. The Virinjipuram *maṇḍapa*[218] is, likewise, an effective conception due to the judicious distribution of spaces in the interior which compensates, in a way, for the unrestrained exuberance in the treatment of the pillars and brackets.

Tall and massive *gopurams*, forming entrances to the courts, lend a charming effect of picturesqueness to every notable temple complex of South India, and the Vijayanagara sovereigns were zealous in raising up such colossal gateways, in order to display their power and pomp as much as their ardent devotion to religion. In the previous volume[219] it has been observed how, from a comparatively small beginning, the *gopuram* tends to become higher and higher. In the Vijayanagara epoch this tendency reaches its supreme expression in a massive rectangular building that accommodates an enormous entrance doorway and is covered by a lofty pyramidal tower rising up in storeys and ultimately crowned by a barrel-shaped vault. It was the usual practice to build the perpendicular section, containing the doorway, in stone, and the pyramidal section, forming the storeyed tower, in brick and plaster. It is in the latter section that there may be noticed the most lavish display of ornament consisting of massive figure sculptures as well as of the most intricate devices and patterns Such ornaments were usually done in stucco, a bold and precise execution being characteristic of this age. Many of the tall *gopurams* that distinguish the famous South Indian temple complexes seem to have been raised under the aegis of the Vijayanagara rulers, and among these the southern *gopuram* in the temple of Ekāmbaranātha at Kāñchīpuram[220] is certainly the most important. It was built by Kṛishṇadevarāya, the most famous of the Vijayanagara sovereigns, and is a colossal structure rising up in ten storeys to a height of 188 feet. In size alone it is one of the most conspicuous among all buildings of this kind in the whole of South India. It is at the same time a highly decorative one. An exuberance of sculptures and ornamentations breaks up this stupendous mass in a manner that imparts to it an effect of airy lightness, thereby enhancing the impression of soaring height. Every motif, whether figural or decorative, is beautifully adjusted to the scale of the monument and of the section in which it is placed

Therefore, in spite of exuberance, there is no sense of extravagance, nor lack of clarity, everything being an integral part of the design as a whole. One of the most eminent productions of its kind, this *gopuram* seems to have provided the model for subsequent erections of this order. But despite their size and wealth of detail, none of these later structures can equal it in respect of its great beauty and the balance and rhythm of its design.

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7 Percy Brown, *Loc Cit*, p 7
8 Marshall, *Loc Cit.*, p. 576
9 *Ibid*, p. 576.
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71. For Plan, *ASC*. Vol. XV, Pl. XXV, Fergusson, Loc Cit, Fig 406

72 Some scholars think that the upper gallery was meant for the ladies of the harem, a separate accommodation for the king and his retinue being out of place in a mosque for Islamic worship, since Islām is the most democratic religion in the world

73. In *MGP*, p. 127, the number of domes has been wrongly calculated as 306.

74 The arch has fallen down, only the two gigantic piers remain.

75. *ASC.*, Vol. XV, pp 65-66; *MGP*, pp. 85-86; Percy Brown, Loc Cit., p. 38

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CHAPTERS VIII AND IX

SAYYIDS AND LODĪS

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A collection of 140 stories, mainly relating to Lodī and Sūr kings and written probably towards the end of Akbar's reign, as the name of Jahāngīr does not occur anywhere in the text. They depict traditions, myths, superstitions and often contain narratives of some historical events scribbed carelessly without much regard for truth or accuracy. Great care is, therefore, necessary in regard to uncorroborated statements.

Muhammad Kabīr was a daughter's son of Shaikh Khalīl-ullāh Haqqānī, an Afghān saint, who spent the major part of his life in Bengal and was reported to have met Akbar three times. As stated in the preface of the work, Muhammad Kabīr collected the stories in order to get over the grief caused by his son's premature death. The tragedy, however, deeply affected his mind and consequently his writing suffered from a disturbed balance

Āin-i-Akbarī — by Abu'-l Fazl 'Allāmī, see the bibliography to Chapter I.

'Ajāib ul-Maqdūr fī Akhbār-i-Tīmūr (or fī Nawāib-i-Tīmūr) — by Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad also known as Ibn-i-'Arab Shāh. Arabic text, Paris, 1658, Leovardiac, 1767-72, Calcutta, 1818. Lahore, 1868. English version by J. H. Sanders entitled *Tamerlane* or *Timur The Great Amir*. London, 1936.

It is an account of Tīmūr's career in Arabic by a contemporary writer. The narrative of the Indian expedition is unfortunately, not very detailed. The author was, however, a close associate of Tīmūr who had brought him to Samarqand while he was yet a boy. He outlived his patron and settled at Cairo where he died in A H 854 (*A D.* 1450).

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An Arabic work on General History (untitled.) — MS British Museum Or. 1761. A general history up to A D 1588 including an account of the Sultāns of Delhi and of the Tīmūrids from Bābur to Akbar The author's name is unknown but he is described as the son of Ifif-ud-dīn Sayyid Hasan-ul-Husainī Qāzī of Mecca in A H 961 (=A D 1553).

Bābur-nāma or Wāqi'at i-Bāburī or Tuzuk-i-Bāburī — by Bābur, Zahīr-ud-dīn Muhammad. An autobiography

(i) Facsimile of original Chaghtay Turkish London and Leyden 1905.

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Gulzār-i-Abrār — by Muhammad Ghausī Shattārī. MSS. Lindesiana (transferred to John Rylands Library, Manchester) and A S.B Calcutta.

It is an account of the Muslim saints of India who flourished from the 7th to the 10th centuries of Hijra, but also contains useful references to historical events. The work was com-

pleted *c.* 1022 A.H. (=A.D. 1613) although it was commenced about a decade earlier.

Hudud-ul-Alam
An anonymous work on geography compiled in A.D. 982. English translation with commentary by V. Minorsky, London, 1937.

Lahjāt-i-Sikandar Shāhī wa Latāif-i-Namutanāhī.
Sammad al-Kabulī, not Hammād as mentioned in *Islamic Culture* 1954, p. 410. MS. Lucknow University.

It is a contemporary work on music and dancing compiled during Sikandar's reign and based entirely on Indian sources, chiefly Sanskrit and Hindī, of which seven have been cited. The author appears to be a remarkable linguist, for, in addition to his scholarship in Persian prose and poetry, he had admirable command over the Indian languages The text of the work, when completed, had the approval of Sikandar's minister, Miān Bhuwa, who was well known for his patronage of learning and the learned

The work is the rarest of its kind and, being perhaps the oldest one in Persian on Indian music and dancing, provides a valuable account of the social and cultural life of the period. It throws abundant light on the cultivation of the fine arts and the interest taken in them by the Sultān and his nobles

Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī
'Alī bin Muhammad al-Kirmānī also called Shihāb-i-Hakīm, MSS (i) University Library Tubingen (West Germany), (ii) Bodleian Library, Oxford and (iii) Library of the King's college, Cambridge

All the three MSS. have been consulted by the writer.

It is a biography of Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa (1436-1469) with a brief account of his predecessors. The author, of whose antecedents much is not known, was a court chronicler of the Khaljī monarch and wrote the biography shortly after his patron's death at the command of the latter's successor, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Khaljī. Dealing primarily with the Sultāns of Mālwa, the work contains a valuable account, based on the author's personal knowledge, of some important episodes relating to the career of the first Lodī king regarding whom any other contemporary material hardly appears to exist. The celebrated writers of the Mughul period, including Nizām-ud-dīn (See *A.A* I, 3) Firishta (I, 6) and Muhammad Sharif Wuqū'ī (see *Majāmi'ul-*

Akhbār I.O.MS. fol. 341ᵃ) have all drawn upon it. (In *T.A.* and *Firishta* the titles *Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shahī* and *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd Shāhī* have been confused).

The work is very rare and the Tubingen MS., which is the earliest extant copy, is defective at the end while the Bodleian MS. is likewise slightly defective in the beginning. The Cambridge MS is complete but it is a late copy (1199 A H =A.D. 1784) and the scribe does not appear to have been well versed in Persian. He has made mistakes in copying some important dates as revealed by comparison with the other two MSS The cataloguer of the Pote Collection of Oriental MSS. in the library of King's college Cambridge, has given it the title of *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd Shāhī* without looking into the text of the work itself where it is clearly described as *Ma'āsir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī* (vide fols. 15ᵃ and 479ᵃ).

Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī
by 'Abdul Baqī Nihāwandī Persian text Calcutta, 1924

It is a general history up to A.D. 1616 Its account of the period under review is generally a verbatim copy of that of the *T.A.*

Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī
by Ahmad bin Bahbal also called Kanbū Vol. I. B M MS Or 1883 (Extracts only) Vol. II. I O MS 121

It is a work on general history completed in A.H. 1020 (= A D 1611), which formed the chief source of Ni'matullāh's *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makhzan-i-Afghānī.* (vide no. 36 below) wherein it has been described as the best available history in the world. (*Alhaqq tārikhè badān khūbī dar rūzgār nést.* See Camb. MS. fol 6ᵇ). The first volume, covering the period up to the end of the Lodīs, is not extant and only a few extracts are available in the B M. MS. quoted above. The second volume contains the account of the Tīmūrids up to Jahāngīr, but the India Office copy which is very nicely transcribed breaks off in the 37th year of Akbar's reign, 999 A H.=A.D. 1590-91.

Ma'dan-ush-Shifā-yi-Sikandar Shāhī.
by Miān Bhuwa Persian text Lucknow, 1877, 1879.

It is a contemporary work on medicine compiled by Sikandar's scholar-minister, Miān Bhuwa, who was a versatile genius Basing it on numerous Sanskrit works of reputable Hindu

physicians whose debt he acknowledged, he prepared a handy volume in Persian which epitomized the result of native researches in medical science. Incidentally it contains useful references to the general progress of learning under Sikandar and the king's liberal patronage of the men of letters.

His work as well as the *Lahjāt-i-Sikandar Shāhī* (no. 9 above) are important sources for the study of the interaction of Hindu and Muslim cultures.

Majāmi'ul-Akhbār or Tārīkh-i-Muhmmad Sharīf Wuqū'ī.

by Muhammad Sharif Wuqū'ī. I.O. MS. 119

It is a compendium of general history up to A.D. 1591-92 and is very useful in corroborating and correcting some of the statements of the *T.A.* The author was a poet of Akbar's court. (See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, text, I, 254) and as stated by himself, entered the Emperor's service a second time in 1590.

Matla'us-Sa'dain wa Majma'ul-Bahrain

by Kamāl-ud-dīn 'Abdur-Razzāq Samarqandī (i) B.M MSS. Or. 1291 and Add. 17928. (ii) I.O. MS. 192 (iii) Cambridge MS (Library of Christ's College, D.D. 3-5 (iv) Lahore MS. Private Library of Maulvi Muhammad Shafī. Ed. Vol. II (2 parts) Lahore 1360-8 A.H. (=A.D. 1941-1948).

It is a history of the Tīmūrids from A.D 1304 to 1470 in two volumes The first volume ended with the death of Tīmūr while the second was carried to the re-enthronement of Sultān Husain. The account up to 1426-27 is largely based on the valuable contemporary record of Hāfiz Abrū (see no 34[a] below) while for the later period, the author relied more upon his personal observation

'Abdur Razzāq was born at Herat in A.D. 1413 and died there in A.D. 1482. He had been patronized by Shāh Rûkh early in his youth and was sent by him on an embassy in A.D 1441 to Zamorin of Calicut and the king of Vijayanagara The *Matla'us-Sa'dain* contains a full account of this visit as well as of the relations of the Tīmūrids with the Sultāns of Delhi during the period covered by it.

Mihr wa Māh

by Hāmid bin Fazlullāh, better known as Jāmālī. MS. Punjab University-Library, Lahore.

A very rare work (considered until a few years back not to be extant) by Sikandar Lodī's Poet Laureate. The date of its composition, 905 A.H. (=A.D. 1499), was obtained by the writer from a chronogram in fol. 117.

It is a versified story of romance, but contains references to Sikandar's poetical talent, his justice and his generosity towards pious and learned men It also gives a brief account of the author's tour of Muslim countries of the Middle East.

Mir'at-ul-'Ālam — by Muhammad Baqā I.O. MS. 124, B.M. MS. Add. 7657. A general history up to 1667.

Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā — An enlarged edition of no. 16 above, by the same author. The narrative has been continued to A.D 1699 I O MS. 126. Cambridge MS. (Library of King's College no. 109).

Mir'at-i-Mas'ūdi — by 'Abdur Rahman Chishtī.
(i) B.M. MS Or. 1837.
(ii) Abridged English translation by B W. Chapman B M MS Add. 30776.

An account of the life of Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, stated by the author to have been extracted from an earlier work by Mullā Muhammad Ghaznavī, a servant of Sultān Mahmūd.

'Abdur Rahman belonged to a family of Chishti Shaikhs and died at Dhaniti in the Lucknow Sarkar in 1094 A.H. (=A.D. 1682).

Some autobiographical references are to be found in another work of the author entitled *Mir'at ul-Asrar* (B M MS. Or. 216)

Mir'at-i-Sikandari — by Sikandar bin Muhammad Manjhū. I.O. MS. 1038.

English translation by E C Bayley entitled *Local Muhammadan Dynastics Gujarat*. London, 1886.

It is a history of Gujarāt completed in A.D. 1611-13

Mujmal-i-Mujfassal — by Muhammad Barārī (i) MS. 43, A.S.B. (ii) Bodleian MSS. Elliot 346, Ousley 311.

It is a work on general history up to A.D. 1627, but was completed c A.D. 1668. The account is based on the well-known general histories of the Mughul period.

Muntakhab ut-Twārīkh — by 'Abdul Qādir Badaunī.
(i) Text. Calcutta 1668-69. 3 vols
(ii) English translation by J S A Ranking, S. H Lowe and W H Haig, Calcutta. 1898-1925

Muntakhab ut-Twārīkh or Ahsan ut-Twarikh. — by Hasan Khākī Shirāzī. B M. MS Or. 1649 Eton College MS

A general history up to A.D. 1613. The author who was in Akbar's service, commenced the work under him but completed it under Jahāngīr. The narrative of events is, however, very straight and concise

Nafā-is-ul-Ma'āsir. — by Mirza 'Alā-ud-daulah Qazwīnī. B.M MS. Or. 1761

The work, which is devoted mainly to the study of the Persian poets of the 10th century A.H., contains also a history of the Tīmūrids from Bābur to Akbar. It was completed in 982 A.H. (=A D. 1574).

Qazwīnī's father, Mīr Yahyā was also a historian and had compiled the *Lubb-ut-Twārīkh* a general history up to A.H. 948 (=A.D. 1541). (B M. MS. Or. 140). He had, therefore, a scholarly background and the close relations of his brother, Mīr 'Abdul-Latīf, with the Emperor Akbar gave him an additional advantage.

Nasab-nāma-yi-Afāghina wa Kaifiyyat-i-Hukumat-i-Ānhā

by Sayyid Muhammad Tabātabā'ī Isfāhānī. MS. no. 74, Royal Asiatic Society, London. A useful tract on the origin of the Afghāns.

Ruz-nāma-yi-Ghazawāt-i-Hindustān

by Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Alī MS. Lahore, Punjab University

It is a diary of Tīmūr's Indian campaign, written by his courtier, popularly called Khwājā 'Alī who had attracted the great conqueror's attention on account of his expert knowledge and great skill in the game of chess. (See *Mujmal-i-Mujfassal*, Bodleian MS., Ousley 311 fol 6[b]).

The *Ruz-nāma* was one of the sources of Nizām-ud-dīn Shāmī's *Zafar-nāma* (See Barthold *Turkestan*, 54 n 1) which was completed in A D. 1404 (vide no. 48 below). The work itself is extremely rare and the only copy to which reference has been made in bibliographical literature is said to exist at Tāshkent. Fortunately, another MS. copy, to which the writer has had access, has been found in the Shirānī collection of the Punjab University library, Lahore.

Siyar al-'Arifin

by Hāmid bin Fazlullāh better known as Jamālī.

(i) B.M. MS. Or. 215.

(ii) I O. MS. 1313

(iii) Lahore MS.

It is an account of the lives of fourteen Muslim saints of India, beginning with Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishti and ending with Jamālī's own preceptor Shaikh Samā'ud-dīn. It gives, however, a brief description of some political and cultural aspects of the reigns of Sikandar and Ibrāhīm and also throws light on the characters of the two monarchs. The author was an eye-witness of both the reigns and lived until the period of

Humāyūn. The work was composed between A.D. 1530 and 1536

Safīnat-ul-Auliya by Dārā Shikoh. Persian text Ed. Lucknow, 1872 It comprises notices of Muslim saints and holy men and was completed in A D 1640.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī by Nizām-ud-dīn Bakhshī. Persian texts. 3 vols Calcutta 1927-35. Compared B.M. MS. Or. 1901 and Ms. Pers. 283 Bib. Nationale, Paris, English Translation of Vol. I by B De, Calcutta 1927

It is a comprehensive work on general history from the Ghaznavides up to A D. 1593-4 and forms the basis of a number of later similar works The author appears to have made use of the best extant sources and of the twenty-nine authorities quoted by him, some are entirely lost to us now. However, a comparison of the contents of the work with the account of other contemporaneous and earlier works on the period under review, shows that it is not so very reliable as is generally considered to be. Errors have been found in the recording of dates, names and some of the events particularly in the chapters dealing with the Sultanate, Jaunpur, Mālwa, Multān and the Punjab There are also contradictions in the statements regarding the same event or person recorded in the different volumes of the work. A typical instance may be quoted of Daulat Khān Lodī who, in *T.A.*, I, 351, is stated to have personally gone to Kābul to meet Bābur and having died on his way back to the Punjab In Vol II (pp 8-9) he is subsequently presumed alive and a description is given of his capitulation to Bābur at Milwat, after a period of active hostility.

There are similar contradictions met with in the account of Jaunpur and Mālwa given in Vols I and III Unfortunately, some of the later writers, who have drawn upon the *T A* , have instead of correcting these errors, perpetuated them by copying them verbatim, as for instance, Nihāwandī in the *Ma'āsīr-i-Rahīmī*

Tārīkh-i-Alfī by Mulla Ahmad Tattawī and others. B.M. MS Or. 465. I.O MS

It is a general history up to A D 1589, written in the form of annals of different years Nizam-ud-dīn also collaborated in compiling a part of it. The arrangement of the work is tedious and renders it difficult to consult It is however,

useful in corroborating the accounts of other contemporaneous works and often gives some additional details.

Tārīkh-i-Daūdī. by Abdullāh.

(i) MS. Punjab University, Lahore.

(ii) MS. No. 46451, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

It is an exclusive Afghān work of Jahāngīr's reign dealing with the Lodī and Sūr kings. A careful examination of the work shows that it is almost entirely based on the *Wāqi'at-i-Mushtāqī* (vide no. 47 below). Being full of anecdotes, it does not add much to the narrative of events contained in the parent source, but greatly helps in confirming them. Little is known of the author's life

Tārīkh-i-Firishta also called Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī. by Muhammad Qāsim Firishta Persian text, Bombay 1831-32.

English translation by J. Briggs, entitled *History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India*, 4 Vols.

It is a well known work on general history up to c. A.D 1615. Being rich in historical details, it has been extensively used by all later and modern writers Firishta has avoided some of the errors made by Nizām-ud-dīn.

The English translation by Briggs, is however, very unreliable.

Tārīkh-i-Haqqī or Zikr-ul-Mulūk. by Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq Dehlawī.

(i) B.M. MS. Add. 26210.

(ii) Bodleian MSS. (a) Fraser 132 (b) Fraser 133 (c) Ousley 59.

(iii) MS University Library, Cambridge. A very concise work on general history up to A.D. 1596. The author had his personal sources of information regarding the Lodī period as he was the nephew of the contemporary writer Mushtāqī. He relied on some trustworthy oral traditions and his account of certain episodes which is different from that of other contemporaneous writers, deserves greater credence.

Tārīkh-i-Hāfiz Abrū or Zubdat-tut-Twārīkh Baisangharī. by Nūr-ud-dīn Lutfullāh better known as Hāfiz Abrū B.M. MS Or 1577 (Vol. I). Bodleian MS. Elliot, 357. (Vol. I)

The author, who was born in Herat and educated at Hamadan, earned the favour of Tīmūr and attended his private assemblies. After Tīmūr's death he attended Shāh Rukh's court and won the respect of the young prince, Mīrzā

Bāisanghar to whom he dedicated his work. It is a general history of the world and was compiled in 829-30 A.H. (=A.D. 1425-26). (See *Matla'-us-Sa'dain*, B.M. M.S. Or. 1291 fol. 154). Hāfiz Abrū died in 834 A.H. (=A.D. 1430).

Tārikh-i-Humāyūnī or Tārikh-i-Ibrāhīmī. by Muhammad Ibrāhīm Jarīr, I.O. MS. 104.

It is a brief general history of desultory character compiled in 957 A.H (=A.D. 1550)

Tārikh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makhzān-i-Afghānī by Ni'matullāh.

(i) I.O. MS. 576. MS. Library of the Christ's College, Cambridge, (D D. 3).

(ii) A shorter recension of the same work entitled only *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* I.O. MS. 2706 MS. Cambridge University Library. English translation by B Dorn entitled *History of the Afghans*, London 1829-36.

It is a systematic history of the Lodī and Sūr Afghāns compiled in 1021 A.H. (=A.D. 1613) by an experienced chronicler who, after losing his job at the Mughal Court, entered the service of the Afghān *amīr*, Khān Jahan Lodī, the favourite of the Emperor Jahāngīr. The work, which was undertaken at the behest of his new master, reveals an Afghān bias, and its peculiar feature is the sanctification of the origins of the Afghāns by reviving the Israelite theory. The genealogical motive of the author in attempting a study of Afghān history is, therefore, to be underlined For his information regarding the period of the Lodī's and the Sūrs, he is mostly indebted to Mushtaqī, the *T.A* and the *Ma'dan-i-Akhabār-i-Ahmadī*

Tārikh-i-Mahmūd Shāhī. by 'Abdul Karīm, B.M MS. Or 1819.

A history of Gujarat up to 889 A H (=A D 1484) with incidental references to the Sultāns of Delhi.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī. by Yahyā bin Ahmad as-Sirhindī. Persian text, Calcutta 1931 English translation by K. K Basu, G.O S, LXIII, 1932

It is a general history from the time of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām up to the accession of the third Sayyid Sultān, Muhammad Shah bin Farid (838 A H =A.D. 1434). The account of the concluding sixty years, of which the author had exceptional sources of knowledge, is the most original and valuable one Yahyā enjoyed the patronage of Sultān Mubārak Shāh and dedicated the work to him. The narrative is, however, unbiased, straight-

forward, concise and shorn of verbosity and floridity usually characteristic of such oriental works.

Tārīkh-i-Muham-Madī

by Muhammad Bihamad Khānī B.M. MS. Or. 137.

It is another valuable work on general history compiled in 839 A.H. (=A.D. 1435) and contemporaneous with the *T.M.* but unfortunately, the references to the Sayyid Sultāns are too brief.

Tārīkh-i-Nāsir Shāhī.

Anonymous. I.O. MS. 4032.

A desultory history of Sultān Nasīr-ud-dīn Khaljī of Mālwa

Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī

by Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt MS. Christ's College Library, Cambridge. D.D. 4.7. English translation by N. Elias and E. D. Ross entitled *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London 1898.

The author was a cousin of Emperor Bābur, and his account not only corroborates some of the details of events described in the *Bābur-nama* but sometimes supplements them by additional information.

Tārīkh-i-Sadr-i-Jahān, also called *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī.*

by Faizullāh ibn Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, called Malik-ul-Quzat Sadr-i-Jahān

(i) MS Bib Nationale, Paris No Suppl. Pers 183

(ii) B.M MS Add 7629

(iii) Cambridge University Library, Browne MS. G. 12 (12).

All the three MSS. have been consulted.

It is a general history form the earliest times to 838 A.H. (=A.D. 1434) and ends abruptly at the point where *TM.* concludes its account. Compiled, however in 907 A.H. (=A D. 1501-2), it is indebted to the *TM* for the narrative of the Sayyid period.

Tārīkh-i-Shāhī also called Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Afāghina.

by Ahmad Yādagār. Persian text, Calcutta 1939. Compared MS. Punjab University, Lahore.

It is a history of the Lodīs and the Sūrs and the first two Mughal kings, compiled shortly after A.D 1613 as the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī* is quoted as one of the sources Written in the usual pattern of anecdotal works it is much less reliable than the *Tārīkh-i-Daūdī* as the author has allowed many inaccuracies to creep into his account.

Tārīkh-i-Sind or Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī

by Mīr Ma'sūm. Persian text; Poona 1938.

It is the best known history of Sind from the Muslim conquest up to A.D. 1600. The author died in 1606.

The account of the rise of the Langahs given by Ma'sūmī is, however, identical with that of the *TA* and his incidental references to the Sultāns of Delhi also agree with the account of the same source

***Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shāhī* also called *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*.** by 'Abbās Sarwānī

(i) B.M MSS Or. 1857, Or. 164, Or 1782, Add. 16824

(ii) Bodleian MSS. Elliot 371 and Ousley 78.

(iii) MS Library of the King's College Cambridge No. 180

(iv) I O MS. 219.

The author, being related to Sher Shāh Sūr, had special sources of information in respect of the history of the Afghāns Unfortunately, the first two parts of his work have been lost and the third part which is the only extant portion, deals with the life of Sher Shāh It contains, however, some useful information relating to the Lodī kings which help to confirm the account of later writers It was compiled c A D 1590

***Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*.** Autobiography of the Emperor Jahāngīr Persian text, Aligarh, 1863-64 English translation by A Rogers, London, 1903-14

Wāqi'at-i-Mushtāqī* and *Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī by Rizqullāh Mushtāqī B M MSS Or 1929 and Add 11633

The two works, although similar in scope, are yet not entirely identical in their account The date of composition, hitherto unrevealed in the various biographical notices of the author has been found by the writer in the body of the text (*Wāqi-'āt* fol 146^{b}) as 980 A H (= A.D. 1572-73) The author died nine years later

These two MSS constitute, perhaps, the earliest available account of the Afghān rulers of India. The author who was born in A.H 897 (= A D 1491) had lived during the late Lodī period As for the earlier part of it, he had most reliable sources of information His father, Shaikh Sa'dullāh was a saintly scholar and had been closely associated with Sikandar's noble, Miān Zain-ud-dīn. His grandfather Shaikh Fīrūz was a warrior-poet, and had written a versified account of the wars between Buhlūl and Husain Sharqī (The poem is now lost and only two couplets have been quoted by Nūr-ul-Haqq in the *Zubdat-ut-Twārīkh*, vide Cambridge MS. fol. 58^{a}) Both Mushtāqī and

his father were the disciples of the Saint, Shaikh Malladah, whom Sikandar held in great esteem. Besides, Mushtāqī had been personally connected with some of the Amīrs of Sikandar and Ibrāhīm. His knowledge of Hindi, of which he was a well-known scholar and poet, was of great advantage to him in gaining access to the material in that language. (His pen-name in Hindi was Nirañjan, and two Hindi works, entitled *Paiman* and *Jot Nirañjan*, are attributed to him. See *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār* p. 170, Hodivala p. 481)

Mushtāqī did not write to please a patron and his account was uninfluenced by any worldly motive. He was a detached and religious-minded person, and his account of contemporary events is the chief source on which later writers, such as Nizām-ud-dīn, Ni'matullāh, Abdullāh and Ahmad Yādgār, have extensively drawn Although his style is not that of a regular historical work, yet he provides the most useful information about all the three Lodī monarchs. The narrative of events is frequently interrupted by long digressions and anecdotes, which, however, shed abundant light on the general life and the customs of the people Many of the stories illustrate the effectiveness of Sikandar's judicial and administrative system and have been copied by later writers.

Zafar-Nama — by Nizām-ud-dīn Shāmī Persian text, Beirut 1937

A contemporary history of Tīmūr up to A.D 1404 written at his own instance by his close friend who was also an expert chess-player Shāmī was a native of Tabriz and had joined Tīmūr after the conquest of Baghdad.

Zafar-Nama — Sharaf-ud-dīn 'Ali Yazdi. Persian text, Calcutta 1888. Eng. tr. of extracts *HIED*, III, 478-522. Another well known account of Tīmūr compiled in A D. 1424-25.

Zafar-ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Alih. — by 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī also called Hāji-ud-Dabīr Arabic text, London 1921-8. 3 vols.

A most authoritative work on the history of Gujarat

Zubdat-ut-Twārīkh. — by Nūr-ul-Haqq Mashriqī.

(i) B.M MS. Add. 10580.
(ii) MS. Corpus College, Cambridge (Transferred to the University Library) Or. 220.
(iii) MS. Public Library, Lahore.

The author was a son of Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq Dehlawī. He enlarged his father's *Tārīkh-i-*

Haqqī and brought down the history to 1014 A.H (=A D. 1605), making numerous useful additions

SAYYIDS

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-do-	Account of Mubārak Shāh, The Second Sayyad Ruler of Delhi, *JBORS*, XIV, 366-86, ibid, XV, 142-67
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CHAPTER X

For the works of Abu-'l-Fazl, Badāūnī, Firishta, Ibn Batūtah, Nizām-ud-dīn, Tabātabā, and Yahyā, see Bibliography to Chapter I

(A) *GUJARĀT AND* (B) *KHĀNDESH*

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CHAPTER XIV

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B. *SANSKRITIC*

1. HINDI

Original Texts

(A) *Western Hindi*

'Abdur-Rahmān	*Sandeśa-rāsaka* (Apabhraṁśa).
Kabīr	*Bānīs.*
-do-	*Bījaka.*
-do-	*Sākhī.*
Khvājā Bandah-Nawāz Gīsū Darāz	*Mir'at-ul-'Ashiqīn*
Khusrav, Amīr	*Khāliq-Bārī.*

(B) *Kosalī or Awadhī or the so-called "Eastern Hindi"*

Dāūd, Maulānā	*Chandāyana*
Kutban	*Mṛigāvatī.*
Mānihan	*Madhu-Mālatī*

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2 RĀJASTHĀNĪ

Original Texts

Padmanābha	*Kānhaḍa-de Prabandha* (also claimed to be Gujarātī).

4 PUNJĀBĪ

Original Texts

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Bālā	*Janam-Sākhi.*

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6. GUJARĀTĪ

Original Texts

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Mantri Karmana	*Sītā-haraṇa.*
Narasiṁha Mehtā	*Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.*
Śrīdhara	*Raṇamalla-chhanda.*

For general references see Vol. V, pp. 830-31.

7. MARĀṬHĪ

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8. BENGALI

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Mālādhara Basu	*Śrī-Kṛishṇa-Vijaya.*
Śrīkara Nandi	*Mahābhārata.*
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10 MAITHILĪ

Original Texts

Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākura	*Varna-ratnākara*
Vidyāpati Ṭhākura	*Kīrttilatā*

11. ASSAMESE

Original Texts

Durgāvara	*Gīta-Rāmāyaṇa.*
Hema Sarasvatī	*Prahlāda-charitra*
Kavirāja Mādhava Kandali	*Devajit.*
-do-	*Rāmāyana*
Mānakara	*Bihulā-Lakhindhara.*
Pītāmbara	*Ushā-Parinaya*
Śaṅkaradeva	*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (some portions).
-do-	*Bhakti-pradīpa.*
-do-	*Rāma-vijaya.*
-do-	*Rāmāyaṇa* (last canto).
-do-	*Kāliya-damana*
-do-	*Kīrttana-ghoshā.*
-do-	*Pārijāta-harana*
-do-	*Patnī-prasāda.*
-do-	*Rāma-vijaya.*
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Balarāmadāsa	*Bhagavad-gītā.*
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-do-	*Gupta-vārtā.*
-do-	*Rāmāyaṇa.*
-do-	*Vedāntasāra.*
Mārkaṅḍadāsa	*Keśava-koiḷi.*
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Nārāyanānanda Avadhūta Svāmī	*Rudra-sudhā-nidhi*
Nīlāmbaradāsa	*Jaiminī Mahābhārata* (tr)
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1370	Kumāra Kampana annexes Ma'bar (pp. 236, 279).
	Malık Raja takes possession of Thālner and appointed Sipah Sālār of Khāndesh (p. 169).
1373	Death of Shihāb-ud-dīn of Kāshmir and accession of Qutb-ud-dīn (p. 377).
1374	Death of Kumāra Kampana (p. 279).
1375	Death of Muhammad Bahmanī and accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Mujāhıd (p. 253).
1377	Rebellions in Etāwa and Katehr (p. 96).
	Malik Mufarrah appointed governor of Gujarāt (p. 155)
	Death of Bukka I and accession of Harihara II (p. 280).
	Mujāhid Bahmanī invades Vıjayanagara (p. 253, 281)
1378	Death of Hammīr of Mewār and accession of Kshetrasiṁha (p. 329).
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1380	Suppression of the rebellion in Katehr (p 96).
	Goa and Konkan annexed to the Vijayanagara empire (p 282).
	Accession of the Āhom kıng Tyāokhāmti (p. 391)
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1388	Deposition of Muhammad Shāh Death of Fīrūz and accession of Ghıyās-ud-dīn Tughluq II (pp 97, 110).
1389	Death of Tughluq II and accession of Abū Bakr (p. 110)
1390	Death of Sıkandar of Bengal and accession of Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh (p 203).
	Kshetrasiṁha of Mewār defeats Dilāvar Khān of Mālwa (p. 330).
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	Expulsion of Abū Bakr and restoration of Muhammad (p 110-11).
	The Velamas with the help of the Bahmanīs invade Vıjayanagara (p. 283).
	Kumāragiri Reḍḍi invades Orissa (p. 363).
1391	Zafar Khān appointed Governor of Gujarāt (pp. 112, 155).
1392	Rebellion in Etāwa (p. 112).
	Farhat-ul-Mulk, Governor of Gujarāt, defeated and killed (p. 155).

1393 Rebellions in Mewāt (p. 112).

1394 Death of Muhammad, Sultān of Delhi, and accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar. Death of Sikandar and accession of Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd. Rebellion in the Punjab suppressed by Sarang Khān. Nusrat Khān proclaimed king under the title of Nasīr-ud-dīn Nusrat Shāh (pp. 112-13).

Malik Sarvar, Khvāja Jahān, establishes the principality of Jaunpur (pp 113, 187).

1395 Muzaffar destroys the temple of Somanātha (p. 156).

Death of Jayasthitimalla of Nepāl (p. 414).

1397 Pīr Muhammad, grandson of Tīmūr, captures Uch (p. 116).

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1399 Tīmūr's retreat (p. 120)

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1404 Mallū besieges Etāwa and Kanauj (p. 122).
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1413 Death of Mahmūd at Kaithal and fall of the house of Tughluq. Daulat Khān Lodī remains in authority at Delhi (pp 122-23)
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1452 Mahmūd Shāh of Jaunpur attacks Delhi, but is defeated by Buhlūl Lodī (pp 140, 189)

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1455 Jalāl Khān, brother of 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad Bahmanī proclaims himself king of Telingāna (p. 260).
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1457 Death of Mahmūd Shāh of Jaunpur and accession of Muhammad Shāh. Muhammad makes peace with Buhlūl Lodī. Renewal of hostilities (pp. 140, 190).
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1460 Death of Rāy Sahrah of Multān and accession of Husain (p 228).

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1462 Mahmūd I of Mālwa again invades the Bahmanī kingdom but is compelled by Mahmūd Begarha of Gujarāt to retire (pp. 163, 179, 262).

1463 Death of Nizām Shāh Bahmanī and accession of Muhammad III (p. 262).

Orissa army under Hamvīra invades Vijayanagara (p. 296).

1465 Death of Mallikārjuna and accession of Virūpāksha II (p 297).

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Sāluva Narasiṁha launches his Orissa campaign (p. 299).

Birth of Guru Nānak (p. 569).

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Bahmanīs invade Vijayanagara and capture Goa (pp. 262, 297-98).

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Mahmūd Begarha of Gujarāt invades Sind (p. 164).

1473 Husain Shāh of Jaunpur appears before Delhi, but is defeated by Buhlūl Lodī (pp. 140, 192).

Deposition of Udaya and accession of Rāyamalla in Mewār (p. 338).

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1474 Husain of Jaunpur again invades Delhi, but is defeated and compelled to retire (pp. 140, 192).

Death of Rukn-ud-dīn Barbak and accession of Shams-ud-din Yusuf of Bengal (p. 213).

1478 Death of the Sayyid 'Ālam Shāh in Badāūn (p. 192).

1479 Husain of Jaunpur again invades Delhi, but is defeated and pursued by Buhlūl, who recovers Etāwa, invades Jaunpur, expels Husain and annexes the kingdom of Jaunpur (pp. 140, 192)

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1488 Death of Jodhā and accession of Sātal in Mārwār (p. 355).

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1494	Sikandar Lodī defeats Husain of Jaunpur and pursues hım into Bengal (pp. 143, 192).
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	Muzaffar II of Gujarāt captures Māndū, and restores Mahmūd II (p. 185).
	Death of Mahmūd Bahmanī (p. 268).
	Ibrāhīm Lodī captures Gwalior (p. 148).
	Mahārāṇā Saṅgrāmasiṁha defeats Ibrāhim Lodī (pp. 148, 343).
1519	Mahārāṇā Saṅgrāmasiṁha defeats the combined army of Gujarāt and Mālwa, and captures Mahmūd II of Mālwa near Gāgraun (pp 168, 185, 341).
	Death of Hasain of Bengal and accession of Nusrat (pp. 219-20).
1520	Death of 'Ādil Khan III of Khāndesh and accession of Mīrān Muhammad (p. 173).
	Kṛishṇadevarāya inflicts a crushing defeat on the Bijāpur army (p. 314).
	Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā defeats the Gujarāt army (pp 168, 343).
	Shāh Beg Arghūn conquers Sind (p. 226)
1523	End of the Ahom-Chutiyā war (p. 392).
1524	Bābur conquers Lahore (p. 150).
1525	Conquest of Multān by Shāh Husain Arghūn (p 230)
1526	First battle of Pānipat Defeat and death of Ibrāhīm Lodī. Zahīr-ud-dīn Muhammad Bābur ascends the throne of Delhi (p. 150).
	Death of Muzaffar II in Gujarāt, and accession of Sikandar (p. 169).
1527	Battle of Khānua (p. 345).
	Rout of the Muslim army invading Assam (pp 393-94).
1528	Death of Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā (p. 347)
1529	Death of Kṛishṇadevarāya (p. 317).
1531	Bahādur of Gujarāt conquers Mālwa (p. 186).
1532	Death of Nusrat of Bengal and accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh (p. 221).
1533	Death of Śrī Chaitanya (p. 567).
1538	Death of Guru Nānak (p. 570).
1539	Assassination of the Ahom king Suhungmung (p 396).
1540	Death of Pratāparudra of Orissa (p. 370).

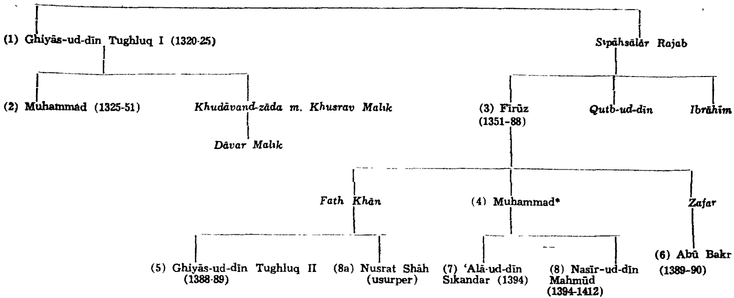
GENEALOGY

(Numbers in brackets denote the order of succession. The names in italics did not reign.)

I. THE KHALJĪ DYNASTY

- Yaghrush Khān
  - (1) Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz (1290-96)
    - *Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Khān Khānān*
    - (2) Rukn-ud-dīn Ibrahīm Arkalī Khān (1296)
    - *Qadr Khān*
  - *Shihāb-ud-dīn*
    - (3) 'Alā-ud-dīn Muhammad (1296-1316)
      - *Khizr Khān*
      - *Shādī Khān*
      - (5) Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak (1316-1320)
      - (4) Shihāb-ud-dīn (1316)
      - 'Umar *Farīd Khān*
      - *'Usmān Khān*
      - *Muhammad Khān*
      - *Abu Bakr Khān*
    - *Almās Beg Ulugh Khān*
    - *Qutlugh Tighīn*
    - *Muhammad Ākat Khān*
- *Malik Khāmush Yaghrush Khān*
  - *Asad-ud-dīn*

II. THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

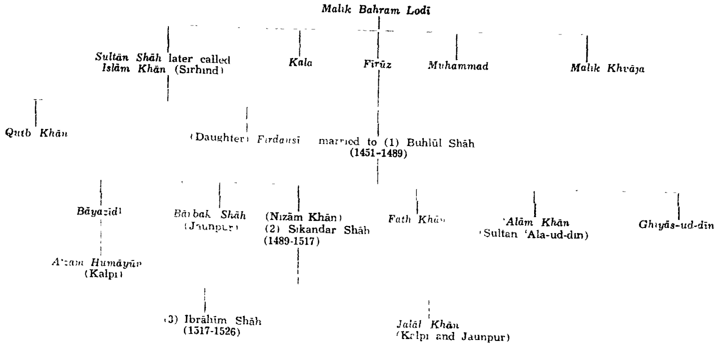


* Muhammad (No 4) ruled jointly for a short time with Fīrūz (No 3) in 1387. He again proclaimed himself king after deposing Abū Bakr (1389-90). For details of the regnal periods of sucessors of Fīrūz Shah see pp 97 and 110 ff.

III. THE SAYYID DYNASTY

- *Malik Sulaimān*
  - (1) Khizr Khān (1414-1421)
    - (2) Mu'izz-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh (1421-1434)
    - *Farid Khān*
      - (3) Muhammad Shāh (1434-1445)
        - (4) 'Alā-ud-dīn, 'Alam Shāh (1445-1451)

IV. THE LODĪ DYNASTY



1 The names of Buhlul's sons are differently stated by various authorities. In addition to the six, given above, and with whom political events are associated, the following have also been mentioned — Ibrāhīm Khān, Jalāl Khān or Jamāl Khān, Hasan Khān, Shaikh A'zam Humāyūn, Musa Khān, Isma'īl Khān, Husain Khān and Mahmūd Khān. The last three names are, however, again mentioned as those of Sıkandar's sons whom Ibrāhīm cast into prison

V. THE SUCCESSION STATES OF THE DELHI SULTANATE. SULTANS OF GUJARAT

(2) Muzaffar (1392-1411)*

(1) Muhammad (1403)

(3) Ahmad (1411-43)

(4) Muhammad II (1443-51)

(6) Dāūd (1458)

(5) Qutb-ud-dīn Ahmad or Ahmad II (1451-58)

(7) Mahmūd Begarha (1458-1511)

(8) Muzaffar II (1511-26)

(9) Sikandar (1526)

* Muzaffar declared himself as king in 1407.

VI. KHANS OF KHANDESH

- *Khān Jahān Fārūqī*
  - (1) Malik Raja (1370-99)
    - (2) Nasir (1399-1437)
      - (3) Mīrān 'Ādil (1437-41)
        - (4) Mīrān Mubārak (1441-57)
          - (5) 'Ādil II (1457-1503)
          - (6) Dāūd (1503-10)
            - (7) Ghaznī Khān (1510)
      - *Hasan* m d. of Mahmūd Begarha of Gujarāt
        - (8) 'Ādil III— m. d. of Muzaffar II of Gujarāt (1510-20)
          - (9) Mīrān Muhammad (1520-37)
    - *Iftikhār*

VII. SULTANS OF MALWA

A

The Ghūrī Kings

(1) Dilāvar Khān* (c 1390-1405)
- (2) Hūshang (1405-35)
  - (3) Muhammad (1435-36)
    - (4) Mas'ūd (1436)
  - *Usman*

B

The Khaljīs

Malik Mughīs
- (1) Mahmūd (1436-69)
  - (2) Ghiyās-ud-dīn (1469-1500)
    - (3) Nasīr-ud-dīn (1500-11)
      - (4) Mahmūd (1511-31)
      - *Shihāb-ud-dīn*

* From 1390-1401 Dilāvar acted as governor and declared himself king in 1401

VIII. SULTANS OF JAUNPUR

(1) Malik Sarvar (1394-99)

(2) Mubārak (1399-1402)
(adopted son of No. 1)

(3) Shams-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm (1402-40)
(Brother of No. 2)

(4) Mahmūd (1440-57)

(5) Muhmmad (1457-58)

(6) Husain (1458-79)

IX. SULTĀNS OF BENGAL

A

I. House of Balban

Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban (Sultān of Delhi)

(1) Nasīr-ud-dīn Bughrā Khān (1282-91)

Kaiqubad

(2) Kaikāūs (1291-98)

(3) Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz (1298-1322)

* (4) Shihāb-ud-dīn Bughdah (Lakhnawati)

(5) Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur (Sonargaon)

(6) Nasīr-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm

Shihāb-ud-dīn

* For the dates of Nos 4 5, 6 see above pp 193-95

B

(1) Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh (1338-50)

(2) Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Ghāzī Shāh (1350-53)

C

Ilyas Shahī Sultāns (I)

(1) Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās (1339-1359)

(2) Sikandar (1359-89)

(3) Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam (c 1389-1410)

(4) Saif-ud-dīn Hamzah (1410-12)

(5) Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd (1413-14)

(6) 'Alā-ud dīn Fīrūz (1414-15)
(Interregnum—Rule by the house of Ganeśa)

D

House of Gaṇeśa

(1) Rājā Ganesa (c 1415)

(2) Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad (1415-31)

(3) Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad (1431-35)

IX. SULTANS OF BENGAL—*continued*

E
Ilyās Shāhī Sultāns (II)

1. Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd (1437-59)
2. Rukn ud-dīn Bārbak (1459-74)
3. Shāms-ud-dīn Yūsuf (1474-81)
4. Jalāl-ud-dīn Fath (1481-87)

F
Abyssinian Rule

(1) Saif-ud-dīn Fīrūz (1487-90)

(2) Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd (1490-1491)

(3) Shams-ud-dīn Muzaffar (1491-93)

G
House of Husain Shāh

(1) 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain (1493-1519)

(2) Nusrat (1519-32)

(3) 'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz (1532-33)

(4) Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd (1533-38)

X. SULTANS OF SIND

I. Sūmras.

(1) Sūmra
|
(2) Bhūngar
|
(3) Dūdā
|
(6) Pithu — (4) Singhār m (5) Hamūn
|
(7) Khairā — (9) 'Umar
⋮ |
(8) Khafīf or Hafif — (10) Dūdā II

(II Sammas See above p 224)

XI SULTĀNS OF MULTĀN

1 Qutb-ud-dīn (1444-60)
(Rāy Sahrah)

(2) Husain (1460-1502)
(3) Fīrūz (died during the reign of 2)
(4) Mahmūd (1502-1524)
(5) Husain II (1524-25)

Shihāb-ud-dīn
d.m.
Shujā-'ul-Mulk Bukhārī XII

Kings of South India

A
Pāṇḍya

(1) Māravarman Kulaśekhara

(2) Vīra Pāṇḍya
Samudra Pāṇḍya

Sundara Pāṇḍya

B
Sultāns of Ma'bar

(1) Jalāl-ud-dīn Ahsan Shāh (1334-39)

(2) Alā-ud-dīn 'Udaijī (1339-41)
d m
(3) Qutb ud-dīn (1341)

d m.
(4) Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh (1341-45)

(5) Nasīr-ud-dīn (1345-)
(Nephew of No 4)

(For the successors of Nasīr-ud-dīn see above p 235)

XII THE BAHMANĪ SULTĀNS

(1) 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahman (Hasan Gangū) (1347 58)

(2) Muhammad I (1358-1375)
(3) 'Alā-ud-dīn Mujāhid (1375-1378

Ahmad

Mahmūd

(4) Dāūd (1378)

(5) Muhammad II (1378-97)

(8) Fīrūz (1397 1422)
Mubārak

(9) Ahmad (1422-36)
(10) 'Alā-ud dīn Ahmad (1436-58)
(11) Humāyūn (1458-61)

Sanjar

d m no 8

d m no 9

(6) Ghiyās-ud-dīn (1397)

(7) Shams-ud-dīn (1397)

(12) Nizām (1461 63)

(13) Muhammad III (1463-82) Lashkarī

(14) Mahmūd (1482-1518)

(15) Ahmad (1518-21)

(16) 'Alā-ud-dīn (1521-22)

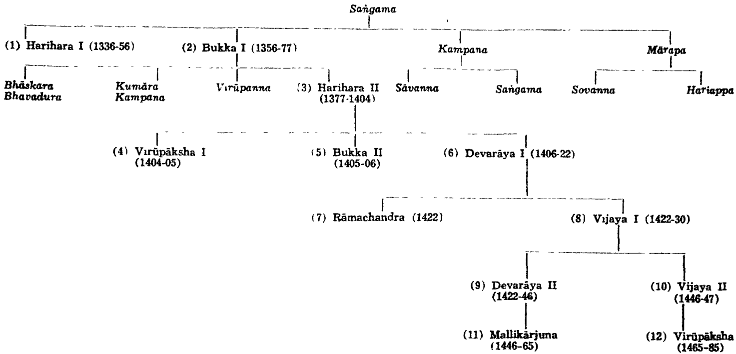
(17) Walīullāh (1522-25)

(18) Kalīmullāh (1525-27)

XIII. EMPERORS OF VIJAYANAGARA

A

Saṅgama Dynasty



EMPERORS OF VIJAYANAGARA—*continued*

B

Sāluva Dynasty

Gunda

Narasimha (1485-90)

(2) Timma (1490-91)

(3) Immadi Narasimha (1491-1505)

C

Tuluva Dynasty

(1) Narasa Nāyaka (Regent) (1490-1503)

(2) Vira Narasimha* (1503-09)

(3) Krishna Devarāya (1509-29)

Tirumaladeva Mahārāya (Anointed king but died during the life time of his father)

Ranga

(4) Achyuta (1530-42)

(*Vira Narasimha crowned himself in 1505)

XIV. MAHARAṆAS OF MEWAR

- *Arisimha*
  - (1) Hammīr (c. 1314-78)
    - (2) Kshetrasimha (c 1378-1405)
      - (3) Lakshasimha (Lākhā) (c 1405-20)
        - *Chuṇḍā*
        - *Rāghavadeva*
        - (4) Mokal (c 1420-1433)
          - (5) Kumbhakarṇa (1433-1468)
            - (6) Udaya (1468-73)
            - (7) Rāyamalla (1473-1509)
              - *Prithvīrāja*
              - (8) Sāngā (1509-28)
              - *Jayamalla*
                - *Jayasimha*

XV. RĀṬHORS OF MĀRWĀṚ

- (1) Sīha (d 1273)
  - (2) Āsthān
    - (3) Dhūhaḍa (d 1309)
      - (4) Rāyapāla
        - (5) Kānhāpāla
          - (6) Jalansī
            - (7) Chhaḍo
              - (8) Tiḍo
                - (9) Kānhaḍa
                  - (10) Tribhuvansī
                - *Salkhā*
                  - (11) Mallinātha
                    - *Jagmal*
                  - *Vīramjī*
                    - (12) Chunḍā
                      - (15) Raṇamalla
                        - (16) Jodhā (1438-88)
                          - Nibo
                          - (17) Sātal (1488-91)
                          - *Bikā*
                          - *Merta*
                          - (18) Sujā (1491-1515)
                            - *Bāghā*
                              - *Vīramjī*
                              - (19) Gāngā (1515-32)
                      - (13) Kānhā
                      - (14) Satā
                        - *Narabad*
                      - *Raṇadhīra*

XVI KINGS OF ORISSA

A

The Eastern Gaṅgas

(For earlier part of the genealogy, see Vol V, p. 864)

Narasiṁha I (c. 1238-64)
|
Bhānudeva I (c 1264-79)
|
Narasiṁha II (c. 1279 1306)
|
Bhānudeva II (c 1306-28)
|
Narasiṁha III (c. 1328-52)
|
Bhānudeva III (c 1352-78)
|
Narasiṁha IV (c 1378 1414)
|
Bhānudeva IV (c 1414-34)

B

The Gajapati Kings of Orissa

(1) Kapilendra* (c 1434-67)

- *Hamvīra*
- (2) Purushottama (c 1467-97)
  - (3) Pratāparudra (c 1497-1540)
    - (4) Kāluādeva (c 1540-41)
    - (5) Kakhāruādeva (1541)

(*For the date of Kapilendra's death, see above p 367)

XVII KINGS OF KĀSHMIR

A

I Hindu Kings

(1) Sūhadeva (c 1301 ?)

(2) Rāmachandra

(4) Udayanadeva = m Koṭādevī m = (3) Rinchana (c 1320-23)

Haidar

B

II. Shāh Mīrī Dynasty

(1) Shams-ud-dīn (Shāh Mīr) (1339-42)

(2) Jamshid (1342) — (3) 'Alā ud-īn (1342-54) — (4) Shihāb-ud-dīn (1354-73) — (5) Quṭb-ud-dīn (1373-89)

Hasan — *'Alī* (sons of Shihāb-ud-dīn)

(6) Sikandar (1389-1413)

(7) 'Alī Shāh (1413-20) — (8) Zain-ul-Ābidīn (1420-70)

Ādām — (9) Haidar (1470-72) — *Bahrām*

(12) Fath — (10) Hasan (1472-84)

(14) Nazūk — (11) Muhammad

(13) Ibrāhīm — *Shams-ud-dīn*

(For the regnal periods of Muhammad, Fath Nazūk and Ibrāhīm see above pp 381 86)

XVIII. ASSAM—DYNASTY OF THE AHOM KINGS.

(1) Sukāphā (1228-68)
|
(2) Suteuphā (1268-81)
|
(3) Subinphā (1281-93)
|
(4) Sukhāngphā

- (5) Sukhrāngphā (1332-64)
- (6) Sutuphā (1364-76)
- (7) Tyāokhāmti (1380-89)
  - (8) Sudāngphā (1397-1407)
  - (9) Sujāngphā (1407-22)
  - (10) Suphākphā (1422-39)
  - (11) Susenphā (1439-88)
  - (12) Suhenphā (1488-93)
  - (13) Supimphā (1493-97)
  - (14) Suhungmung (1497-1539)

There was an interregnum from 1376 to 1380 and again from 1389 to 1397.

XIX. MITHILA

Sugauna Dynasty

- (1) Kāmeśvara
  - (5) Bhaveśa (Bhavasiṁha)
    - (6) Devasiṁha
      - (7) Śivasiṁha
      - (8) Padmasiṁha
    - (9) Harasiṁha
      - (10) Narasiṁha
        - (11) Dhīrasiṁha
        - (12) Bhairavasiṁha
          - (13) Rāmabhadra
            - (14) Lakshmīnātha
  - (2) Bhogīśvara
    - (3) Gaṇeśvara
      - *Vīrasiṁha*
      - (4) Kīrtisiṁha
      - *Rājasiṁha*

XX. NEPĀL

I. The Dynasty of Harisiṁha

1 Harisimha

2 Matisimha

3 Śaktisimha

4 Śyāmasimha

II. The different branches of the Malla Dynasty

A Anantamalla (1274-1310)

:

Jayānandadeva (c. 1310-30)

B Jayārimalla (c 1320-44)

C Jayarājadeva (c 1347-61)

|

Jayārjuna (c 1361-82)

D Jayarudramalla

|

d Nāyakadevī = Jagatsimha (1341)

|

d Rajalladevī = Jayasthitimalla (1382-95)

|

Jayadharmamalla[1] | Jayajyotirmalla (1408-28) | Jayakirtimalla

|

Jayayakshamalla[2] (1428-80)

1 The three sons of Jayasthitimalla ruled conjointly for some time till his second or youngest son Jayajyotirmalla ruled alone.

2. Jayayakshamalla divided his kingdom among his three sons and a daughter, thus creating four independent States. (See p. 415).

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PLATE I

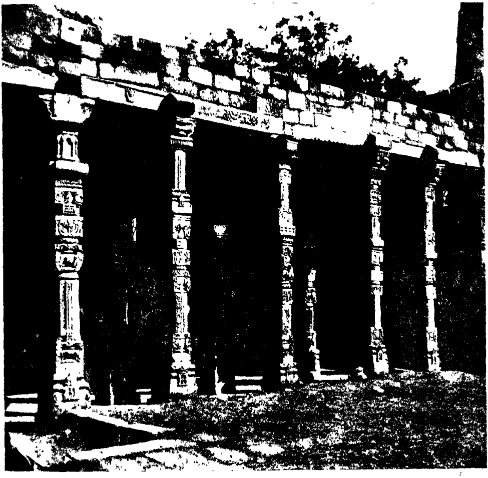


Fig 1 *Delhi, Quwwat-ul-Islām Mosque, a colonnade of the cloister.*

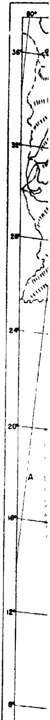

36°
32°
28°
24°
20°
A
16°
12°
8°



PLATE II

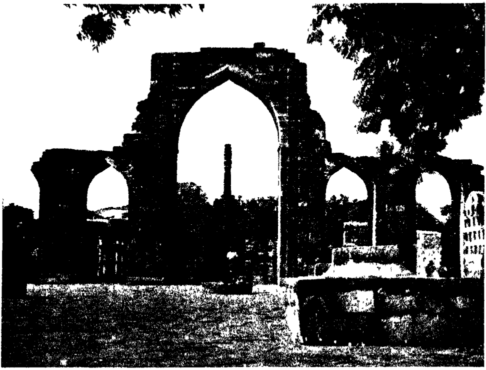


Fig 2 *Delhi Quwwat ul-Islām Mosque arcaded screen and Iron Pillar*

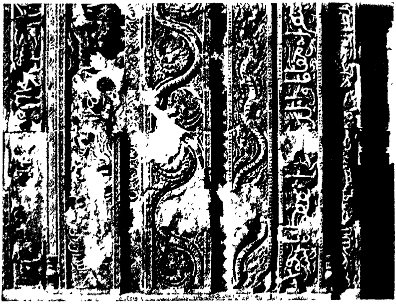


Fig 3 *Delhi, Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque, detail of the screen*

PLATE III

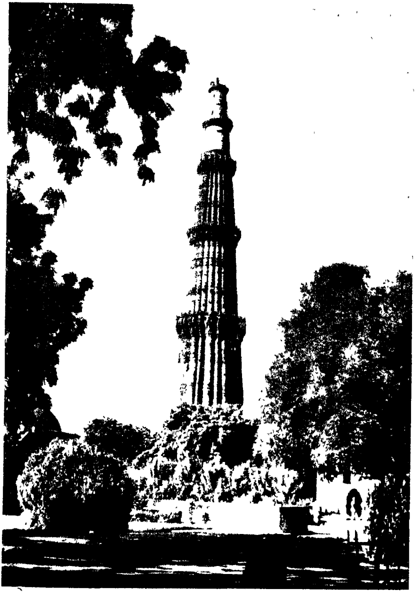


Fig 4 *Delhi, Qutb Minar*

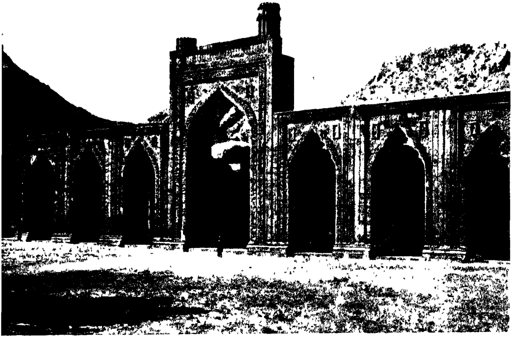


Fig 5 *Ajmer Aḍhai-din-ka-Jhompra*



Fig 6. *Delhi, General Plan of Sultān Ghārī*

PLATE V



Fig 7 *Ajmer, Ādhai-din-kā-Jhomprā*

PLATE VI

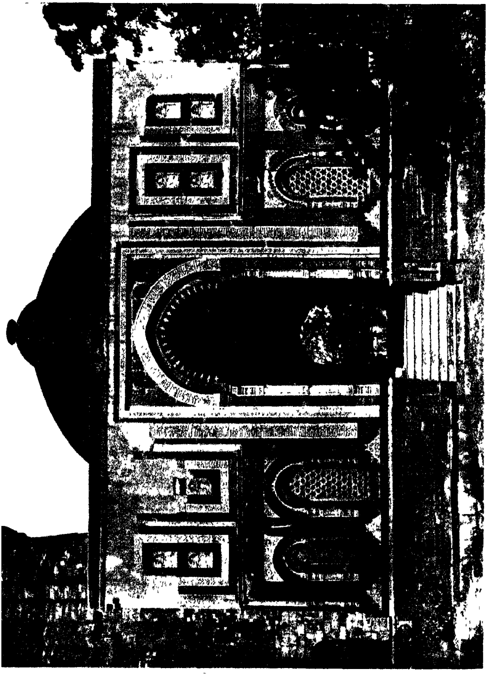


Fig 8 Delhi, Quṭb: 'Alāī Darwāza

PLATE VII



Fig 9 *Delhi, Tomb of Iltutmish*

PLATE VIII

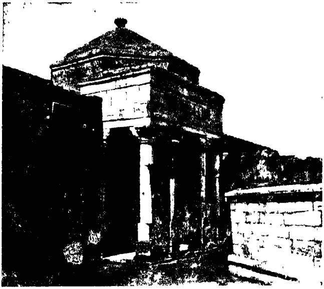


Fig 10 *Delhi, Sultān Ghārī*



Fig 11 *Delhi, Tomb of Firūz Shāh Tughluq*

PLATE IX

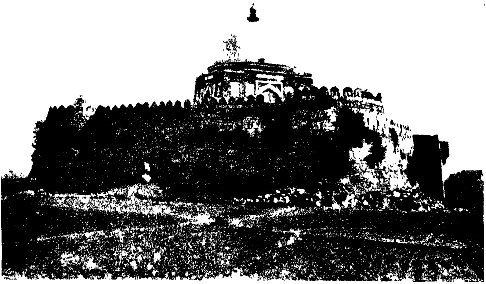


Fig 12 *Tughluqābād Tomb of Ghiyās ud-dīn Tughluq*



Fig 13 *Delhi, Kalān Masjid*

PLATE X



Fig 14 *Delhi, Kali Masjid, Interior Court*

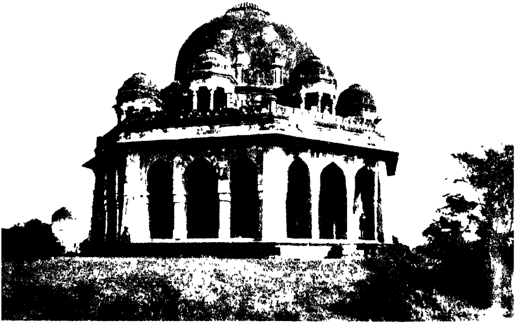


Fig 15 *Delhi, Tomb of Muhammad Shāh Sayyid*

PLATE XI



Fig 16 *Delhi, Barā Gumbad*

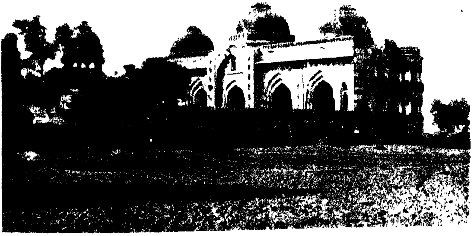


Fig 17 *Delhi, Moth ki Masjid*

PLATE XII



Fig 18 *Ādina, Jāmi Masjid, Prayer Chamber*



Fig 19 *Ādina, Jāmi' Masjid, Nave of the Prayer Chamber*

PLATE XIII



Fig 20 *Ādīna, Ruined Wings of Jāmi Masjid*

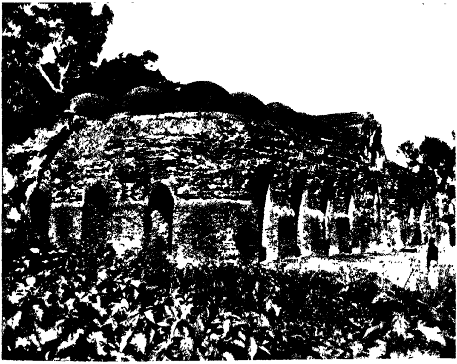


Fig 21 *Gaur, Gunamant Mosque, general view*

PLATE XIV

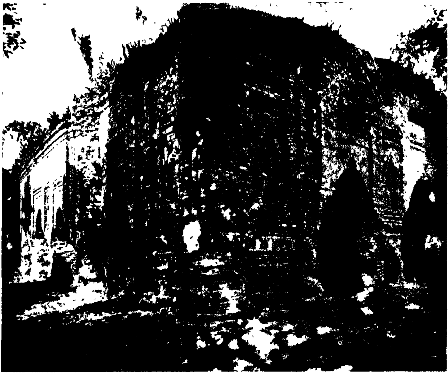


Fig 22 *Gaur Lotan Masjid*



Fig 23 *Tribeni, Dargāh of Zafar Khān Ghāzī*

PLATE XV



Fig 24 *Tribeni Zafar Khan Mosque*

PLATE XVI



Fig 25 *Gaur, Tantipara Masjid*

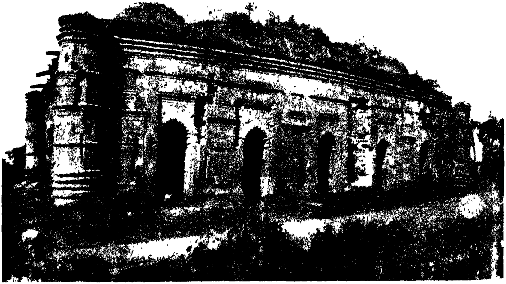


Fig 26 *Gaur, Chhoti Sonā Masjid*

PLATE XVII

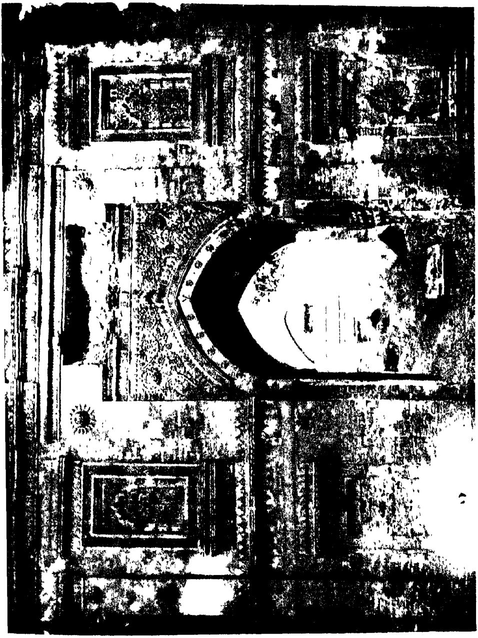


Fig 27 Gaur, *Tāntipārā Masjid*, Closer View.

PLATE XVIII



Fig 28 Gaur Bar, Sonā Masjid Side View

PLATE XIX

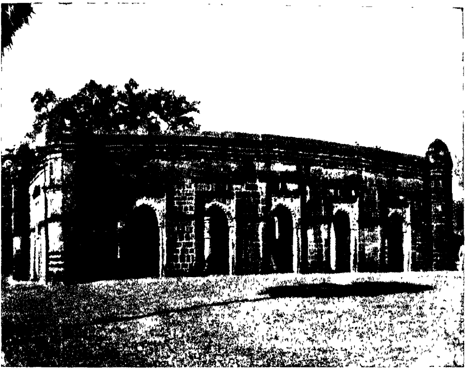


Fig 29 *Gaur Chhoti Sonā Masjid, after repair*

PLATE XX

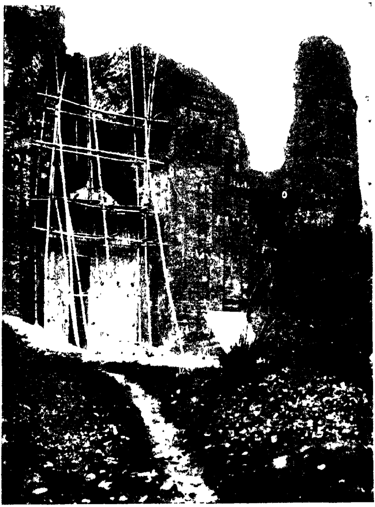


Fig. 30 *Gaur, Dākhil Darwāza*

PLATE XXI

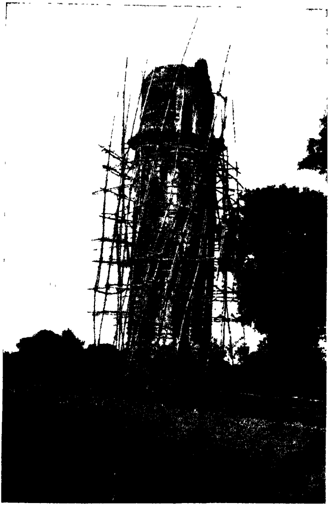


Fig 31 *Gaur, Fīrūza Minar*

PLATE XXII

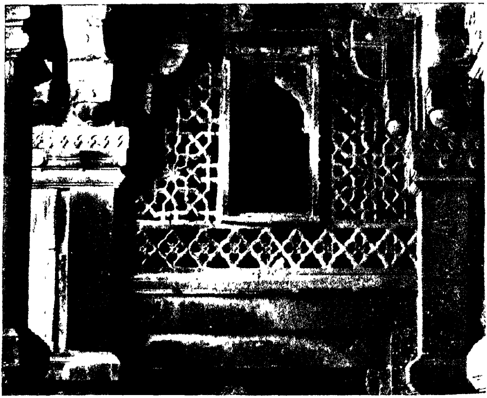


Fig 32 *Jaunpur Atala Masjid, Interior View*

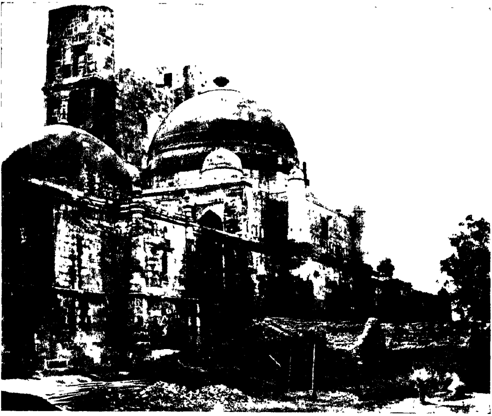


Fig 33 *Jaunpur Atala Masjid, Rear View*



Fig 34 *Jaunpur, Lal Darwāza Masjid*

PLATE XXIV

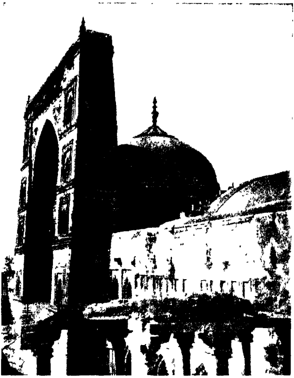


Fig 35 *Jaunpur Jāmi Masjid*

PLATE XXV

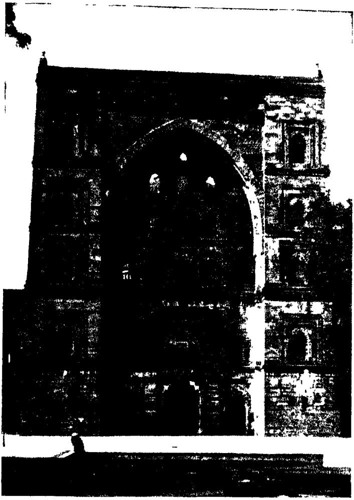


Fig 36 *Jaunpur Jāmi Masjid Pylon*

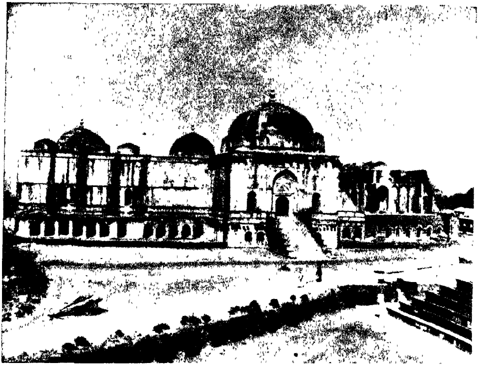


Fig 37 *Mandu Jami' Masjid*

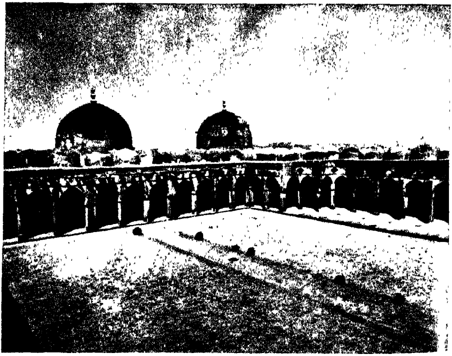


Fig 38 *Mandū Jāmi Masjid Mosque Quadrangle*

PLATE XXVII



Fig 39 Mandu, Jami Masjid Interior of Prayer Chamber



Fig 40 Mandu Hindola Mahall

PLATE XXVIII

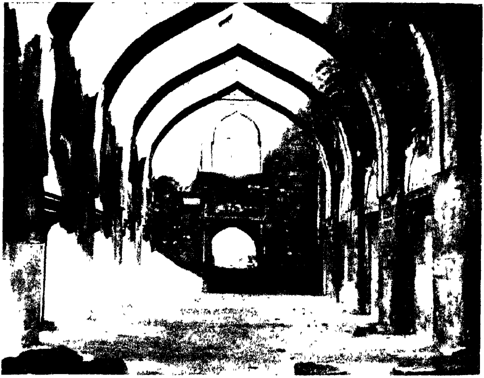


Fig 41 *Mandu, Hindola Mahall, Interior*

PLATE XXIX

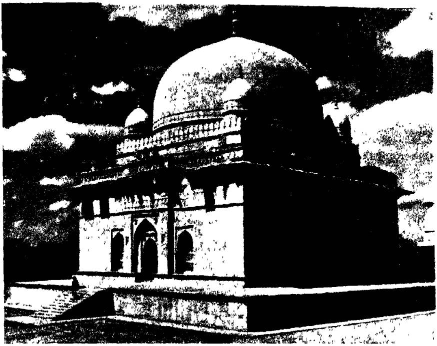


Fig 42 *Mandū Tomb of Hūshang*

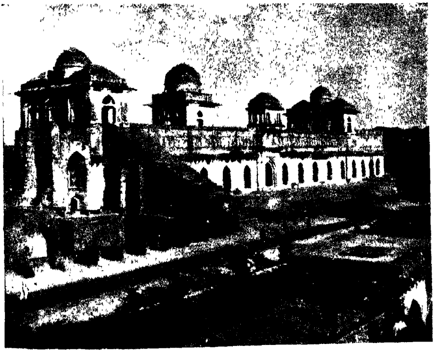


Fig 43 *Māndu, Jahaz Mahall*

PLATE XXX



Fig 44 *Mandū Bāz Bahādur's Palace, an apartment*



Fig 45 *Mandū Rupamati's Pavilion*

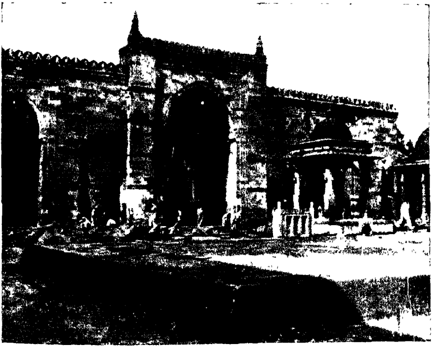


Fig 46. *Cambay, Jāmi' Masjid.*

PLATE XXXII

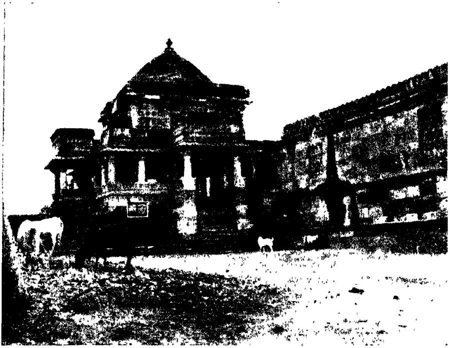


Fig 47 *Dholka Hilal Khan Qazi's Mosque, Entrance*



Fig 48 *Ahmadābad, Ahmad Shah's Mosque*

PLATE XXXIII

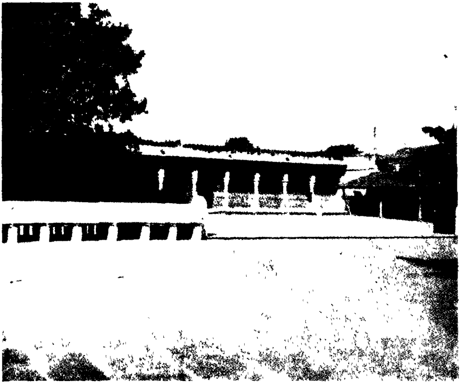


Fig 49 *Ahmadâbâd, Mosque of Haibat Khân*



Fig. 50 *Ahmadâbâd, Ahmad Shâh's Mosque, another view*



Fig 51 *Ahmadābād, Jāmi' Masjid, Mosque Quadrangle*



Fig 52 *Ahmadābād, Jāmi' Masjid, Prayer Chamber, General View*

PLATE XXXV



Fig 53 *Ahmadabad Jami' Masjid, Prayer Chamber closer view*



Fig 54 *Ahmadābad, Tin Darwāza*

PLATE XXXVI

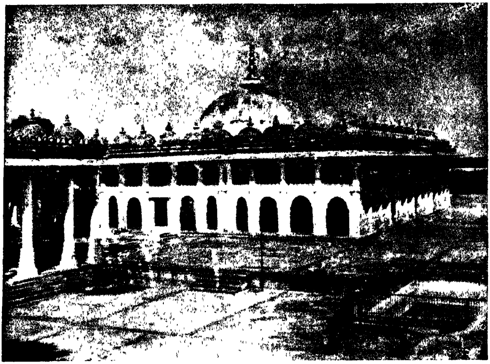


Fig 55 *Sarkhej, Shaikh Aḥmad Khattū's Tomb*



Fig 56 *Ahmadābād, Daryā Khān's Tomb*

PLATE XXXVII



Fig 57 *Dholka Alif Khān's Mosque*



Fig 58 *Ahmadabād, Achūt Kūkī's Tomb*

PLATE XXXVIII



Fig 59 *Mahmūdābad Tomb of Mubārak Sayyid*

PLATE XXXIX



Fig 60 *Ahmedābād, Mosque and Tomb of Shāh 'Ālam*

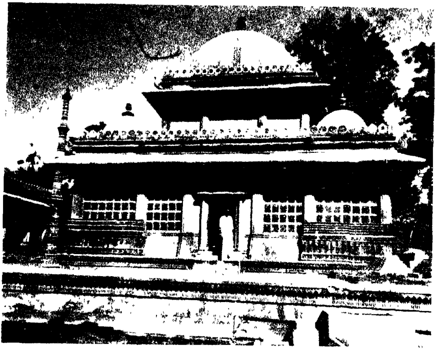


Fig 61 *Ahmadabad Rani Sipri Tomb*



Fig 62 *Ahmadabād Mosque of Achut Kuki*

PLATE XLI

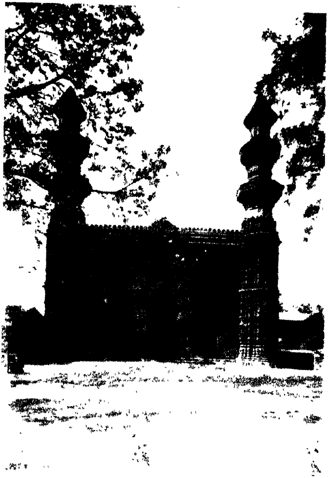


Fig 63 *Ahmadabad, Mosque of Muhafiz Khan, front view*

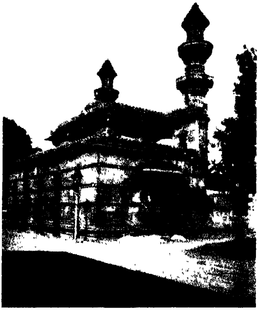


Fig 64 *Ahmadabad, Muhafiz Khan's Mosque, rear view*

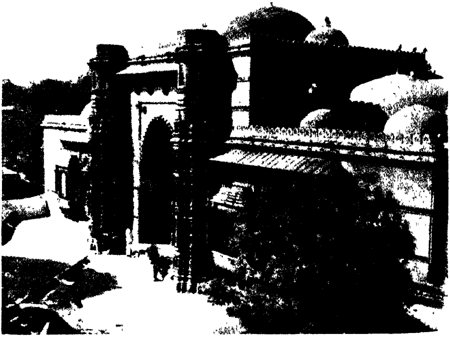


Fig 65 *Ahmadabad, Rānī Rūpavatī's Mosque*

PLATE XLIII

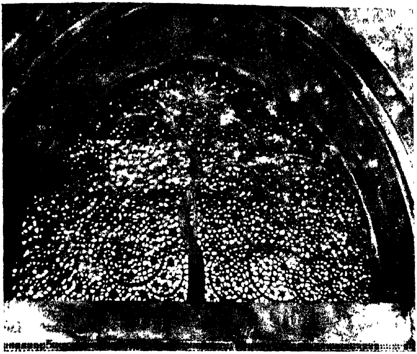


Fig 66 *Ahmadābād Sīdī Sayyid Mosque, Screen*



Fig 67 *Champaner, Jami Masjid general view*

PLATE XLIV

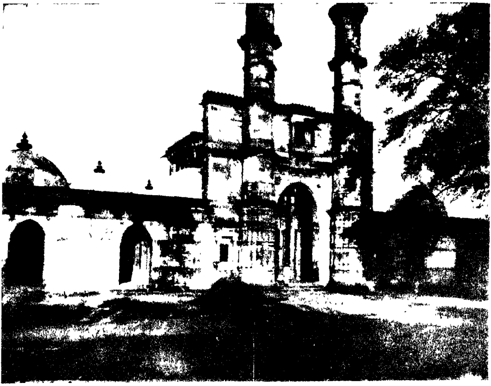


Fig 68 *Champaner, Jami Masjid Prayer Chamber, Front*

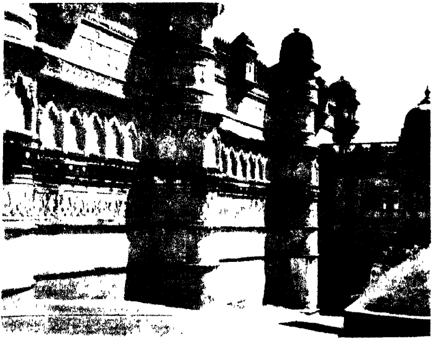


Fig 69 *Gwalior Fort Man Singh's Palace*

PLATE XLV

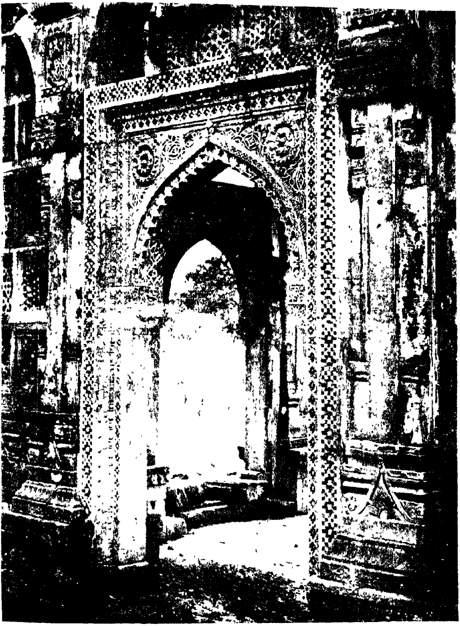


Fig 70 *Chāmpāner, Jāmi' Masjid, Entrance*

PLATE XLVI

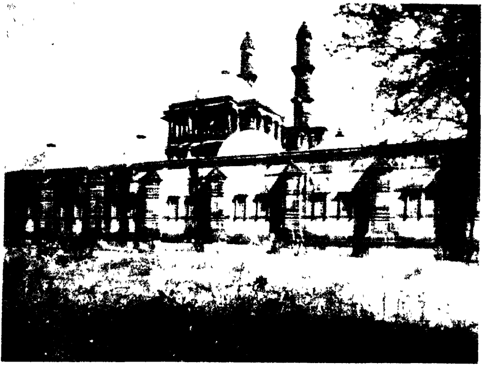


Fig 71 *Champaner Jami Masjid, rear view*



Fig. 72 *Ahmadabad, Bai Harir's Wav.*